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RICHARD LAVENHAM'S TREATISE *SCIRE*:  
AN EDITION, WITH REMARKS  
ON THE IDENTIFICATION OF MARTIN (?) BILOND'S  
*OBIECTIONES CONSEQUENTIARVM*

*Gordon Anthony Wilson and Paul Vincent Spade*

THE late fourteenth-century English Carmelite Richard Lavenham wrote many short logical treatises, several of which have recently been edited and published.<sup>1</sup> The text edited below continues this series. It is Lavenham's treatise *Scire*, a work on epistemic logic. Like Lavenham's other logical works, this one, while not without philosophical interest, is on the whole quite unoriginal. Indeed, Lavenham's lack of originality is itself of scholarly importance, insofar as it reveals some of the influences of earlier authors on late

<sup>1</sup> See the following articles by Paul Vincent Spade:

(1) 'The Treatises *On Modal Propositions* and *On Hypothetical Propositions* by Richard Lavenham', *Mediaeval Studies* 35 (1973) 49-59 (the *On Hypothetical Propositions* is incomplete here; see item (3) below).

(2) 'Five Logical Tracts by Richard Lavenham' in J. Reginald O'Donnell, ed., *Essays in Honour of Anton Charles Pegis* (Toronto, 1974), pp. 70-124 (contains Lavenham's *Suppositiones*, *Consequentiae*, *Tractatus exclusivarum*, *Exceptivae*, and *Tractatus qui differt et aliud nuncupatur*). The *Tractatus qui differt et aliud nuncupatur* appears to be the same as that in Worcester, Cathedral Library ms. F. 118, fols. 11ra-12rb, included in at least one version of the so-called 'Logica Oxoniensis'; see L. M. de Rijk, 'Logica Oxoniensis: An Attempt to Reconstruct a Fifteenth Century Oxford Manual of Logic', *Medioevo. Rivista di storia della filosofia medievale* 3 (1977) 121-64 at p. 129.

(3) 'Notes on Some Manuscripts of Logical and Physical Works by Richard Lavenham', *Manuscripta* 19 (1975) 139-46 (completes the treatise *On Hypothetical Propositions* from item (1) above).

(4) 'Richard Lavenham's *Obligaciones*: Edition and Comments', *Rivista critica di storia della filosofia* 33 (1978) 225-42.

(5) 'Notes on Richard Lavenham's So-Called *Summulae Logicales*, with a Partial Edition of the Text', *Franciscan Studies* 40 (1980) 370-407 (the rest of the text is edited in items (1) and (3) above).

(6) 'Richard Lavenham and the Cambridge Logic', *Historiographia linguistica* 7 (1980) 241-47 (contains a textual discussion of Lavenham's *De syncategorematis*).

As for the present paper, the edition is mainly the work of Wilson; the introduction is Spade's. Both authors, however, have read and approved the entire article.

fourteenth-century English logic.<sup>2</sup> We are still remarkably ignorant of the logic of this period, despite the recent contributions of a few scholars.<sup>3</sup> Lavenham's works are therefore of value.

Few details of Lavenham's life have come down to us. We know that he was born in Lavenham (Suffolk) and that he entered the Carmelites at Ipswich. He attended Oxford, where there is some evidence that he eventually became a doctor of theology. He was prior of Bristol Convent, served as confessor to Richard II, and associated with Simon Sudbury, the archbishop of Canterbury. Lavenham died probably after September 1399.<sup>4</sup> His *Summulae logicales* cites Richard Feribrigge,<sup>5</sup> and Lavenham's *Tractatus de probationibus propositionum et expositionibus earum* seems to have been influenced by Wyclif.<sup>6</sup> This would put Lavenham's *floruit* around 1370, so that the text *Scire* edited below may be dated from approximately that time.

Lavenham's *Scire* is built around the claim that nothing is both known and doubted by the same person at the same time. The treatise defends this claim by arguing against seven attempts to provide a counterexample to it. Such attempts might strike the reader at first as silly and futile on the face of it. On closer examination, however, the seven purported counterexamples prove to be only a kind of framework for the real business of the treatise, which is a discussion of what modern philosophical literature calls 'opaque contexts' generated by verbs of knowing. In the context of such verbs, for instance, one cannot always validly substitute identicals (I may know that the Morning Star is on the horizon and yet fail to know that the Evening Star is on the horizon, even though the Morning Star is identical to the Evening Star), or validly instantiate a universal quantifier (I may know that all dimes are smaller than nickels and yet fail to

<sup>2</sup> See the introduction to 'Richard Lavenham's *Obligationes*', cited as item (4) in n. 1 above.

<sup>3</sup> For a survey of the period, see Paul Vincent Spade, 'Logic in Late Medieval Oxford, 1330-1500' in *The History of the University of Oxford*, vol. 2, chap. 1 (forthcoming). To date, the main contributions are the following. Francesco del Punta has published some extracts from Richard Feribrigge's *Logica in Pauli Veneti Logica Magna*, part 2, fasc. 6: *Tractatus de veritate et falsitate propositionis et Tractatus de significato propositionis*, ed. Francesco del Punta and trans. Marilyn McCord Adams (Oxford, 1978), Appendix 1, pp. 215-36. Del Punta has also published a transcription of part of John Huntman's (Johannes Venator's) *Logica*, *ibid.*, Appendix 2, pp. 237-51. Norman Kretzmann has translated an excerpt from Huntman's section on the words 'incipit' and 'desinit' in his article 'Incipit/Desinit' in Peter K. Machamer and Robert G. Turnbull, eds., *Motion and Time, Space and Matter: Interrelations in the History of Philosophy and Science* (Columbus, Ohio, 1976), chap. 5, pp. 101-36 at pp. 128-30. Gedeon Gál and Rega Wood have edited passages from Richard Brinkley's *Summa logicae* in their 'Richard Brinkley and His *Summa Logicae*', *Franciscan Studies* 40 (1980) 59-101.

<sup>4</sup> See C. L. Klingsford, 'Lavenham, or Lavyngham, Richard', DNB 11.652-53; A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500*, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1957-59), 2.1109-10.

<sup>5</sup> See paragraphs 29 and 30 of the edition cited as item (5) in n. 1 above.

<sup>6</sup> See Spade, 'Logic in Late Medieval Oxford', cited in n. 3 above.

know that the coin in your pocket is smaller than a nickel, even if the coin in your pocket is in fact a dime).

Mediaeval and modern logic both isolate such 'opaque contexts' by stipulating syntactical criteria for distinguishing them from other cases in which one may indeed validly substitute identicals or instantiate a universal quantifier in a sentence containing a verb of knowing. The question is one of the 'composed' and 'divided' senses, or 'scope' as it is now called. If the term on which the substitution or instantiation is to be performed falls within the scope of a verb of knowing (or certain other verbs), the inferences are invalid, while if the term occurs outside the scope of such a verb, then other things being equal, the inferences are valid.

The question of scope is settled in late mediaeval logic by a quite simple criterion: everything that comes after a word in a sentence falls within the scope of that word, and everything that comes before the word falls outside its scope.<sup>7</sup> Hence while from 'I know that the Morning Star is on the horizon' I cannot infer 'I know that the Evening Star is on the horizon', nevertheless from 'The Morning Star I know to be on the horizon' I can indeed infer 'The Evening Star I know to be on the horizon'. In the former case the terms 'Morning Star' and 'Evening Star' occur after (to the right of) the verb 'know', whereas in the latter case they do not. In the latter case, the sentences are interpreted to mean roughly 'The *object* that is the Morning Star (Evening Star) is such that I know *it* to be on the horizon – even though I might not know that this object is *called* the Morning Star (the Evening Star)'.

Clearly one must be very careful about inferring sentences in which terms occur after verbs of knowing from sentences in which those same terms occur before such verbs, or vice versa. It is this fact that is illustrated and studied at length in the seven main sections of Lavenham's *Scire*. In each of the seven sections a certain situation is described in which one might argue that one both knows a certain truth and yet doubts it (fails to know it). And in each case the refutation of the argument consists of pointing out a fallacy of scope.

Consider for example the second of the seven attempted counterexamples.<sup>8</sup> There we are told that '*A*' is a name of whichever of the two sentences 'The king is sitting' and 'The king is not sitting' happens to be the true one. I do not know what the king is doing in fact, so that I do not know which of those two sentences is true or consequently which one of them is *A*. But I do know that *A* is the one or the other of them, whichever one is true. In this situation, although I know that *A* is true, since I am told that '*A*' designates the true one,

<sup>7</sup> This applies not only to verbs of knowing and similar words but also to quantifiers and negations.

<sup>8</sup> paragraphs 33-46 below.

nevertheless the sentence *A* (i.e., whichever of the two sentences happens to be *A*) is such that I do not know that *it* is true, since by hypothesis I do not know what the king is doing. On the contrary, the sentence *A*, whichever it is, is such that I doubt whether *it* is true. The proposed counterexample then tries to argue in various ingenious ways that since *A* is such that I doubt that *it* is true, therefore I doubt that *A* is true. Hence, the counterexample concludes, it is possible after all for the same person both to know and to doubt the same thing at the same time.

Lavenham's reply in general consists of pointing out the fallacy of scope in such arguments. The arguments are clever and the fallacy is sometimes not at all obvious, so that the interest of the treatise lies especially in its details.

Lavenham's *Scire* is based on chapter 2 ('De scire et dubitare') of William Heytesbury's *Regulae solvendi sophismata*, dated 1335.<sup>9</sup> Indeed on two occasions in the treatise Lavenham refers to the views of the 'Magister tractatus', and in both cases the corresponding passage in Heytesbury's chapter can be identified.<sup>10</sup> Both treatises are built around the claim that nothing is both known and doubted at once by the same person, and both treatises consider seven attempted counterexamples. The counterexamples are the same in the two treatises, and are presented in the same order. Both the arguments for the counterexamples and the resolutions of those arguments are, with two exceptions noted below, roughly the same in the two treatises, although Lavenham has in some cases omitted material in Heytesbury's chapter and in some cases added material not found in Heytesbury.

Structurally, the main differences between the two treatises are these. Heytesbury states at the outset the claim to be defended in the treatise, and then presents the seven attempted counterexamples to that claim.<sup>11</sup> There follow some general remarks on the composed and divided senses and on epistemic contexts,<sup>12</sup> and then the seven counterexamples are refuted one by one.<sup>13</sup> The chapter closes with a further discussion of one of the points raised in replying to the first counterexample.<sup>14</sup> Lavenham omits this last material, and adds to the

<sup>9</sup> Ed. Venice, 1494 (Hain 8437), fols. 12va-16va. It is worth noting that John Wyclif's *Logica* 13 also contains a discussion of epistemic logic, based on Heytesbury's text. See *Johannis Wyclif Tractatus de logica*, ed. Michael Henry Dziewicki, 3 vols. (London, 1893-99), 1.177-90. Wyclif's work was probably written before Lavenham's, but Lavenham follows Heytesbury's text much more closely than Wyclif does. Thus it is not likely that Wyclif's chapter had any direct influence on this treatise of Lavenham.

<sup>10</sup> See paragraphs 36 and 69 of the edition below.

<sup>11</sup> *Regulae solvendi sophismata*, fols. 12va-13ra.

<sup>12</sup> *ibid.*, fol. 13ra-va.

<sup>13</sup> *ibid.*, fols. 13va-16rb.

<sup>14</sup> *ibid.*, fol. 16rb-va.

beginning a short discussion of three senses of 'scire';<sup>15</sup> this threefold division has no correlate in Heytesbury's text.<sup>16</sup> Unlike Heytesbury, Lavenham replies to each of the seven counterexamples before going on to the next, so that he has no transitional passage of general remarks as Heytesbury has between the statement of the seven counterexamples and their resolutions. Nevertheless, much of the material in this section of Heytesbury's chapter may be found elsewhere in Lavenham's treatise.

Doctrinally, Lavenham follows Heytesbury quite closely. Nevertheless, on two occasions he departs from the views of the 'Magister tractatus'. In his discussion of the seventh counterexample, for instance, Lavenham openly disagrees with Heytesbury and argues against him, suggesting his own 'resolution' of the counterexample to replace Heytesbury's.<sup>17</sup>

In the case of the second counterexample, Lavenham does not clearly disagree with Heytesbury's solution, although, after stating Heytesbury's view,<sup>18</sup> he observes that another solution is possible. He attributes the alternative solution to a work *Obiectiones consequentiarum* by a certain Bilond.<sup>19</sup> From a scholarly point of view, this is perhaps the most interesting remark in Lavenham's treatise.

This mysterious 'Bilond' is completely unfamiliar to modern scholars. The only other known reference to him is also by Richard Lavenham, in his *Summulae logicales*. There Lavenham considers the argument that the sentence 'Tantum homo currit' is a categorical and yet has no quantity. It is clearly not singular, since its subject is a common term. It is not universal, since its subject does not have confused and distributive supposition. But neither is it particular or indefinite, since its subject does not have determinate supposition, as is required for those quantities. In short, the sentence appears to have no quantity at all.<sup>20</sup> In reply to this argument, Lavenham says:<sup>21</sup>

Hic dico concorditer cum Bilond in *Obiectionibus consequentiarum* quod sicut aliqua est exclusiva universalis sicut illa 'Tantum omnis homo currit' et aliqua est exclusiva particularis sicut illa 'Tantum aliquis homo currit' sic et aliqua est

<sup>15</sup> paragraphs 1-4 of the edition below.

<sup>16</sup> Indeed, the opening words of Heytesbury's text suggest a twofold division: 'Scire multis modis dicitur, sed sive dicatur proprie sive communiter nihil scitur ab aliquo quod eidem est dubium' (*Regulae solvendi sophismata*, fol. 12va).

<sup>17</sup> paragraphs 70-73 of the edition below. It must be confessed that Lavenham's substitution is not much of an improvement.

<sup>18</sup> paragraph 36 below.

<sup>19</sup> paragraph 37 below.

<sup>20</sup> See paragraph 46 of the edition cited as item (5) in n. 1 above.

<sup>21</sup> *ibid.*, paragraph 47. Here and in paragraph 37 of *Scire*, the manuscripts agree on the spelling 'Bilond'.

exclusiva indefinita sicut illa 'Tantum homo currit'. Et ad argumentum in contrarium quando arguitur sic 'Subiectum indefinitae semper supponit determinate quando supponit personaliter, sed sic non supponit subiectum exclusivae; igitur, et cetera', ad hoc argumentum respondet Bilond concedendo consequentiam et negando maiorem. Sed verum est inquit quod subiectum indefinitae quando supponit personaliter semper supponit determinate si dictio exclusivae non praecedat ...

In both of these references to Bilond, we are fortunate to have not only a description of part of his doctrine but also what purport to be quotations (signalled by *inquit*) from his *Obiectiones consequentiarum*. Can this work be identified on the basis of these references?

In those curious late fifteenth-century printed manuals, the *Libellus sophistarum ad usum Oxoniensium* and the *Libellus sophistarum ad usum Cantabrigiensium*, there appear two works with the title *Obiectiones consequentiarum*.<sup>22</sup> These treatises discuss several apparent exceptions to accepted rules of inference or 'consequence'. Although the opening lines of the two treatises are very similar to one another, the two treatises are in fact distinct works.<sup>23</sup> The treatise in the Oxford *Libellus* contains nothing that would link it with what Lavenham says about Bilond.<sup>24</sup> But the treatise in the Cambridge *Libellus* is more promising.<sup>25</sup> There the discussion of one of the rules of inference goes like this:<sup>26</sup>

Alia regula est haec: si sit aliqua consequentia bona scita a te esse bona et antecedens est scitum a te, tunc consequens est scitum a te. Ex qua sequitur quod consequentia bona est non bona. Probatur sic: ista consequentia est bona 'hoc non scitur a te; ergo hoc non scitur a te'. Et demonstro per utrumque illorum 'hoc' consequens eiusdem consequentiae. Tunc ista consequentia est bona quia arguitur ab uno convertibili ad reliquum; ergo consequentia bona. Et quod non valet probatur, quia antecedens est scitum a te fore verum, videlicet 'hoc non scitur a te', demonstrando consequens per subiectum antecedentis; et consimiliter antecedens est<sup>27</sup> verum quia significat praecise sicut est; et tamen impossibile est

<sup>22</sup> See E. J. Ashworth, 'The "Libelli Sophistarum" and the Use of Medieval Logic Texts at Oxford and Cambridge in the Early Sixteenth Century', *Vivarium* 17 (1979) 134-58 at pp. 139 and 152.

<sup>23</sup> *ibid.*, 152.

<sup>24</sup> *Libellus sophistarum ad usum Oxoniensium* [London, 1499-1500], sign. Eiiii<sup>r</sup>-Fii<sup>r</sup>; see W. A. Jackson, F. S. Ferguson, Katharine F. Pantzer, *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad 1475-1640*, 2nd edition, 2 (London, 1976), no. 15576.6 (formerly no. 15575).

<sup>25</sup> *Libellus sophistarum ad usum Cantabrigiensium* (London, 1510) [*Short-Title Catalogue*, no. 15576], sign. Ciii<sup>r</sup>-Cviii<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>26</sup> *ibid.*, Cvi<sup>r</sup>. This rule is not discussed at all in the Oxford text.

<sup>27</sup> *est*] *et ed.*

hoc consequens sciri<sup>28</sup> a te primarie significando, id est 'hoc non scitur a te'. Si sit possibile quod hoc consequens sciatur ponatur quod sciatur primarie significando. Tunc arguitur sic: haec propositio 'hoc non scitur < a te >' est scita a te; et nihil scitur nisi verum; ergo hoc consequens 'hoc non scitur a te' est verum. Et sequitur ultra: hoc consequens est verum, scilicet 'hoc non scitur a te'; ergo ita est totaliter sicut significat. Et illud consequens primarie significat quod ipsum non scitur; ergo sic est, cuius oppositum ponit regula.

Ideo forte dicatur quod regula tenet ubi non repugnat consequens scire; sed in ista repugnat consequens sciri; ideo non procedit obiectio. Sed contra illam regulam arguitur sic, et suppono quod ex omni propositione vera in conceptu sequitur ipsam esse veram, sicut ista propositio 'Deus est' in conceptu vera; ergo est vera. Et ponatur quod ista duo contradictoria 'rex sedet' et 'nullus rex sedet' sint in conceptu tuo, et scias quod *B* sit unum istarum, et scias bene istam propositionem 'hoc est verum' converti cum *B*. Isto casu posito, tu scias istam consequentiam esse bonam '*B* est verum; ergo hoc est verum', quia arguitur ab uno convertibili ad reliquum, et cetera. Et antecedens est scitum a te, videlicet, '*B* est verum', quia casus ponit idem. Et tamen hoc consequens non est scitum a te, videlicet 'hoc est verum', quia tu nescis qualiter hoc consequens significat.

Ideo pro isto dicatur quod ista est recta: si sit aliqua consequentia bona scita a te esse bona et antecedens est scitum a te et non repugnat consequens sciri a te, et scis qualiter antecedens<sup>29</sup> et consequens primarie significat, sequitur quod consequens est scitum a te. Sed non est in proposito, quia in prima obiectione repugnat consequens sciri et in secunda obiectione non scis qualiter consequens primarie significat.

There are some difficulties with the text of this passage, particularly in the second paragraph where the argument does not seem to make much sense. But the passage clearly reflects the doctrine Lavenham attributes to Bilond in paragraph 37 of *Scire* below, and the use of the pair of sentences 'Rex sedet' and 'Nullus rex sedet' in the second paragraph of the passage certainly suggests the case discussed by Lavenham's second attempted counterexample, in the context of which his reference to Bilond occurs. Furthermore, the last paragraph of the passage contains a rule that corresponds fairly closely (except for the clause about 'repugnantia', which Lavenham omits) with Lavenham's purported quotation from Bilond in paragraph 37 below.

With respect to Lavenham's other reference to Bilond's *Obiectiones consequentiarum*, in his *Summulae logicales*, the situation is not quite so favorable. The treatise in the Cambridge *Libellus* does contain the following passage:<sup>30</sup>

<sup>28</sup> sciri] scire *ed.*

<sup>29</sup> antecedens] natecedens *ed.*

<sup>30</sup> *Libellus sophistarum ad usum Cantabrigiensium*, Ciiij<sup>f</sup>. The Oxford text contains a discussion of the same rule (*Short-Title Catalogue*, no. 15576.6, Ev<sup>f</sup>), but the argument there is quite different.

Sexta regula est: subiectum in exclusiva affirmativa stat confuse tantum, ut patet in ista propositione 'tantum homo currit'. Ex qua sequitur quod aliquid supponit aliququaliter qualiter non supponit, ut patet per regulam. Et quod non supponat < confuse tantum > probatur quia subiectum illius propositionis 'homo currit' supponit determinate, ut patet per hoc quod est indefinita; sed idem est subiectum istius 'homo currit' et illius 'tantum homo currit'; et subiectum illius 'tantum homo currit' supponit confuse tantum; ergo non supponit determinate. Et quod supponit determinate probatur sic, posito quod ista propositio 'tantum homo currit' scribatur in pariete et quod duo legant istam propositionem, unus cum termino exclusivo et alius sine termino exclusivo. Tunc patet quod idem est subiectum utriusque. Ex quo sequitur quod aliquid supponit aliququaliter qualiter non supponit.

Pro isto dicatur quod subiectum exclusivae stat confuse tantum et hoc ratione exclusivae, ut sic dicendo 'tantum homo currit' cuius subiectum supponit confuse tantum sub ea ratione qua est subiectum exclusivae. Et ille idem terminus 'homo' supponit determinate sub ea ratione qua est subiectum praeiacentis. Et sic idem terminus supponit determinate et confuse tantum respectu diversorum terminorum.

The connection between this passage and what Lavenham's *Summulae logicales* says about Bilond's doctrine is far from clear. Certainly Lavenham's purported quotation from Bilond has no direct correlate in the passage. Still, a careful reading suggests that it is not out of the question that Lavenham had this passage in mind.

The situation then is this. The *Obiectiones consequentiarum* printed in the Cambridge *Libellus* contains a passage conforming fairly well to what Lavenham's *Scire* says about Bilond. There is no passage in the Cambridge text, however, that clearly answers to what Lavenham's *Summulae logicales* says about Bilond, although the passage quoted just above is certainly a possibility. All this evidence is by no means decisive, but it perhaps warrants our hazarding the suggestion that the treatise *Obiectiones consequentiarum* printed in the Cambridge *Libellus* was written by someone named 'Bilond' and was known to Richard Lavenham.

The suggestion, for all its tentativeness, is an interesting one. For, as it turns out, the Cambridge *Obiectiones* has also been preserved in several manuscripts:<sup>31</sup>

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 244 (245), fols. 33v-38v

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 378, fols. 58r-64v

<sup>31</sup> See Ashworth, 'The "Libelli Sophistarum"', 139 and L. M. de Rijk, 'Logica Cantabrigien-sis: A Fifteenth Century Cambridge Manual of Logic', *Revue internationale de philosophie* 29 (1975) 297-315 at pp. 301-302 and 309-10.



Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College 182/215, pp. 48-69 (incomplete)  
 Oxford, Bodleian Library Lat. misc. e. 79, fols. 24ra-32Ava  
 Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria 1123, fols. 14ra-16ra  
 Vatican Library Vat. lat. 3065, fols. 14vb-21rb (with a commentary, fols. 116vb-123va)  
 Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana Zan. lat. 277 (1728), fols. 6r-12r  
 Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 4698, fols. 48v-56r.

The Vienna manuscript attributes the work to a certain 'Martinus Anglicus'. De Rijk has suggested that this author is perhaps Martin of Alnwick (died 1336),<sup>32</sup> although the suggestion appears to be only an educated conjecture. We wish to suggest instead that this 'Martinus Anglicus' was not Martin of Alnwick, but rather a certain 'Martin Bilond'. If the links in this chain of reasoning hold good, Richard Lavenham's treatise *Scire* thus enables us not only to identify the *Obiectiones consequentiarum* of the mysterious Bilond but also to discover his given name, Martin.

Although both in Lavenham's *Scire* and in his *Summulae logicales* the manuscripts have the spelling 'Bilond', it should perhaps be noted that Emden refers to a certain 'Biland', given name unknown, who wrote a set of questions on the *De anima*, a copy of which was formerly contained in the library of the Austin Friars at York. His dates are completely unknown.<sup>33</sup> It is just possible that this is the same man, but there is absolutely no positive evidence to support the conjecture. Again, Emden cites a 'Geoffrey Byland' and a 'Thomas Byland', both Cistercian monks. Thomas Byland was alive in 1449,<sup>34</sup> and so is far too late to be the man Lavenham is referring to. Geoffrey Byland was regent in theology in March 1393,<sup>35</sup> so that it is perhaps not chronologically out of the question that he is the author of the *Obiectiones consequentiarum* quoted by Lavenham. There is no positive evidence for this, however, and the suggestion would require us to reject the Vienna manuscript's attribution of the work to a 'Martinus Anglicus'. Nevertheless these names do indicate the possibility that our 'Bilond' (and Emden's 'Biland') is a variant form of 'Byland' and that the author of the *Obiectiones consequentiarum* is perhaps to be looked for among the Cistercians from Byland Abbey in the North Riding of Yorkshire.<sup>36</sup>

There is one other small piece of evidence to consider. Prague, Státní knihovna ČSR V E 12 (906), fols. 38r-49r, contains an anonymous *Insolubilia*

<sup>32</sup> De Rijk, *ibid.*, 301.

<sup>33</sup> Emden, *Biographical Register* 1.187.

<sup>34</sup> *ibid.*, p. 332.

<sup>35</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>36</sup> We are grateful to one of the referees for calling our attention to these possibilities.

based on John Wyclif's theory of insolubles.<sup>37</sup> On fol. 41v of the treatise there is an example that switches from 'ego' to 'Martinus' in a way that suggests that the author's own name was 'Martinus'.<sup>38</sup> Could this 'Martinus' be the 'Martinus Anglicus', called 'Bilond', who wrote the *Obiectiones consequentiarum* quoted by Lavenham? Since Lavenham himself seems to have been influenced by Wyclif, the chronology does not rule out such an identification, but a final evaluation of this possibility will have to await further study of the contents of the Prague *Insolubilia* and of the *Obiectiones consequentiarum*.

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The following edition of Lavenham's *Scire* is based on a collation of microfilms of the two known manuscript copies:

S = London, British Library Sloane 3899, fols. 52r-59v

V = Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana Zan. lat. 300 (1872), fols. 27va-33vb.

Both manuscripts are from the fourteenth century, and both are collections of Lavenham's works on logic and some of his works on natural philosophy (S also contains some unidentified material at the end of the codex). For the most part the manuscripts contain the same treatises, although their ordering is different. S is written in a highly abbreviated and sometimes untidy hand by a scribe named Chestreforde, in thirty long lines.<sup>39</sup> V is written in a generally neat but highly abbreviated hand, in two columns of thirty-four lines.<sup>40</sup>

A careful comparison of the two manuscripts suggests that their versions of the treatise *Scire* were copied from a common model. On the whole S is the better of the two, and has been used as the basis for the edition below. V contains nine homoeoteleuta, some of which are serious, and several other

<sup>37</sup> See Paul Vincent Spade, *The Mediaeval Liar: A Catalogue of the Insolubilia-Literature* (Toronto, 1975), item xv, pp. 38-39. The treatise's three rules cited *ibid.*, p. 38, suggest that it was based not so much on the presentation of Wyclif's theory in his *Logicae continuatio* (ed. Dziewicki, 2.194-227; see Spade, *ibid.*, item xliii, pp. 74-76) but rather on Wyclif's independent treatise *Insolubilia*, preserved in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 5204, fols. 76r-96v (see S. Harrison Thomson, 'Unnoticed MSS and Works of Wyclif', *The Journal of Theological Studies* 38 [1937] 24-36 and 139-48, at 139-44). A second copy of Wyclif's treatise is contained in Prague, Státní knihovna ČSR VIII E 11 (1536), fols. 55v-72v, where it is attributed to John Tarveys; see Spade, *ibid.*, item xl, p. 70. We are preparing an edition of Wyclif's *Insolubilia*.

<sup>38</sup> Spade, *ibid.*, item xv, p. 39.

<sup>39</sup> For a description of the contents of this manuscript, including many works by Lavenham, see the paper cited as item (1) in n. 1 above.

<sup>40</sup> For a description of the contents of this manuscript, which likewise includes many works by Lavenham, see the paper cited as item (3) in n. 1 above.

errors as well. Nevertheless, V can sometimes be used to correct S. Both manuscripts frequently, but not invariably, have the palaeographical abbreviation for *quod* where *quid* is required. S frequently, although not invariably, spells forms of *scire* without the *c* both in the present work and in other works contained in the codex. Since this appears to be a scribal idiosyncrasy and not a true textual variant, we have not noted these instances in the apparatus, and we suspect they reflect the pronunciation of the word. S also occasionally underlines short passages. If these passages were also underlined in the model from which S and V were copied, it is easy to see how the stroke under a word in one line might have been misread as a mark of abbreviation over a word in the next line. This would explain, for instance, the apparent difficulty with *tu* and *tamen* in paragraphs 11-17 of V (see the edition below).

In the apparatus we have not recorded variants between *igitur* and *ergo*. S uses both but with a strong preference for *ergo*. With the exception of a few doubtful cases, V always has *igitur*. We have followed S in each case.

We have also not recorded variants between forms of *iste* and forms of *ille*. In the logical literature of the period these words are frequently used interchangeably with no apparent difference of sense. Sometimes both are used with the same referent in the same sentence. For example, in paragraph 47 of the edition below (just before the end of fol. 55v in S), the text reads, 'Quod *ista* sit dubia probatur, quia tu scis *illam* praecise significare', etc. The two manuscripts agree on the wording here. Again, in the first sentence of paragraph 58, the switch from *istum* to *illum* occurs in both manuscripts.<sup>41</sup> On many other occasions, S has one form while V has the other. This interchangeable usage may disturb the classically trained reader, but it apparently did not bother fourteenth-century logicians. S uses both frequently, whereas V shows a noticeable preference for forms of *ille*. We have followed S in each case.

There is an important series of emendations in paragraphs 62 and 64. There both manuscripts discuss a case involving the sentence 'hoc est hoc', which we have emended in each instance to 'hoc est homo'. We justify this radical emendation as follows. First, the argument simply makes no sense if 'hoc est hoc' is read. This is true throughout the passage, but can perhaps be seen most easily in the last two sentences of paragraph 62. There, if 'hoc est hoc' is read throughout the paragraph in accordance with the manuscripts, then the sudden appearance of *homo* several times in these two sentences is entirely unexpected and inexplicable. (The occurrences there are not emendations.) Men have not

<sup>41</sup> For an especially striking instance of this usage, see the discussion in Paul Vincent Spade, 'Robert Fland's *Obligaciones*: An Edition', *Mediaeval Studies* 42 (1980) 41-60, at p. 43. Fland wrote between 1335 and 1370.

been mentioned at all earlier in the paragraph. Moreover, the last sentence of paragraph 62 would then say that if you ask me (in the situation described in that paragraph) what the *hoc* refers to in 'hoc est hoc', I would not know whether it refers to a man or a non-man, and *therefore* the assumed situation does not imply that I know whether 'hoc est hoc' is true or whether it is false. The 'therefore' is utterly unwarranted on this reading. (On the other hand, notice that it makes perfect sense if 'hoc est homo' is read for 'hoc est hoc'.)

Second, if we look back to Heytesbury's *De scire et dubitare*, on which Lavenham's treatise is based, we find that the same argument there is put in terms of 'hoc est homo'. This is true not only for the 1494 incunable edition<sup>42</sup> but also for the copies contained in Vatican Library mss. Vat. lat. 2136, fol. 6ra (fourteenth century), and Vat. lat. 2138, fol. 91vb (fifteenth century). Moreover, Lavenham's contemporary John Wyclif, in a passage based on Heytesbury's treatise, likewise uses the example in the form 'hoc est homo'.<sup>43</sup> In all these cases (and in Lavenham's) the argument makes much more sense with 'hoc est homo' (although it is still difficult) than it does with 'hoc est hoc'.

Third, earlier in the text Lavenham discusses a case involving the sentence 'hoc est hoc'.<sup>44</sup> The corresponding passages in the 1494 edition of Heytesbury,<sup>45</sup> in Vat. lat. 2138, fol. 91va-b, and in Wyclif<sup>46</sup> all agree on 'hoc est hoc', although Vat. lat. 2136, fol. 5vb, has 'hoc est homo', perhaps corrected in some cases to 'hoc est hoc'. Hence there is precedent in these passages for confusion between 'hoc est hoc' and 'hoc est homo'.

In a few instances in paragraphs 62 and 64 we have been forced by the syntax and the sense of the argument to emend *hoc* to read *hominem*. While it is a fairly straightforward matter to confuse the palaeographical abbreviations for *homo* and *hoc*, it is much harder to see how there could be a confusion of the abbreviations for *hominem* and *hoc* since the latter look quite different. Perhaps what happened is that, at some point in the textual transmission of *Scire*, a reader or scribe without a firm grasp of the argument saw (or thought he saw) 'hoc est hoc' throughout these paragraphs, and mistakenly 'corrected' the occurrences of *hominem* to *hoc* in conformity with what he took to be the sense of the passage. In fact, however, the argument requires *hominem* in these places.

In paragraphs 62 and 64, therefore, the choice is between an argument that follows the manuscripts but makes no sense and an argument that makes better

<sup>42</sup> See the passage quoted in the apparatus to paragraph 62 below.

<sup>43</sup> Wyclif, *Tractatus de logica* 13 (ed. Dziewicki, 1.183).

<sup>44</sup> paragraphs 47-59 of the edition below.

<sup>45</sup> *Regulae solvendi sophismata*, fol. 12va-vb.

<sup>46</sup> Wyclif, *Tractatus de logica* 13 (ed. Dziewicki, 1.182).

sense and follows Lavenham's source but departs from the manuscripts in a way that can be explained palaeographically, probably reflects Lavenham's intentions, and is not without precedent in similar texts. In these circumstances, we think we are justified in emending the text, but we also think the reader should be warned.

The division into paragraphs and into numbered sections is ours. Orthography has been normalized to the 'classical' standard, except in paragraph 64 where we have read *Londoniis* with the manuscripts. This spelling seems to reflect the mediaeval pronunciation.

### < SCIRE >

(1) (S 52r, V 28va) Scire tribus modis accipitur, scilicet communiter, proprie, et magis proprie.<sup>1</sup>

(2) Scire communiter dictum est credere firmiter sine haesitatione ita esse sicut est a parte<sup>2</sup> rei, vel ita fuisse sicut fuit a parte rei, vel ita fore sicut erit a parte<sup>3</sup> rei. Et sic<sup>4</sup> loquendo de scire istae propositiones sunt quasi convertibiles 'tu scis regem sedere' et 'tu credis firmiter sine haesitatione quod rex sedet, et sic est a parte rei quod rex sedet'.<sup>5</sup> Et isto modo scio quod Roma est magna<sup>6</sup> civitas. Quare? Quia credo firmiter<sup>7</sup> sine haesitatione Romam esse magnam civitatem, et sic est a parte rei quod Roma est magna civitas. Item, illo modo scio quod Christus patiebatur. Quare? Quia credo firmiter sine haesitatione ita fuisse, et sic<sup>8</sup> fuit a parte rei. Sic etiam scio quod dies iudicii erit et quod mortuorum resurrectio erit futura. Quare? Quia credo firmiter ita fore, et ita erit a parte rei,<sup>9</sup> propter quod Iob dixit: '*Scio quod resurrecturus sum*;<sup>10</sup> *in carne mea videbo Deum, salvatorem meum*'.<sup>11</sup>

(3) Proprie scire est ex magna evidentia et manifesta apprehendere rei veritatem.<sup>12</sup> Et ista scientia vocatur scientia experimentalis. Unde (V 28vb) isto modo scitur illud cuius veritas per sensum apprehenditur. Et tali modo scio me sedere<sup>13</sup> et scio te loqui et scio me non dormire. Et si quaeratur causa, respondetur quia istas veritates sensibiliter apprehendo.

(4) Magis proprie scire est per principia et causas infallibiles veritatem rei apprehendere. Et<sup>14</sup> isto modo scio quod dies est. Quare? Quia scio quod sol

<sup>1</sup> proprie om. V    <sup>2</sup> a parte] apertus S    <sup>3</sup> a parte] apertus S    <sup>4</sup> sic om. V    <sup>5</sup> et sic ... sedet om. (per hom.) V    <sup>6</sup> magna] pulchra V    <sup>7</sup> firmiter om. V    <sup>8</sup> sic] ita V  
<sup>9</sup> rei om. V    <sup>10</sup> post sum add. et V    <sup>11</sup> Job 19:25, 26    <sup>12</sup> veritatem] veritatem S  
<sup>13</sup> sedere] scribere V    <sup>14</sup> Et] Quia V

fertur super terram, et latio solis super terram<sup>15</sup> (S 52v) est causa infallibilis quare dies est. Et de isto modo sciendi intelligitur illud dictum Aristotelis in principio *Physicorum*: '*Tunc opinamur cognoscere unumquodque cum eius causas cognoscimus.*'<sup>16</sup> Et quocumque istorum<sup>17</sup> modorum sumatur scire, nihil ab aliquo est scitum quod est sibi ipsi dubium. In cuius tamen contrarium arguam per septem casus.

## I

(5) Suppono primo quod omnis propositio de qua considerat aliquis, quam non scit esse veram nec scit esse falsam, sit sibi dubia. Et cum hoc<sup>18</sup> suppono quod tu scias quod *A* sit altera illarum<sup>19</sup> propositionum 'Deus est' et 'homo est asinus' et lateat te<sup>20</sup> quae illarum sit *A*. Scias tamen quod nihil sit *A* nisi altera illarum quarum<sup>21</sup> unam scias esse necessariam, scilicet illam 'Deus est' et aliam impossibilem, scilicet 'homo est asinus'. Isto casu supposito et admissio arguo sic: cum casu stat quod *A* sit scitum a te; et ex casu sequitur quod *A* est tibi dubium; ergo cum iste casus sit possibilis, sequitur quod possibile est scitum a te esse tibi dubium. Patet consequentia et maior probatur, quia cum casu stat quod *A*<sup>22</sup> sit ista propositio 'Deus est'; sed omnis talis propositio 'Deus est'<sup>23</sup> est scitum a te; ergo cum casu stat quod *A* sit scitum a te. Et minor probatur sic, quia omnis propositio de qua tu consideras quam<sup>24</sup> non scis esse veram nec scis esse falsam est tibi dubia; sed *A* est (V 29ra) propositio de qua consideras quam non scis esse veram nec scis esse falsam; ergo *A* est tibi dubium. Patet consequentia, quia est syllogistica regulata in Darii. Et maior patet per casum et minor probatur sic, quia de *A* consideras; et tu non scis<sup>25</sup> *A* esse verum, nec scis *A* esse falsum; ergo *A* est propositio de qua consideras quam non scis esse veram nec scis esse falsam.

(6) Et eodem<sup>26</sup> casu posito<sup>27</sup> propono tibi *A*. Si dicas<sup>28</sup> quod non intelligis *A*, contra: *A* est propositio de qua consideras et omnem talem propositionem<sup>29</sup> intelligis; ergo *A* intelligis. Patet consequentia. Et minor est nota de se et maior probatur sic, quia utraque illarum propositionum 'Deus est', 'homo est asinus' est propositio de qua consideras; et tu scis quod *A* est altera illarum; ergo *A* est propositio de qua consideras.

<sup>15</sup> terram] terra *V*    <sup>16</sup> Aristot., *Phys.* 1.1 (184a11-13) (ed. A. Mansion [Aristoteles latinus 7.2; Bruges-Paris, 1957], p. 3.5-6; ed. Iunt., fol. 51).    <sup>17</sup> Et ... istorum] sed quaecum illorum *S*

<sup>18</sup> hoc om. *V*    <sup>19</sup> illarum om. *S*    <sup>20</sup> te om. *V*    <sup>21</sup> quarum om. *V*    <sup>22</sup> *A* in marg. *S*

<sup>23</sup> Deus est om. *V*    <sup>24</sup> post quam add. tu *V*    <sup>25</sup> scis iter. *V*    <sup>26</sup> Et eodem] De eadem *S*

<sup>27</sup> posito] retento *S*    <sup>28</sup> dicas] dicis *V*    <sup>29</sup> propositionem in marg. *S*

(7) Si concedas *A*, contra: non maiorem certitudinem habes ad dicendum quod *A* est verum quam ad dicendum quod *A* est falsum; ergo qua ratione tu concedis *A*, eadem ratione debes negare *A*.

(8) Si negas *A*, contra: non maiorem certitudinem habes ad negandum *A*<sup>30</sup> quam ad (S 53r) concedendum *A*; ergo<sup>31</sup> qua ratione negas *A*, eadem ratione debes concedere *A*.

(9) Si dubitas<sup>32</sup> *A*, contra: nihil habes dubitare quod non est tibi dubium; sed nullum *A* est tibi dubium; ergo non habes dubitare *A*.

(10) Patet consequentia et minor probatur sic, quia neutra illarum propositionum 'Deus est', 'homo est asinus' est tibi dubia; sed omne *A* est altera illarum; igitur nullum *A* est tibi dubium.

(11) Ulterius ponatur cum casu<sup>33</sup> priori quod *A* sit ista propositio 'Deus est', sed hoc lateat te. Quo casu supposito sequuntur tales conclusiones:

(12) Aliquam<sup>34</sup> propositionem scis esse veram et tamen tu<sup>35</sup> non scis illam (V 29rb) propositionem esse veram.<sup>36</sup>

(13) *A*<sup>37</sup> scis esse verum et tamen nullum verum scis esse *A*.

(14) *A*<sup>38</sup> scis esse propositionem necessariam et tamen<sup>39</sup> non scis *A* esse propositionem necessariam.

(15) *A*<sup>40</sup> scis esse<sup>41</sup> idem alicui et tamen nullum *A* scis esse idem sibi ipsi *A*, nec aliquod *A* scis esse idem alii<sup>42</sup> ab ipso *A*.

(16) Tu<sup>43</sup> scis *A* esse idem sibi ipsi *A* et tamen nihil scis esse idem sibi ipsi *A*.

(17) Tu<sup>44</sup> scis *A* non differre ab *A* et tamen nullum *A* scis non differre ab *A*.<sup>45</sup>

(18) Prima conclusio probatur sic: *A* propositionem scis esse veram; et tamen<sup>46</sup> non scis *A* propositionem esse veram; ergo veritas primae conclusionis. Patet consequentia. Et antecedens probatur sic et pro maiori sic: quia illam propositionem scis esse veram videlicet 'Deus est'; et illa propositio 'Deus est' est *A* propositio<sup>47</sup> per casum; ergo *A* propositionem scis esse veram.

(19) Item sic: illud quod est *A* propositio scis esse verum; ergo *A* propositionem scis esse veram. Patet consequentia a convertibili ad suum convertibile. Et quod tu non scis *A* propositionem esse veram probatur, quia latet te an *A* propositio sit vera sicut latet te an *A* propositio sit falsa per casum; sed nihil quod latet te est scitum a te; ergo tu non scis *A* propositionem esse veram.

<sup>30</sup> *A om. V*      <sup>31</sup> *ergo] igitur iter. V*      <sup>32</sup> *dubitas] dubites V*      <sup>33</sup> *casu om. V*

<sup>34</sup> *Aliquam] 1 conclusio add. in marg. S*      <sup>35</sup> *tu om. V*      <sup>36</sup> *esse veram in fine lin. superioris scriptum S*      <sup>37</sup> *A] 2 (2<sup>a</sup> V) conclusio add. in marg. SV*      <sup>38</sup> *A] 3 (3<sup>a</sup> V) conclusio add. in marg. SV*      <sup>39</sup> *tamen s.s. et add. tu V*      <sup>40</sup> *A] 4 (4<sup>a</sup> V) conclusio add. in marg. SV*      <sup>41</sup> *esse om. V*      <sup>42</sup> *alii] alio V*      <sup>43</sup> *Tu] 5 (5<sup>a</sup> V) conclusio add. in marg. SV*      <sup>44</sup> *Tu] 6 (6<sup>a</sup> V) conclusio add. in marg. SV*      <sup>45</sup> *Aliquam propositionem ... ab A] sublin. S*      <sup>46</sup> *tamen] tu S*      <sup>47</sup> *propositio om. V*

(20) Secunda conclusio probatur sic, videlicet quod *A* scis esse verum et tamen nullum verum scis esse *A*. Probatur sic, quia illud quod est *A* scis esse verum; et nullum verum scis esse illud quod est *A*; ergo *A* scis esse verum et nullum verum scis esse *A*. Patet consequentia a convertibili ad suum convertibile, quia illa propositio in sensu diviso '*A* scis esse verum' non plus significat nisi quod illud quod est *A* scis esse verum. Patet consequentia. Et maior probatur sic: quia hoc complexum '*Deus est*' scis esse verum; et hoc complexum '*Deus est*' est<sup>48</sup> illud quod est *A*; ergo illud quod est *A* scis esse verum. Et quod nullum verum scis esse illud quod est *A* probatur, quia nec hoc verum '*Deus est*' scis<sup>49</sup> esse illud quod est *A* (V 29va) nec aliquid<sup>50</sup> aliud verum; ergo nullum verum<sup>51</sup> scis esse illud quod est *A*.

(21) Tertia conclusio probatur sic, videlicet quod *A* scis esse propositionem necessariam et tamen tu non scis *A* esse propositionem necessariam. (S 53v) Prima pars probatur sic, quod illud quod est *A* scis esse propositionem necessariam; ergo *A* scis esse propositionem necessariam. Patet consequentia a convertibili ad suum convertibile et antecedens probatur sic,<sup>52</sup> quia hoc complexum '*Deus est*' scis esse propositionem necessariam; et hoc complexum '*Deus est*' est<sup>53</sup> illud quod est *A*; ergo illud quod est *A* scis esse propositionem necessariam. Et quod tu non scis *A* propositionem esse necessariam probatur, quia latet te an *A* sit propositio necessaria sicut latet te an *A* sit propositio<sup>54</sup> impossibilis per casum; sed nihil quod latet te<sup>55</sup> est scitum a te; igitur<sup>56</sup> non scis *A* esse<sup>57</sup> propositionem necessariam.

(22) Quarta conclusio probatur sic, videlicet quod *A* scis esse idem alicui<sup>58</sup> et tamen nullum *A* scis esse idem sibi ipsi *A*, nec aliquod *A* scis esse idem alii ab ipso *A*.

(23) Prima pars probatur, quia illud quod est *A* scis esse idem alicui; ergo *A* scis esse idem alicui. Antecedens probatur, quia hoc complexum '*Deus est*' scis esse idem alicui; et hoc complexum '*Deus est*' est illud quod est *A* per casum; ergo illud quod est *A* scis esse idem alicui.

(24) Et secunda pars probatur<sup>59</sup> sic, videlicet quod nullum *A* scis esse idem sibi ipsi *A*, quia si *A* scis esse idem sibi ipsi *A*; ergo illud<sup>60</sup> quod est *A* scis esse idem sibi ipsi *A*. Patet consequentia a convertibili ad<sup>61</sup> convertibile. Et tunc ultra: illud quod est *A* scis esse idem sibi<sup>62</sup> ipsi *A*; sed<sup>63</sup> omne quod est *A* est '*Deus est*' secundum casum; ergo hoc complexum '*Deus est*' scis esse idem sibi<sup>64</sup> ipsi *A*. Consequens falsum, quia nescis an hoc verum '*Deus est*' fuerit *A* vel non.

<sup>48</sup> est om. V      <sup>49</sup> scis iter. sed del. S      <sup>50</sup> aliquid] aliquod V      <sup>51</sup> verum om. V  
<sup>52</sup> sic om. V      <sup>53</sup> est om. S      <sup>54</sup> necessaria ... propositio om. (per hom.) V      <sup>55</sup> te om. S  
<sup>56</sup> te igitur] tu S      <sup>57</sup> esse s.s. S      <sup>58</sup> post alicui add. A V      <sup>59</sup> probatur om. V      <sup>60</sup> illud]  
aliquod S      <sup>61</sup> post ad add. suum V      <sup>62</sup> sibi om. V      <sup>63</sup> sed] igitur S      <sup>64</sup> sibi om. V



(25) Item, si *A* scis esse idem alii ab ipso *A*, ergo illud quod est *A* scis esse<sup>65</sup> idem alii ab ipso *A*.

(26) Quinta conclusio<sup>66</sup> probatur sic, videlicet quod tu scis *A* esse idem sibi<sup>67</sup> ipsi *A* et tamen<sup>68</sup> (V 29vb) nihil scis esse idem sibi<sup>69</sup> ipsi *A*. Probatur sic prima pars: quia tu scis *A* esse *A*;<sup>70</sup> ergo tu scis *A* esse idem sibi ipsi *A*. Antecedens probatur sic: quia tu credis firmiter sine haesitatione *A* esse *A*; et sic est a parte rei quod *A*<sup>71</sup> est *A*; ergo scientia communiter dicta scis *A* esse *A*. Et quod nihil scis esse idem sibi ipsi *A* probatur, quia si aliquid scis esse idem sibi ipsi *A*, vel ergo hoc aliquid est 'Deus est' vel 'homo est asinus'. Si dicatur quod 'Deus est', contra: tu non scis quod 'Deus est' est *A* per casum; ergo tu non scis<sup>72</sup> 'Deus est' esse idem sibi ipsi *A*. Si dicatur quod hoc complexum 'homo est asinus' scis esse idem sibi ipsi *A*, contra: tu non scis quod hoc complexum 'homo est asinus' est *A* per casum; ergo tu non scis hoc complexum 'homo est asinus' esse<sup>73</sup> idem sibi ipsi *A*.

(27) Sexta conclusio probatur sic, videlicet quod tu<sup>74</sup> scis *A* non<sup>75</sup> differre ab *A* et tamen nullum *A* scis non differre ab *A*. Prima pars probatur<sup>76</sup> sic, quia tu<sup>77</sup> scis quod *A* non differt ab *A*, quia tu scis quod *A* est idem sibi ipsi *A*, ut probatum est superius;<sup>78</sup> ergo tu scis *A* non differre ab *A*. Et quod nullum *A* scis non differre ab *A* probatur, quia, si *A* scis non differre ab *A*, ergo illud quod est *A* scis non differre (S 54r) ab *A*.<sup>79</sup> Patet consequentia a<sup>80</sup> convertibili ad<sup>81</sup> convertibile. Et consequens est falsum, quia nec hoc quod est *A* demonstrando 'Deus est' scis non differre ab *A*, nec hoc quod est *A* demonstrando 'homo est asinus' scis non differre ab *A*; et nihil est *A* nisi alterum illorum; ergo nihil quod est *A* scis non differre ab *A*.

(28) Ad istam<sup>82</sup> respondeo et primo ad suppositionem, quando supponitur quod omnis propositio de qua considerat aliquis etc., admittendo illam suppositionem tamquam possibilem et non tamquam necessariam nec tamquam sequentem,<sup>83</sup> quia non sequitur 'haec est propositio de qua consideras quam non scis esse veram nec scis esse falsam; ergo haec propositio est (V 30ra) tibi dubia', quia forte tu credis illam firmiter sine haesitatione, et cum hoc ista est falsa. Et tunc nec dubitas illam nec scis illam esse veram, nec scis illam esse falsam, sicut posito<sup>84</sup> quod cum<sup>85</sup> consimilibus circumstantiis veniret unus homo qui non esset rex, sed quod diceretur ab omnibus quod esset rex. Et<sup>86</sup> tunc illa propositio 'ille est rex' non est<sup>87</sup> scita a me esse falsa, quia non credo

<sup>65</sup> esse in marg. V    <sup>66</sup> conclusio] regula V    <sup>67</sup> sibi om. V    <sup>68</sup> tamen] tu S    <sup>69</sup> sibi om. V    <sup>70</sup> A om. V    <sup>71</sup> A om. V    <sup>72</sup> post scis add. quod V    <sup>73</sup> esse] est S    <sup>74</sup> post tu add. non V    <sup>75</sup> non s.s. S, om. V    <sup>76</sup> probatur om. V    <sup>77</sup> tu om. V    <sup>78</sup> Cf. supra, initium parag. 26    <sup>79</sup> Et quod ... A om. (per hom.) V    <sup>80</sup> a om. V    <sup>81</sup> post ad add. suum V    <sup>82</sup> istam] ista V    <sup>83</sup> sequentem ut vid. SV    <sup>84</sup> posito] proposito S    <sup>85</sup> cum] sine V  
<sup>86</sup> Et om. V    <sup>87</sup> est om. V

istam esse falsam, nec est mihi dubia, quia credo illam esse veram firmiter sine haesitatione, id est sine dubitatione. Nam 'haesito, -as',<sup>88</sup> idem est quod dubitare. Et tunc ad argumentum quando sic arguitur 'omnis propositio de qua considerat<sup>89</sup> aliquis' etc., conceditur consequentia et negatur minor<sup>90</sup> scilicet quod *A* est propositio de qua consideras quam non scis esse veram nec scis esse falsam. Et tunc ad argumentum quando sic arguitur '*A* est propositio de qua consideras; et tu<sup>91</sup> non scis *A* esse verum nec scis *A* esse falsum; ergo *A* est propositio de qua consideras quam non scis esse veram, nec scis esse falsam', negatur consequentia. Arguitur enim ibi a sensu composito ad sensum divisum. Et sic non valet consequentia.

(29) Et dicitur propositio esse in sensu diviso multipliciter. Uno modo quando modus modalis dividit propositionem, ut hic 'album possibile est esse nigrum'. Alio modo quando propositio sumitur copulative vel hypothetice et non categorice.

(30) Unde sciendum pro regula quod tantum tribus modis<sup>92</sup> convertitur sensus compositus cum sensu diviso, et hoc mediante<sup>93</sup> hoc verbo 'scire'. Uno modo quando subiectum est pronomen demonstrativum simplex, ut 'hoc scio currere; ergo scio quod<sup>94</sup> hoc currit'. Alio modo quando pronomen demonstrativum componitur<sup>95</sup> cum termino convertibili cum praedicato, ut 'hoc rudibile<sup>96</sup> scio esse (V 30rb) asinum;<sup>97</sup> ergo scio quod hoc rudibile est asinus'. Tertio modo quando pronomen demonstrativum componitur cum termino qui<sup>98</sup> est superior ad praedicatum, ut 'hoc coloratum scio esse album; ergo scio quod hoc coloratum<sup>99</sup> est album'.

(31) Sed in aliis debent multae propositiones concedi<sup>100</sup> (S 54v) in sensu composito quibus<sup>1</sup> consimiles debent negari in sensu diviso, sicut patet de omnibus illis conclusionibus deductis quae omnes concedendae sunt. Unde stante primo casu et non addito quod *A* sit ista<sup>2</sup> 'Deus est', concedendae sunt istae disiunctivae '*A* scio esse verum vel *A* scio esse falsum', '*A* scio esse scitum a me vel *A* scio esse<sup>3</sup> nescitum a me', '*A* scio esse necessarium vel *A* scio esse impossibile'. Sed quaelibet illarum<sup>4</sup> per se proposita est dubitanda. Unde illa est dubitanda '*A* scio esse verum' et illa similiter '*A* scio esse falsum'. Et tamen negandae sunt<sup>5</sup> istae propositiones in sensu composito 'scio *A* esse verum vel scio *A* esse falsum', 'scio *A* esse scitum a me vel scio *A* esse mihi dubium'. Similiter dubitandae sunt istae '*A* est verum', '*A* est falsum', '*A* est scitum', sed negandae sunt<sup>6</sup> istae '*A* est mihi dubium', '*A* dubito esse verum', '*A* dubito esse

<sup>88</sup> haesito, -as] haesito, -tas V      <sup>89</sup> considerat] consideras V      <sup>90</sup> minor] minorem S  
<sup>91</sup> tu] tamen V      <sup>92</sup> modis] modus S      <sup>93</sup> post mediante add. cum S      <sup>94</sup> scio quod s.s. S  
<sup>95</sup> componitur] proponitur V      <sup>96</sup> rudibile] rudibile S      <sup>97</sup> asinum] esse asinum V  
<sup>98</sup> qui] quae S      <sup>99</sup> coloratum] coloratu V      <sup>100</sup> concedi om. V      <sup>1</sup> quibus] quae S  
<sup>2</sup> ista om. V      <sup>3</sup> esse om. S      <sup>4</sup> illarum in marg. S      <sup>5</sup> sunt iter. V      <sup>6</sup> sunt] sum S

falsum', 'A dubito esse necessarium', 'A dubito esse impossibile'. Sed concedendae sunt omnes istae de disiuncto extremo, 'scio A esse verum vel falsum', 'A scio esse verum vel falsum', 'scio A esse necessarium vel impossibile', et sic de aliis.

(32) Ulterius ad secundum argumentum, quando opponens dicit 'propono tibi A', hic dico negando quod ipse proponit mihi A, et causa est, quia nec proponit mihi illam 'Deus est' nec istam 'homo est asinus'; et nihil est A nisi altera illarum; ergo.<sup>7</sup>

## II

(33) Secundo principaliter sic arguo<sup>8</sup> ad idem sophisma probandum. Et suppono quod tu scis<sup>9</sup> A esse verum istorum contradictoriorum (V 30va) 'rex sedet' et 'nullus rex sedet'. Sed nescias tamen quid<sup>10</sup> istorum sit verum, nec scias quid<sup>11</sup> istorum sit<sup>12</sup> A. Sed scias quod quodcumque illorum<sup>13</sup> sit verum, ipsum sit<sup>14</sup> A, et scias quod nihil sit<sup>15</sup> A nisi verum istorum.

(34) Isto casu supposito et admissio facio tibi hanc consequentiam 'si A est verum, hoc est verum'. Et<sup>16</sup> demonstro per ly hoc in consequente A.<sup>17</sup> Et arguo sic: illa consequentia est bona scita a te esse bona; et antecedens est scitum a te; ergo consequens est scitum a te; et idem consequens est tibi dubium; ergo scitum a te est tibi dubium. Et quod ista consequentia sit bona probatur,<sup>18</sup> quia antecedens et consequens sunt omnino convertibilia; ergo deductio facta ab antecedente ad consequens est bona. Assumptum probatur, quia quidquid significatur per antecedens significatur per consequens et e contra; et quidquid significatur per subiectum antecedentis vel praedicatum<sup>19</sup> antecedentis significatur per subiectum vel praedicatum<sup>20</sup> consequentis et<sup>21</sup> e contra; ergo antecedens et consequens sunt omnino<sup>22</sup> convertibilia. Et quod consequens<sup>23</sup> sit tibi dubium probatur, videlicet quod hoc est verum, quia nihil demon(S 55r)stratur per ly hoc nisi alterum illorum 'rex sedet' vel 'nullus rex sedet'; sed sive unum sive alterum demonstratur per ly hoc ista propositio est tibi dubia; ergo ista propositio est tibi dubia. Patet consequentia, et maior probatur sic, quia nihil demonstratur per ly hoc nisi A; et omne A est alterum istorum per casum; ergo nihil demonstratur per ly hoc nisi alterum illorum. Et minor probatur sic, videlicet quod sive unum sive alterum demonstratur<sup>24</sup> quod ista propositio est tibi dubia, quia propono<sup>25</sup> 'hoc est verum' et demonstro<sup>26</sup> per ly hoc 'rex sedet', constat quod illam habes dubitare; item propono tibi 'hoc est verum' et

<sup>7</sup> ergo om. V    <sup>8</sup> arguo sic V    <sup>9</sup> scis] scias V    <sup>10</sup> quid] quod SV    <sup>11</sup> quid] quod V,  
non leg. S (s.s.)    <sup>12</sup> sit] est V    <sup>13</sup> illorum in marg. S    <sup>14</sup> sit] est V    <sup>15</sup> sit] est V  
<sup>16</sup> Et om. V    <sup>17</sup> A om. V    <sup>18</sup> probatur] proponitur V    <sup>19</sup> praedicatum] praedicatam V  
<sup>20</sup> praedicatum] praedicatam V    <sup>21</sup> et om. V    <sup>22</sup> omnino] omnia S    <sup>23</sup> consequens]  
antecedens V    <sup>24</sup> per ly hoc nisi A ... demonstratur] om. (per hom.) V    <sup>25</sup> post propono  
add. tibi V    <sup>26</sup> demonstro] demonstratur V

demonstro per ly hoc 'nullus rex sedet'; constat etiam quod illam habes dubitare; ergo sive unum sive alterum demonstretur per ly hoc, illa propositio 'hoc est verum' est tibi dubia.

(35) Item arguo sic: omnem propositionem quam scis esse veram scis; sed tu scis *A* propositionem esse veram; ergo *A* scis; et *A* est tibi dubium, quia quodlibet illorum est tibi dubium 'rex sedet' et 'nullus rex sedet'; sed *A* est alterum illorum; ergo *A* est tibi dubium; ergo sophisma.

(36) Ad istud respondeo admittendo casum, et nego quod *A* est scitum a me, et (V 30vb) nego quod ista propositio 'hoc est verum' est scita a me. Sed utraque est mihi dubia. Et tunc ad argumentum '*A* est verum; ergo hoc est verum', per ly hoc demonstrando *A*, concedo istam consequentiam gratia materiae. Et tunc ad argumentum quando<sup>27</sup> sic arguitur 'ista consequentia est bona scita a te esse bona; et antecedens est scitum a te; ergo consequens est scitum a te', hic respondeo dupliciter. Vel concedendo consequentiam secundum Magistrum tractatus et negando quod illa consequentia est scita a me esse bona,<sup>28</sup> tamquam propositionem repugnantem casui. Nec concedo istam consequentiam quia scio ipsam<sup>29</sup> esse bonam, sed quia sequitur ex casu et ex circumstantiis casus quod illa consequentia sit bona, saltem gratia<sup>30</sup> materiae vel gratia formae.<sup>31</sup>

(37) Vel aliter dico secundum Bilond in *Obiectionibus consequentiarum* negando istam consequentiam, videlicet hanc 'ista consequentia est bona scita a te esse bona; et antecedens est scitum a te; ergo consequens'. Nam ad hoc inquit quod consequentia valeret,<sup>32</sup> oportet sic arguere: 'illa consequentia est bona scita a te esse bona; et tu scis qualitercumque antecedens significat primarie<sup>33</sup> et qualitercumque consequens significat primarie; et cum hoc antecedens est scitum a te; ergo consequens'.<sup>34</sup> Et tunc concedenda est consequentia et negandum est quod tu scis quomodo et qualitercumque consequens significat primarie, quia tu non scis an vere consequens<sup>35</sup> significet primarie nec tu scis an

<sup>27</sup> quando] unde (?) *S*, om. *V*    <sup>28</sup> bona] bonam *V*    <sup>29</sup> ipsam] illam *V*    <sup>30</sup> gratia] gratiae *V*    <sup>31</sup> William Heytesbury, *Regulae solvendi sophismata* 2 ('De scire et dubitare') (Venice, 1494), fol. 14vb: 'Ad secundum argumentum respondeo et admitto totum usque ad illam consequentiam quando arguitur "si *A* est verum, hoc est verum", et concedo istam consequentiam. Et ulterius quando arguitur "ista consequentia est bona et scita a te esse bona; et antecedens est scitum a te; igitur et consequens", concedo illam consequentiam et nego maiorem. Non enim concedo illam consequentiam quia scio illam esse bonam sed quia sequitur "si *A* est, hoc est", et e contra. Et ideo in casu sequitur "si *A* est verum, hoc est verum". Et ideo concedo illam consequentiam tamquam sequentem ex casu, non quia sciatur a me esse bona. Ipsam enim sciri a me esse bonam sic significando expresse repugnat casui.'    <sup>32</sup> valeret] valeat *V*    <sup>33</sup> primarie om. *V*    <sup>34</sup> *Libellus sophistarum ad usum Cantabrigiensium* (London, 1510) (*Short-Title Catalogue*, no. 15576), sign. Cvi: 'Ideo pro isto dicatur quod ista est recta: si sit aliqua consequentia bona scita a te esse bona et antecedens est scitum a te et non repugnat consequens sciri a te, et scis qualiter antecedens (natecedens *ed.*) et consequens primarie significat, sequitur quod consequens est scitum a te.' Vide introductionem supra.    <sup>35</sup> vere consequens] consequens vere *sed cum signis inversionis inv. V*

false consequens significet primarie. Et tunc ad aliud argumentum quando sic arguitur 'omnem propositionem quam (S 55v) scis esse veram scis; sed tu scis *A* propositionem esse veram; ergo *A* scis', hic dico negando consequentiam eo quod in antecedente est mixtio ex sensu diviso et ex sensu composito. Nam maior sumitur in sensu diviso et minor in sensu<sup>36</sup> composito et ideo consequentia non valet.

(38) Ex prioribus sequuntur quattuor conclusiones quarum prima est ista:

(39) Tu<sup>37</sup> scis *A* propositionem esse veram et tamen tu non scis aliquod *A*.

(40) Tu<sup>38</sup> scis *A* (V 31ra) propositionem esse veram et tamen quodlibet *A* est tibi dubium.

(41) Tu<sup>39</sup> scis aliquam propositionem esse veram<sup>40</sup> et tamen quaelibet propositio est tibi dubia.

(42) Tu<sup>41</sup> scis aliquam propositionem esse veram quam non scis esse veram.

(43) Prima conclusio probatur sic, quia tu scis *A* esse verum illorum contradictoriorum 'rex sedet' et 'nullus rex sedet'; ergo tu scis *A* propositionem esse veram. Patet consequentia et maior sequitur ex casu. Et secunda pars conclusionis probatur sic, quia tu non scis aliquod illorum contradictoriorum 'rex sedet' et 'nullus rex sedet'; et omne *A* est aliquod illorum; ergo tu non scis aliquod *A*.

(44) Et sic sequitur secunda conclusio, videlicet quod tu scis *A* propositionem esse veram et tamen quodlibet *A* est tibi dubium. Prima pars patet ex probatione prioris et secunda particula probatur sic, quia quodlibet illorum est tibi dubium, demonstrando per ly istorum 'rex sedet' et 'nullus rex sedet'; et quodlibet *A* est alterum istorum; ergo quodlibet *A* est tibi dubium.

(45) Tertia<sup>42</sup> conclusio probatur sic, quia posito quod non essent plures propositiones in toto mundo quam<sup>43</sup> istae duae 'rex sedet' et 'nullus rex sedet' et quod tu scias quod omnium contradictoriorum alterum sit verum, tunc probatur conclusio sic, quia tu scis quod alterum istorum<sup>44</sup> est verum, demonstrando 'rex sedet' et 'nullus rex sedet'; et utrumque istorum est aliqua propositio; ergo tu scis quod aliqua propositio est vera; et si sic; ergo tu scis aliquam propositionem esse veram. Et secunda pars probatur sic, quia utraque istarum est tibi dubia 'rex sedet' et 'nullus rex sedet'; sed<sup>45</sup> quaelibet propositio est altera istarum; ergo quaelibet propositio est tibi dubia.

(46) Quarta conclusio probatur sufficienter superius in tractatu *De modalibus*.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>36</sup> in sensu] sumitur *V*      <sup>37</sup> Tu] 1 (1<sup>a</sup> *V*) conclusio *add. in marg. SV*      <sup>38</sup> Tu] 2 (2<sup>a</sup> *V*) conclusio *add. in marg. SV*      <sup>39</sup> Tu] 3 (3<sup>a</sup> *V*) conclusio *add. in marg. SV*      <sup>40</sup> *post veram add. quam non scis esse veram V (cf. parag. 42)*      <sup>41</sup> Tu] 4 (4<sup>a</sup> *V*) conclusio *add. in marg. SV*      <sup>42</sup> Tertia] Secunda *S*      <sup>43</sup> quam] contra (?) *S*      <sup>44</sup> istorum *om. V*      <sup>45</sup> sed] et *V*  
<sup>46</sup> Richard Lavenham, *De terminis modalibus et propositionibus modalibus* (London, British

## III

(47) Tertio arguitur ad idem sophisma probandum sic: ponatur quod tu scias quod hoc sit hoc demonstrato Sorte,<sup>47</sup> id est quod haec res sit haec res, nescias tamen quod hoc sit Sortes (V 31rb), sed scias quod illa propositio 'hoc est hoc' praecise significet quod hoc est hoc et quod illa propositio 'hoc est Sortes' praecise significet quod hoc<sup>48</sup> sit Sortes. Et sit Sortes hic coram te quem scias esse hominem, nescias tamen ipsum esse Sortem. Isto casu supposito probatur sophisma sic: ista propositio 'hoc est Sortes' est scita a te; et eadem est tibi dubia; ergo scitum a te est tibi dubium. Quod ista sit dubia probatur, quia tu scis illam praecise significare sicut tu dubitas esse; ergo ista est tibi dubia. (S 56r) Antecedens probatur, quia tu scis istam praecise significare quod<sup>49</sup> hoc est Sortes, ut patet ex casu; et<sup>50</sup> dubitas esse; ergo tu scis istam praecise significare sicut tu dubitas esse. Et quod ista sit scita a te probatur, quia tu<sup>51</sup> scis illam praecise significare sicut tu scis esse; ergo tu scis illam. Antecedens probatur sic, quia tu scis quod illa propositio praecise<sup>52</sup> significat quod hoc est Sortes; et tu scis quod hoc est Sortes; ergo tu scis illam praecise significare sicut tu scis esse.<sup>53</sup> Patet consequentia et maior ex casu. Et minor probatur sic, quia tu scis hanc propositionem 'hoc est hoc' demonstrato Sorte; ergo qualitercumque ista significat, ita scis esse; sed ista significat quod hoc est Sortes; ergo<sup>54</sup> scis quod hoc est Sortes. Et quod ista significat quod hoc est Sortes probatur, quia ista significat quod hoc est iste homo; sed nihil est iste homo, nisi Sortes; ergo ista significat quod hoc est Sortes.

(48) Ad istud respondeo negando casum sub forma qua<sup>55</sup> ponitur. Et causa est, quia ponitur in casu quod illa propositio 'hoc est hoc' praecise significet quod<sup>56</sup> hoc est hoc, et hoc est impossibile, quia non est possibile quod ista propositio 'hoc est hoc' significet quod hoc est hoc nisi significet quod hoc est et

Library Sloane 3899, fol. 28r-v): 'Item supposito quod non essent plures propositiones in toto mundo quam istae duae "rex sedet" et "nullus rex sedet" et quod tu consideres de illis et scias istas propositiones esse contradictoria et scias cum toto casu quod nulla contradictoria sunt simul vera (f. 28v) nec simul falsa, sed quod una sit vera, alia falsa, quo casu supposito sequuntur tales conclusiones: "Tu scis aliquam propositionem esse veram et tamen nullam propositionem scis esse veram", "Tu scis aliquam propositionem esse veram et tamen quaelibet propositio est tibi dubia". Prima conclusio probatur sic, quia tu scis quod alterum istorum contradictoriorum "rex sedet" et "nullus rex sedet" est verum; et tu scis quod utraque istarum est aliqua propositio; ergo tu scis quod aliqua propositio est vera; et per consequens tu scis aliquam propositionem esse veram. Et tamen nullam scis esse veram, quia nec istam "rex sedet" nec istam "nullus rex sedet", quia utraque istarum est tibi dubia et non sunt plures propositiones per casum.'  
<sup>47</sup> demonstrato Sorte] demonstrando per ly hoc Sortem V <sup>48</sup> est hoc et ... hoc om. (per hom.)  
V <sup>49</sup> quod] quia V <sup>50</sup> post et add. sic V <sup>51</sup> tu om. V <sup>52</sup> praecise om. V <sup>53</sup> esse  
om. V <sup>54</sup> post ergo add. tu V <sup>55</sup> qual] contra (?) S <sup>56</sup> quod iter. V

quod aliquid est et omnia huiusmodi<sup>57</sup> quae sequuntur ex ista in bona consequentia. Et ideo nec ista propositio 'hoc est hoc' nec ista propositio 'hoc est Sortes' possunt sic praecise significare.

(49) Possunt tamen sic primo et principaliter significare et si sic ponatur, admitto casum et nego quod ista propositio 'hoc est Sortes' est scita a me. Sed est mihi dubia. (V 31va)

(50) Et ad argumentum, quando arguitur quod illa propositio sit scita a te sic: 'quia tu scis istam praecise significare sicut tu scis esse; ergo', etc., negatur antecedens. Et tunc ad hoc<sup>58</sup> argumentum 'tu scis istam propositionem "hoc est hoc"; ergo qualitercumque ista significat ita scis esse', negatur consequentia. Unde ad concludendum talem conclusionem, oportet sic arguere 'scio illam propositionem; et aliquid scio istam significare; ergo qualitercumque scio istam significare<sup>59</sup> ita scio esse'. Et hoc est verum, quia solummodo scio istam significare quod hoc est hoc.

(51) Circa materiam argumenti praedicti ponuntur aliquae conclusiones ad propositum pertinentes, quarum prima est haec:

(52) Sortem<sup>60</sup> scis esse hominem et tamen nullum hominem scis esse Sortem.

(53) Tu<sup>61</sup> diligis Sortem et tamen tu nescis te diligere Sortem.

(54) Tu<sup>62</sup> odis istum hominem et tamen tu non scis te odire illum hominem.

(55) Tu<sup>63</sup> diligis aliquem hominem et odis eundem et tamen<sup>64</sup> non scis te diligere aliquem hominem et odire eundem.

(56) Prima conclusio probatur sic, (S 56v) quia hoc scis esse hominem demonstrando per ly hoc Sortem; ergo Sortem scis esse hominem. Patet consequentia a convertibili ad<sup>65</sup> convertibile et antecedens patet ex casu. Et secunda pars probatur, quia nec istum hominem scis esse Sortem, nec aliquem hominem<sup>66</sup> alium, ut suppono; ergo veritas<sup>67</sup> secundae partis.

(57) Secunda conclusio probatur sic, videlicet quod tu diligis Sortem et tamen tu nescis te diligere Sortem. Suppono quod Sortes interfecit patrem tuum<sup>68</sup> te praesente et recedat in partes longinquas et quod post multos annos revertatur habitu mutato, ita quod non cognoscas eum, et serviat tibi per multos annos laudabiliter et placentur et per totum illud tempus credas tu firmiter sine haesitatione Sortem esse in remotis partibus, quem si scieris posses cognoscere et apprehendere velles occidere. Isto casu supposito et admissio probatur prima pars conclusionis sic: tu diligis istum (V 31vb) hominem qui<sup>69</sup> tibi placentur famulatur;<sup>70</sup> et iste homo est Sortes; ergo tu diligis Sortem. Probatur conse-

<sup>57</sup> *sup.* huiusmodi *add.* id est talia (?) S

<sup>58</sup> hoc s.s. S, *om.* V

<sup>59</sup> significare *om.* S

<sup>60</sup> Sortem] 1 conclusio *add.* in *marg.* S

<sup>61</sup> Tu] Tamen V, 2 conclusio *add.* in *marg.* S

<sup>62</sup> Tu] 3 conclusio *add.* in *marg.* S

<sup>63</sup> Tu] 4 conclusio *add.* in *marg.* S

<sup>64</sup> *post* tamen *add.*

tu V <sup>65</sup> *post* ad *add.* suum V

<sup>66</sup> hominem *om.* V

<sup>67</sup> veritas *om.* S

<sup>68</sup> tuum] suum

V <sup>69</sup> qui] igitur V

<sup>70</sup> placentur famulatur] famulatur placentur *sed cum signis inversionis*

*inv.* S

quentia per assimile, quia sequitur 'tu diligis istum hominem; et ille homo est Ioannes; ergo tu diligis Ioannem'. Patet consequentia. Et minor patet ex casu et maior probatur,<sup>71</sup> quia iste homo placet tibi per famulatum suum et servitium; ergo<sup>72</sup> diligis istum propter famulatum et servitium. Et secunda pars conclusionis probatur sic, videlicet quod tu nescis te diligere Sortem, quia tu non scis te diligere Sortem;<sup>73</sup> et tu es; ergo tu nescis te diligere Sortem. Patet consequentia. Et maior probatur, quia tu non scis te diligere illum hominem quem odis propter patricidium; sed solus Sortes est iste homo quem odis propter patricidium;<sup>74</sup> ergo tu non scis te diligere Sortem.

(58) Tertia conclusio probatur sic, videlicet quod tu odis istum hominem et tamen tu nescis te odire illum hominem. Prima pars probatur<sup>75</sup> sic, quia tu odis Sortem; et nullus est Sortes nisi iste homo, ut suppono; ergo tu odis istum hominem. Maior probatur, quia tu aliquando odisti Sortem propter patricidium; et non adhuc desiisti<sup>76</sup> odire istum ut suppono; ergo tu adhuc odis Sortem.<sup>77</sup> Et secunda pars conclusionis probatur sic, quia tu credis te ipsum diligere istum hominem propter servitium; ergo tu non scis te odire istum hominem; et per consequens tu nescis te odire illum hominem.<sup>78</sup>

(59) Quarta conclusio probatur sic, videlicet quod tu diligis aliquem hominem et odis eundem, et tamen tu non scis te diligere aliquem hominem et odire eundem. Prima pars conclusionis probatur sic, quia tu diligis Sortem (S 57r) et odis eundem; ergo etc. Antecedens probatur, quia tu diligis illum hominem et odis istum hominem sicut superius probatum est; et iste<sup>79</sup> homo est Sortes; ergo tu diligis Sortem et odis eundem. Et secunda pars conclusionis patet de se, quia eius contradictorium est falsum, videlicet quod tu scis te diligere (V 32ra) aliquem hominem et odire eundem.

#### IV

(60) Quarto arguitur sic principaliter ad idem sophisma probandum: ponatur quod unus homo sit hic coram te qui sit Sortes. Nescias tamen an sit Sortes, sed scias tu<sup>80</sup> bene quod ille sit Sortes vel Plato. Et cum hoc suppono quod tu scias hanc propositionem 'hoc est Sortes' primo et principaliter praecise<sup>81</sup> significare<sup>82</sup> quod hoc<sup>83</sup> est Sortes. Isto casu supposito et admissio arguo sic: illa propositio 'hoc est Sortes' est scita a te; et eadem est tibi dubia; ergo scitum a te est tibi dubium. Patet consequentia. Et minor probatur sicut superius et maior arguitur

<sup>71</sup> probatur] sic V    <sup>72</sup> post ergo add. tu V    <sup>73</sup> Sortem om. V    <sup>74</sup> sed ... patricidium om. (per hom.) V    <sup>75</sup> Prima pars probatur] probatur prima pars V    <sup>76</sup> desiisti] desivisti sed -v- exp. V    <sup>77</sup> Sortem om. S    <sup>78</sup> hominem om. V    <sup>79</sup> et iste] igitur et V    <sup>80</sup> tu om. V    <sup>81</sup> praecise in marg. V, om. S    <sup>82</sup> post significare add. sed eras. praecise S    <sup>83</sup> hoc s.s. S



sic: quia tu scis illam propositionem; ergo illa propositio<sup>84</sup> est scita a te. Antecedens arguitur sic: qualitercumque illa significat primo et principaliter ita scis esse; et qualitercumque illa significat primo et principaliter<sup>85</sup> scis illam significare; et non aliquid aliter ista significat primo et principaliter latet te significare; ergo tu scis illam propositionem. Patet consequentia et minor ex casu. Et maiorem probo sic, quia tu scis quod hoc est Sortes vel Plato; et tu scis istam propositionem 'hoc est Sortes' primo et principaliter significare praecise quod hoc est Sortes vel Plato; ergo qualitercumque ista propositio primo et principaliter significat, scis istam significare. Patet consequentia et maior sequitur ex casu. Et minor probatur sic, quia tu scis illam propositionem primo et principaliter significare praecise quod<sup>86</sup> hoc est Sortes; ergo tu scis illam propositionem primo et principaliter significare<sup>87</sup> praecise quod hoc est Sortes vel Plato. Si negatur consequentia, contra: hic arguitur a parte disiuncti ad totum disiunctum affirmative; ergo consequentia est<sup>88</sup> bona.

(61) Ad ista respondeo admittendo casum et negatur quod ista propositio 'hoc est Sortes' sit scita a te. Et tunc ad argumentum quando sic arguitur<sup>89</sup> 'qualitercumque illa<sup>90</sup> primo et principaliter significat ita scis esse; et qualitercumque illa primo et principaliter significat scis illam significare et non aliter;<sup>91</sup> ergo etc.', conceditur (V 32rb) consequentia et negatur maior. Et tunc ad ultimum argumentum quando sic arguitur 'tu scis illam propositionem primo et principaliter significare praecise quod hoc est Sortes; ergo tu scis illam primo et principaliter significare praecise<sup>92</sup> quod hoc est Sortes vel Plato', negatur consequentia. Et tunc ad regulam, quando sic arguitur 'hic arguitur a parte disiuncti (S 57v) ad totum disiunctum affirmative; ergo consequentia est bona', negatur consequentia. Unde regula ista non tenet nisi quando arguitur sine aliqua dictione habente vim negationis. Sed ista dictio 'praecise' est dictio exclusiva et includit in se<sup>93</sup> negationem, quia includit exponentem affirmativam et negativam. Et quod ista regula non teneat<sup>94</sup> cum termino habente vim negationis patet per exemplum. Nam non sequitur 'tu differs<sup>95</sup> ab asino; ergo tu differs ab homine vel<sup>96</sup> ab asino'. Et tamen hic arguitur a parte disiuncti ad totum disiunctum affirmative. Nam antecedens est verum sicut patet per exponentes, et consequens est falsum sicut patet per exponentes. Nam consequens sic exponitur 'tu es et homo vel asinus est et tu non es homo vel asinus'. Et sic tertia exponens<sup>97</sup> est falsa; et per consequens tota propositio. Et per hoc patet responsio ad argumentum principale.

<sup>84</sup> propositio *om.* V<sup>85</sup> ita ... principaliter *om.* (*per hom.*) V<sup>86</sup> quod *om.* V<sup>87</sup> significare *om.* V<sup>88</sup> est *s.s.* S<sup>89</sup> arguitur sic V<sup>90</sup> post illa *add.* propositio V<sup>91</sup> aliter] aliquid aliter V<sup>92</sup> praecise *om.* V<sup>93</sup> se *om.* S<sup>94</sup> teneat] tenet V<sup>95</sup> differs]

differs (?) V

<sup>96</sup> vel *om.* V<sup>97</sup> exponens *om.* S

## V

(62) Quinto arguitur sic principaliter ad idem sophisma probandum. Suppono quod tu scias quid demonstratur per subiectum illius propositionis 'hoc est homo'<sup>98</sup> et scias quod illa primo et principaliter significet praecise sicut verba praetendunt. Et suppono cum hoc quod aliquid scias esse hominem<sup>99</sup> et nihil dubites esse hominem.<sup>100</sup> Isto casu supposito<sup>1</sup> et admissio arguo sic: illa propositio 'hoc est homo'<sup>2</sup> est scita a te;<sup>3</sup> et eadem est tibi dubia; ergo sophisma. Quod ista sit<sup>4</sup> scita a te probatur sic: tu scis quid demonstratur per subiectum illius propositionis; et aliquid scis esse hominem;<sup>5</sup> et nihil dubitas esse hominem;<sup>6</sup> ergo tu scis ita esse sicut ista (V 32va) propositio primo et principaliter significat; sed illa propositio primo et principaliter significat<sup>7</sup> hoc esse hominem<sup>8</sup> vel quod hoc est homo;<sup>9</sup> ergo tu scis quod hoc est homo;<sup>10</sup> et per consequens ista propositio est scita a te 'hoc est homo'.<sup>11</sup> Et quod ista propositio sit tibi dubia probatur, quia ante casum ista propositio fuit tibi dubia; et ex casu non sequitur quod ista propositio est scita a te esse vera vel esse falsa; et cum<sup>12</sup> hoc nulla fuit quantum ad propositum<sup>13</sup> mutatio facta ex parte rei; ergo adhuc ista propositio manet tibi dubia. Patet consequentia et minor probatur, quia ex casu non sequitur quod considerem de re demonstrata per subiectum, videlicet<sup>14</sup> an<sup>15</sup> homo vel non homo<sup>16</sup> sit homo, quia, si quaeratur a te quid<sup>17</sup> est<sup>18</sup> hoc, nescio an homo sit hoc vel non homo sit hoc; ergo ex casu non

<sup>98</sup> homo] hoc SV; de his emendationibus hic et infra cf. Heytesbury, *Regulae solvendi sophismata* 2 ('De scire et dubitare'), fol. 12vb: 'Item suppono quod tu scias quid demonstratur per subiectum huius propositionis "hoc est homo" et scias quod illa propositio significat praecise sicut termini illius communiter praetendunt, et quod aliquid scias esse hominem et nihil dubites esse hominem. Quo posito sequitur quod ista propositio "hoc est homo" sit scita a te esse vera vel quod illa sciatur a te esse falsa, quia ex quo scis quid demonstratur per subiectum illius propositionis "hoc est homo"; et aliquid scis esse hominem, et nihil dubitas esse hominem; igitur illud demonstratum scis esse hominem vel illud scis non esse hominem. Sed si scis illud esse hominem et scis illam propositionem sic significare praecise, sequitur quod tu scis illam propositionem esse veram. Et si scias illud non esse hominem et scis illam propositionem significare praecise illud esse hominem, sequitur quod tu scias istam propositionem esse falsam. Et quod illa sit tibi dubia in casu isto arguitur sic: quia proposita tibi ista "hoc est homo" in casu isto, ex quo illa propositio ante casum fuit tibi dubia nec ex casu sequitur illa propositio propter casum non est illa propositio concedenda nec est illa neganda propter eandem rationem, sequitur igitur quod illa est dubitanda; et non quia sequitur ex casu istam esse tibi dubiam, sed quia ista in rei veritate est tibi dubia; sed sicut prius argutum est, tu scis istam esse veram vel scis istam esse falsam; igitur propositio tibi dubia est scita a te esse vera vel scita a te esse falsa.'

<sup>99</sup> hominem] hoc SV <sup>100</sup> hominem] hoc SV <sup>1</sup> supposito] posito V <sup>2</sup> homo] hoc SV <sup>3</sup> post te add. esse V <sup>4</sup> sit] scit V <sup>5</sup> hominem] hoc SV <sup>6</sup> hominem] hoc SV <sup>7</sup> sed ... significat om. (per hom.) V <sup>8</sup> hominem] hoc SV <sup>9</sup> homo] hoc SV <sup>10</sup> homo] hoc SV <sup>11</sup> homo] hoc SV <sup>12</sup> et cum] et cetera V <sup>13</sup> propositum] propositionem S <sup>14</sup> videlicet s.s. S <sup>15</sup> post an add. sit V, sed exhibet spatium vacuum S <sup>16</sup> homo om. V <sup>17</sup> quid] quod SV <sup>18</sup> est] sit V

sequitur quod ista propositio 'hoc est homo'<sup>19</sup> sit scita a me esse vera vel scita a me esse falsa.

(63) Item arguitur sic sophistice: possibile est scitum a te esse tibi dubium; ergo non est inconueniens quod scitum a te est<sup>20</sup> sic<sup>21</sup> tibi dubium. Antecedens probatur sic et accipio illam propositionem vel hoc complexum 'rex sedet' et arguo sic: hoc est scitum a te esse tibi<sup>22</sup> dubium; et hoc est possibile; ergo possibile est scitum a te esse tibi dubium. Si negatur consequentia, contra: sequitur (S 58r), hoc complexum est scitum a te esse tibi dubium; et hoc complexum est possibile; ergo aliquod possibile est scitum a te esse tibi dubium. Et tunc ultra: aliquod possibile est scitum a te esse tibi dubium; ergo possibile est scitum a te esse tibi dubium. Patet consequentia a particulari ad suam indefinitam. Et quod hoc complexum sit scitum a te esse tibi dubium patet, quia tu scis quod hoc complexum<sup>23</sup> est tibi dubium. Item quod hoc complexum sit possibile patet, quia hoc complexum potest esse verum primarie significando.

(64) Ad ista respondeo admittendo casum. Et nego quod ista propositio<sup>24</sup> 'hoc est homo'<sup>25</sup> sit scita a me. Et tunc ad argumentum in contrarium, quando sic arguitur 'tu scis quid demonstratur per subiectum illius propositionis; et aliquid scis esse hominem;<sup>26</sup> et (V 32vb) nihil dubitas esse hominem;<sup>27</sup> ergo tu scis ita esse sicut illa propositio primo et principaliter significat', hic dico negando consequentiam eo quod consequens est impertinens et falsum et antecedens est a me concedendum, quia est obligatum. Et quod consequentia non valet<sup>28</sup> de forma probatur et accipio illam propositionem 'hoc animal currit Londoniis' et demonstro per ly 'hoc animal' asinum quem scias esse Londoniis, et quod hoc animal non currat Londoniis sed credas firmiter sine haesitatione quod hoc<sup>29</sup> animal currat Londoniis. Isto casu supposito patet quod antecedens est verum et consequens falsum. Nam verum est quod tu scis quid demonstratur per subiectum illius propositionis 'hoc animal currit Londoniis' ex casu; et verum est etiam quod aliquid scis esse hoc animal, quia asinum<sup>30</sup> scis esse hoc animal Londoniis per casum; et verum est etiam quod nihil dubitas esse hoc, quia nec asinum dubitas esse hoc eo quod credis firmiter sine haesitatione vel dubitatione asinum esse hoc, nec<sup>31</sup> non asinum dubitas esse hoc ut patet. Et tamen hoc consequens est falsum, videlicet quod tu scis ita esse sicut illa propositio<sup>32</sup> primo et principaliter significat, quia tu credis aliter esse<sup>33</sup> quam est a parte rei.

(65) Ulterius ad secundum argumentum quando sic arguitur 'possibile est scitum a te esse tibi dubium; ergo non est inconueniens quod scitum a te sit tibi

<sup>19</sup> homo] hoc SV    <sup>20</sup> est] sit V    <sup>21</sup> sic om. V    <sup>22</sup> tibi om. V    <sup>23</sup> complexum om. V  
<sup>24</sup> propositio om. S    <sup>25</sup> homo] hoc SV    <sup>26</sup> hominem] hoc SV    <sup>27</sup> hominem] hoc SV  
<sup>28</sup> valet] valeat V    <sup>29</sup> hoc in marg. S    <sup>30</sup> asinum] asinus V    <sup>31</sup> nec] ideo V  
<sup>32</sup> propositio om. S    <sup>33</sup> esse om. V

dubium', hic dico<sup>34</sup> dubitando istam consequentiam eo quod antecedens cadit sub disiunctione.

(66) Et sciendum quod propositio cadit sub disiunctione quando aliqua<sup>35</sup> propositio potest habere duplicem intellectum. Unde dubito istam consequentiam distinguendo antecedens, an<sup>36</sup> videlicet ly possibile (S 58v) teneatur modaliter et pro modo modificante vel pro nomine determinante<sup>37</sup> pro aliquo possibili supponente. Si primo modo, concedo consequentiam et nego antecedens nec argumenta facta militant<sup>38</sup> contra me. Si ly possibile teneatur (V 33ra) pro nomine determinante supponente, tunc nego consequentiam, quia tunc est antecedens verum sicut argumenta probant et consequens falsum. Et consimiliter debet ista propositio<sup>39</sup> distingui 'verum est scitum a te esse tibi dubium'.

## VI

(67) Sexto principaliter arguitur sic ad idem sophisma probandum: ponatur quod non sint<sup>40</sup> plures propositiones quam tres, quae sint *A*, *B* et *C* et quod *A* et *B* propositiones sunt<sup>41</sup> scitae a te et quod *C* sit unica<sup>42</sup> propositio tibi dubia. Et cum hoc pono quod istae propositiones taliter transponantur et divertantur quod nescias quae illarum sit scita a te nec quae illarum sit tibi dubia. Si negatur casus tamquam impossibilis, contra: possibile est quod tu scias quod aliquis illorum trium hominum sit Sortes et alius Plato et alius Cicero et tamen nescias quis illorum est Sortes vel quis Plato vel quis Cicero; ergo eadem ratione est casus possibilis de *A*, *B* et *C* propositionibus vel signetur ratio diversitatis. Si admittatur casus, tunc arguo sic: aliqua istarum<sup>43</sup> trium propositionum est scita a te; et quaelibet istarum est tibi dubia; ergo scitum a te est tibi dubium. Patet consequentia et maior ex hoc quod *A* est propositio scita a te. Et similiter *B* est propositio scita a te secundum casum. Et<sup>44</sup> minor probatur sic: nam de quolibet istarum consideras; et nullam illarum scis esse veram nec aliquam istarum scis esse falsam; ergo quaelibet istarum est tibi dubia. Patet consequentia per communem suppositionem quae est ista: omnis propositio, de qua considerat aliquis, quam non scit esse veram nec scit esse falsam, est sibi dubia. Et maior patet<sup>45</sup> ex casu et minor probatur sic, quia, si aliquam istarum scis esse veram vel aliquam istarum scis esse falsam, capiatur illa. Tunc illam scis esse veram vel illam scis esse falsam. Sit ergo gratia argumenti quod illam scias (V 33rb)

<sup>34</sup> dico om. *S*

<sup>35</sup> aliqua] illa *V*

<sup>36</sup> an om. *V*

<sup>37</sup> determinante] determinate *S*

<sup>38</sup> militant] pugnant add. in marg. *S*

<sup>39</sup> debet ista propositio] illa propositio debet *V*

<sup>40</sup> sint] sunt *V*

<sup>41</sup> sunt] sint *V*

<sup>42</sup> unica] una *V*

<sup>43</sup> istarum] istorum *S*

<sup>44</sup> similiter ... Et om. (per hom.) *V*

<sup>45</sup> post patet add. etiam *V*

esse veram. Tunc sic: illam scis esse veram; et nullam istarum scis esse veram nisi *A* vel *B*; ergo illam scis esse *A* vel *B*. Et ultra: ergo tu scis illam non esse *C*. Consequens est contra casum, quia in casu supponitur quod *A*,<sup>46</sup> *B* et *C* propositiones sic transvertantur<sup>47</sup> quod nescias quae illarum<sup>48</sup> sit *A* nec quae illarum sit *B* vel *C*.

(68) Ad ista (S 59r) respondeo negando casum tamquam impossibilem eo quod includit contradictionem. Et tunc ad probationem quando dicitur quod est possibile quod sunt<sup>49</sup> tres homines; et dubitarem quis illorum esset Sortes vel Plato etc.; ergo consimiliter est<sup>50</sup> de *A* et *B* et *C*<sup>51</sup> propositionibus: negatur<sup>52</sup> consequentia, quia exemplum non est in omnibus simile. Et causa est quia, si considerarem de aliquibus propositionibus quarum unam scirem et aliam dubitarem, statim perciperem quam illarum<sup>53</sup> scirem et quam illarum dubitarem, quia tunc distincte illas apprehenderem. Sed si considerarem de aliquibus hominibus et scirem non distincte, sed in communi quod unus illorum<sup>54</sup> esset Sortes et alius Plato, etc., non statim perciperem quis illorum esset Sortes et quis Plato vel quis Cicero eo quod conceptus meus non refertur<sup>55</sup> distincte super aliquem illorum.

## VII

(69) Septimo et ultimo principaliter ad idem sophisma probandum sic arguitur: tu dubitas quod hoc est Sortes; et scis quod hoc est Sortes demonstrato uno et eodem; ergo scitum a te est tibi dubium. Patet consequentia et antecedens probatur sic:<sup>56</sup> et pono quod nullum hominem heri vidisses nisi Sortem et scias adhuc scientia communiter dicta quod ille homo quem heri vidisti sit Sortes. Pono tamen quod ille idem Sortes appareat coram te in habitu transformato<sup>57</sup> ita quod tu non cognoscas eum esse Sortem, sed credas firmiter sine haesitatione quod iste homo<sup>58</sup> apparens sit Plato, et scias bene quod neminem heri vidisti nisi Sortem, nec videas aliquem hominem hodie (V 33va) praeter istum. Quo casu supposito arguitur sic: tu scis quod hoc est Sortes demonstrato illo homine quem heri vidisti; et eodem demonstrato dubitas an sit Sortes, quia demonstrato illo<sup>59</sup> homine quem iam vides dubitas an iste sit Sortes; et idem est homo quem iam vides et heri vidisti; ergo scis quod hoc est Sortes et dubitas an hoc est Sortes.

<sup>46</sup> post *A* add. et *V*    <sup>47</sup> transvertantur] transmutentur *V*    <sup>48</sup> illarum om. *S*    <sup>49</sup> sunt] sint *V*    <sup>50</sup> est] sic *V*    <sup>51</sup> et *C* om. *V*    <sup>52</sup> negatur] nec *V*    <sup>53</sup> illarum] illorum *S*  
<sup>54</sup> quod unus illorum iter. *V*    <sup>55</sup> refertur] refereretur *V*    <sup>56</sup> sic om. *V*    <sup>57</sup> transformato] transmutato *V*    <sup>58</sup> post homo (om. *V*) add. sit (fort. corr. ex sic) *S*    <sup>59</sup> illo om. *S*

(70) Sed ad hoc argumentum respondet Magister tractatus negando consequentiam pro eo quod<sup>60</sup> licet idem sit homo quem heri vidisti et quem hodie vides,<sup>61</sup> hoc tamen nescis sed credis<sup>62</sup> firmiter<sup>63</sup> (S 59v) sine haesitatione oppositum.<sup>64</sup>

(71) Sed contra hanc responsionem sic arguitur,<sup>65</sup> quia ista propositio 'hoc est Sortes' demonstrato homine<sup>66</sup> quem iam vides est tibi dubia quia si proponeretur ista<sup>67</sup> tibi tu haberes ipsam dubitare; et eadem est scita a te; ergo adhuc scitum a te est tibi dubium. Patet consequentia cum maiori. Et minor probatur sic et arguitur sic: hoc scis esse Sortem demonstrato homine quem vides; ergo scis hoc esse Sortem. Patet consequentia quia hic convertitur sensus compositus cum sensu diviso iuxta regulam positam superius<sup>68</sup> in responsione ad primum argumentum. Et antecedens probatur sic: illud quod est hoc scis esse Sortem; ergo hoc scis esse Sortem. Patet consequentia a<sup>69</sup> convertibili ad suum convertibile. Et antecedens probatur sic,<sup>70</sup> quia omne illud quod est hoc est Sortes; et Sortem scis esse Sortem; ergo illud quod est hoc scis esse Sortem. Patet consequentia cum minori et maior sequitur ex casu.

(72) Ideo aliter respondeo negando primam consequentiam principalem, quando sic arguitur: tu dubitas quod hoc est Sortes; et scis quod hoc est Sortes uno et eodem demonstrato; ergo scitum a te est tibi dubium.

(73) Unde pro materia argumenti dico quod ista propositio 'hoc est Sortes' demonstrato homine quem heri vidisti est scita a me et una alia consimilis huic in voce est mihi dubia, sicut ista 'hoc est (V 33vb) Sortes' demonstrato homine quem iam vides. Et ideo scio quod hoc est Sortes et dubito quod hoc est Sortes secundum diversas demonstrationes, tamen ista propositio 'hoc est Sortes'<sup>71</sup> demonstrato homine quem iam vides et demonstrato homine quem heri vidisti non est scita a me et mihi dubia. Et per hoc patet responsio ad ultimum<sup>72</sup> argumentum principale.

(74) Explicit tractatus qui<sup>73</sup> vocatur *Scire* compilatus per reverendum doctorem Lavinham.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> quod s.s. S    <sup>61</sup> post vides add. quia V    <sup>62</sup> c<sup>e</sup> (credis in marg.) S    <sup>63</sup> firmiter om. V  
<sup>64</sup> Heytesbury, *Regulae solvendi sophismata* 2 ('De scire et dubitare'), fol. 16ra-b: 'Ad ultimum cum arguitur quod scio quod hoc est Sortes et dubito an hoc sit Sortes eodem demonstrato, dicitur quod hoc est impossibile et non sequens ex illo casu ibidem supposito, quia non sequitur: scio quod ille homo quem heri vidi est Sortes; et neminem heri vidi nisi il(16rb)lum hominem; igitur scio quod ille homo est Sortes. Quamvis enim neminem heri vidi nisi hunc, tamen hoc nescio sed credo forte quod sit Plato.'    <sup>65</sup> arguitur sic V    <sup>66</sup> homine] hominem S  
<sup>67</sup> ista om. V    <sup>68</sup> superius positam V; de hac regula cf. sup. parag. 30    <sup>69</sup> post a add. suo V  
<sup>70</sup> sic om. V    <sup>71</sup> Sortes] solum S    <sup>72</sup> ultimum om. V    <sup>73</sup> qui] quae S  
<sup>74</sup> tractatus ... Lavinham] Scire etc. V

THREE ANGLO-NORMAN REDACTIONS  
OF  
*L'ORDENE DE CHEVALERIE*\*

*Keith Busby*

THERE seems to be no evidence for the knighting of Saladin by Hue de Tabarie, but this event, around which *L'ordene de chevalerie* (hereafter *OC*) is built,<sup>1</sup> looks like a conflation of two incidents which were accepted as historical reality towards the end of the twelfth century. In 1178 or 1179, a French knight called Hue de Tabarie was taken prisoner by Saladin during a skirmish on the banks of the Litani River near Beaufort Castle and then released. The actual knighting of Saladin is elsewhere attributed to a certain Homfroi de Toron, constable of Jerusalem; Saladin had apparently been impressed by his valour during battle and had requested the Frenchman to instruct him in the order of knighthood.

Apart from the identical initials possessed by the two men, other reasons may be responsible for the conflation: Hue seems to have been much better known than Homfroi; the Toron family were vassals of the lords of Tabarie, and the castle of Toron was actually built by an earlier Hue de Tabarie in 1107. The lords of Tabarie owned lands in the region of Saint-Omer.<sup>2</sup> More and more evidence is now gradually emerging which suggests that the desire to boost the lineage played a large part in literary patronage in the Middle Ages, and this

\* I should like to thank the Society of Antiquaries and the Master and Fellows of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, for permission to reproduce the text from manuscripts in their possession.

<sup>1</sup> I have made use in the pages that follow of material also to be found in the introduction to my edition of the continental version of *L'ordene de chevalerie* in *Two Early Old French Didactic Poems* (Amsterdam, 1983).

<sup>2</sup> For the sources, see Roy T. House, *L'ordene de chevalerie; An Old French Poem. Text with Introduction and Notes* (Diss. Chicago, 1918; rpt. in *Bulletin of the University of Oklahoma N.S.* 162 [1919]), pp. 1-7. Although House's documentation is adequate, his interpretation of the facts is often open to doubt. The inadequacies of the philological side of this edition rendered a new edition of the continental version desirable. Georges Bataille's thesis, *L'ordre de chevalerie. Conte en vers du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, was never published and never deposited in the library of the École des Chartes. See *École Nationale des Chartes. Positions des thèses* (1922), pp. 21-24.

may explain the transference of the second event from Homfroi to Hue.<sup>3</sup> As regards Saladin, many sources suggest that his reputation in the West as a man of valour and courtesy was considerable, and his portrayal in literary sources is almost unanimously favourable. A full-scale historical inquiry would be needed before more confident pronouncements on this complex subject could be made.<sup>4</sup>

If Hue's presence in the Holy Land is a fact, and the link with Saladin comprehensible, there seems to be no good reason for believing with early scholars that *OC* was actually composed by Hue.<sup>5</sup> The poem is therefore anonymous and all that can be stated with plausibility about the author is that he was a cleric and very possibly a priest. Biblical allusions and the predicator tone of the poem would support this. The language of the continental version suggests that the original author came from the Picardy Region, possibly Saint-Omer if the lineage theory is correct. He seems to have written *OC* around 1220.

The text of *OC* is extant in the following manuscripts ranging in date from the late thirteenth to the mid-fifteenth centuries:

- A* = Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale fr. 837, fols. 152r-154v
- N* = Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale fr. 25462, fols. 149r-157v
- J* = Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale fr. 1553, fols. 410v-413r
- M* = Metz, Bibliothèque Municipale 855, fols. 11r-13r
- H* = London, British Library Harley 4333, fols. 115r-117r
- C* = Cambridge, University Library Gg.6.28, fols. 8v-15r
- S* = London, British Library Additional 34114, fols. 236v-237v
- L* = London, British Library Additional 46919, fols. 87r-90r
- G* = Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College 424/448, pp. 79-88
- B* = London, Society of Antiquaries 136 C, fol. 42r-v.

Whilst I do not intend to construct a speculative stemma of all the manuscripts of *OC*, a general outline of the tradition will serve as an introduction to the texts of the three Anglo-Norman redactions. The initial grouping of the ten manuscripts must be *ANJMH* on the one hand, and *CSLGB* on the other, this because of the presence of the fourteen-line prologue in the first group. This division also corresponds to a distinction between the continental and Anglo-Norman copies. Apart from this, *CS* tend to follow

<sup>3</sup> See especially Beate Schmolke-Hasselmann, *Der arthurische Versroman von Chrestien bis Froissart. Zur Geschichte einer Gattung* (Tübingen, 1980), pp. 184 ff.

<sup>4</sup> See also Robert F. Cook and Larry S. Crist, *Le deuxième cycle de la Croisade. Deux études sur son développement. Les textes en vers. Saladin* (Geneva, 1972).

<sup>5</sup> For example, M. Daunou, 'Discours sur l'état des lettres en France au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle', *Histoire littéraire de la France* 16 (Paris, 1824), pp. 1-254.



*ANJMH* for the most part, whereas *L* has many long variant passages (despite an otherwise close relationship to *CS*), and *G* and *B* present two more quite distinct redactions. Although I have used *L* to some extent in the preparation of my critical edition of the continental poem, I present it in its entirety here, along with the texts of *G* and *B*, so as to make available all known Anglo-Norman versions of *OC* that differ markedly from the continental poem. Since my aim in editing the continental poem together with Raoul de Hodenc's *Le roman des eles* was to present in one volume two of the earliest (if not the two earliest) Old French poems on courtesy and knighthood, one representing the secular, courtly, view of knighthood and one the religious view, I did not include the Anglo-Norman redactions in that work. The extent of their divergences from the 'version commune', the tendencies they have in common, as well as their geographical provenance, would seem to justify their separate publication as a corpus.

The three Anglo-Norman manuscripts in question I now describe fully:

*L* = London, British Library Additional 46919. This is ex-Phillipps 8336, dating from the first half of the fourteenth century, written by several English hands, 211 folios, parchment, 228 × 172 mm., the verse items often written as prose, 30 long lines. This manuscript contains a total of fifty-five items, religious and secular, verse and prose, in Middle English, Latin, and Anglo-Norman, including works by Walter of Bibbesworth, Nicole Bozon, and Robert Grosseteste, Twiti's *Art de venerie*, some recipes, etc. It was completed and partly copied before 1333 by Friar William Herebert of Hereford. Herebert himself copied items in all languages, including *OC*, written as prose, which occupies fols. 87r-90r. It is preceded by a description in Latin of different kinds of armour and followed by a poem of Bozon, entitled 'Coment le fiz Deu fu armé en la croyz'. The language is clearly Anglo-Norman, although the *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum 1946-1950* (London, 1979), pp. 197-206, curiously states that *OC* is one of the items in 'Continental French' (p. 197). See also Paul Meyer, 'Notice et extraits du ms. 8336 de la bibliothèque de Sir Thomas Phillipps à Cheltenham', *Romania* 12 (1884) 497-541; Gunnar Tilander, *La venerie de Twiti* (Stockholm, 1956); and Rossell Hope Robbins, 'Friar Herebert and the Carol', *Anglia* 75 (1957) 194-98.

*G* = Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College 424/448. This is a composite manuscript of 48 paginated folios, parchment, 192 × 130 mm., formed of two separate items bound together. The first part dates from the early fourteenth century and contains a continental French translation of Vegetius' *De re militari* (pp. 1-78) in two hands (the first one copied pp. 1-72, and the second pp. 73-78). The text is complete, except for a fragmentary list of contents. The second part of the manuscript contains, in an English hand of the mid-fourteenth century, *OC* (pp. 79-88), in 2 columns of 36-40 lines each, an ordinance of Edward III confirming one of Edward I concerning tournaments (pp. 89-90), written at

Dartford in 1331 or 1332 (5 Edward III), and Twiti's *Art de venerie* (pp. 91-95). See M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Gonville and Caius College 1* (Cambridge, 1907), pp. 495-96; Paul Meyer, 'Les manuscrits français de Cambridge. IV. — Gonville et Caius College', *Romania* (1907) 481-542; and Tilander, *La venerie de Twiti*, p. 36.

*B* = London, Society of Antiquaries 136 C. Another composite manuscript, but of entirely English provenance, parchment, 42 folios, 378 × 257 mm. Fols. 1r-38v contain various historical pieces in Anglo-Norman and Latin in a number of hands, and bound at the end of these, in another hand of the late fourteenth century, a prose treatise on the order of knighthood (fols. 39r-40r), an account of the taking of the Holy Blood to Bruges in 1148 and of indulgences granted to pilgrims to the Holy Blood (fol. 40v), and *OC* (fol. 42r-v), written in 2 columns of 60 lines each. Fol. 41 is blank. There are indications that the original order of this section of the manuscript was fols. 41, 42, 39, 40. The manuscript belonged in 1399 to Westminster Abbey. It is fully described by N. R. Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries 1* (Oxford, 1969), pp. 306-307.

In all its verse redactions, *OC* is part of a large body of religious and didactic literature, particularly widespread in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, which attempts to assign to knighthood its proper place in a Christian society. Whereas in such poems as *Le roman des eles*, knighthood is regarded in a specifically social light, *OC* and related works try to interpret it in moral and religious terms. As will be evident, *OC* is not unique, but it is arguably the most widespread and influential poem of its type, both inside and outside France, and both during the Middle Ages and beyond.

The original version of *OC*, from which the Anglo-Norman versions clearly derive, is one of the earliest vernacular texts to treat in detail the theory of knighthood. On the other hand, the precepts and concepts that it contains are by no means original, since they appear to have evolved over a lengthy period in a number of Latin texts.<sup>6</sup> The synthesis of views produced in *OC* no doubt represents a growing awareness of the need to explain in the vernacular, and in Christian terms, the duties and functions of the knight. As Flori has said, even though literary sources cannot be used as evidence for the nature of the day-to-day life of the medieval knight, romance, epic, and such poems as *OC* do reflect *idées reçues* current at the time of their composition and circulation.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> See Jean Flori, 'Les origines de l'adoubement chevaleresque: étude des remises d'armes et du vocabulaire qui les exprime dans les sources historiques latines jusqu'au début du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle', *Traditio* 35 (1979) 209-72. One also thinks of the sixth chapter of Ephesians, the famous passage from John of Salisbury's *Policraticus*, and other texts cited by Tony Hunt, 'The Emergence of the Knight in France and England 1000-1200', *Forum for Modern Language Studies* 17 (1981) 93-114 (in n. 31 on 109).

<sup>7</sup> Jean Flori, 'Pour une histoire de la chevalerie: l'adoubement dans les romans de Chrétien de Troyes', *Romania* 100 (1979) 21-53 (at 23-24).

Although knighthood in literature is always essentially Christian, the development of certain kinds of courtly romance in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries brings with it a kind of secularisation of the concept. This is not necessarily to be seen as a conscious attempt at desacralisation, but rather as a reduction in the emphasis on the specifically Christian elements. With this in mind, *OC* may be interpreted as representing a forceful restatement and reminder of one particular view: 'Im Grunde steht doch hinter *L'Ordene de Chevalerie* das rege Interesse für das rechte Verhältnis zwischen Christentum und Rittertum ... Im Gedicht *L'Ordene de Chevalerie* werden ritterliche Ehre und ritterliche Leistung abhängig gemacht vom christlichen Glauben'.<sup>8</sup>

Many of the ideas about knighthood found in *OC* can also be discerned in earlier texts in Old French, in particular the *chansons de geste* and the romances.<sup>9</sup> For the literary historian, however, the usefulness of *OC* lies in its presentation in convenient and compact form of the essence of a number of scattered passages from these texts, and in its demonstration of a new mystico-symbolic treatment of knighthood. The symbolic treatment of the knight's attributes and of the actual knighting ceremony is characteristic of literature of the first part of the thirteenth century, for, even though earlier texts describe the rituals, the elaborate symbolism is lacking. Flori has again stressed this difference between the knighting ceremonies in Chrétien de Troyes' romances and in later poems of which *OC* is a representative: 'L'aspect cérémoniel est chez [Chrétien] déjà très marqué, sans atteindre cependant les ampleurs et les développements qui seront monnaie courante dans les œuvres du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle.'<sup>10</sup>

A number of French works which appear in the course of the thirteenth century show similarities with *OC*, but they are all, with one possible exception, of later date. These texts are: *L'armëure du chevalier* by Guiot de Provins (contemporary with *OC* or slightly earlier), *Le conte dou baril* by Jouham de la Chapele de Blois (contemporary with *OC*), and *L'enseignement des princes* by Robert de Blois (c. 1250). I have also considered the Catalan *Libre qui és de l'orde de cavalleria* by Ramon Llull (c. 1275).<sup>11</sup> Although it has been claimed

<sup>8</sup> Stefanie Jauernick, *Das theoretische Bild des Rittertums in der altfranzösischen Literatur* (Diss. Göttingen, 1961), p. 41.

<sup>9</sup> For example, *Girart de Roussillon. Chanson de geste*, ed. W. Mary Hackett, 2 vols. (Paris, 1953-55), II, 3814 ff.; *Le roman de Perceval ou Le conte du Graal*, ed. William Roach (Geneva, 1956), II, 9167 ff.; *Lancelot do Lac*..., ed. Elspeth Kennedy, 1 (Oxford, 1980), pp. 142 ff.

<sup>10</sup> Flori, 'Pour une histoire', 32.

<sup>11</sup> *L'armëure du chevalier* in *Les œuvres de Guiot de Provins, poète lyrique et satirique*, ed. John Orr (Manchester, 1915), pp. 94-113; *Le conte dou baril, poème du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle par Jouham de la Chapele de Blois*, ed. R. C. Bates (New Haven-London, 1932); *L'enseignement des princes in Robert de Blois. Son œuvre didactique et narrative. Étude linguistique et littéraire* ..., ed. J. H. Fox (Paris, 1950), pp. 93-132; *Libre qui és de l'orde de cavalleria* in Ramon Llull, *Obres essencials*, ed. P. Bohigas, 1 (Barcelona, 1957), pp. 515-45.

that *OC* was one of Llull's sources, it is almost impossible to demonstrate the dependence of any one text on another or even reciprocal influences. They are linked mainly by a didactic and predicator spirit. Such works as Jean de Meun's *Art de chevalerie*, its verse adaptation, *L'abregeance de chevalerie*, and other works derived from Vegetius' *De re militari* are generally unrelated to this other group, being more practical guides to princes and captains on how to behave in wartime, and not specifically concerned with the order of knighthood as such.<sup>12</sup>

Apart from the general spirit of *OC* and related texts, and the fact that all contain a symbolic description of the knight's arms and armour, there is very little common ground in respect to details, with the exception of some obvious features, such as that of the shape of the sword reminding the knight of Christ's passion. *L'armëure du chevalier* is the only poem devoted to knighthood as such, the arming passages in the other poems being part of a larger whole, in the case of *Le conte dou baril* of a moral tale, and in that of *L'enseignement des princes* of a didactic piece of wider scope. In Llull's *Libre* the material becomes part of a lengthy and pious treatise which far exceeds the dimensions of the earlier texts. Effectively, the authors of these works seem to have drawn upon a body of ready-made material, such as the weapons and the items of armour, and a number of common vices and virtues. The association of a particular vice or virtue with a particular item of the knight's equipment, however, seems to have been determined by each poet individually, not predetermined by a set pattern.<sup>13</sup> This group of texts therefore covers common ground but by various routes. Free association seems to have prevailed for once, no doubt inspired by the celebrated passage from Ephesians 6:11-17:

Induite vos armaturam Dei, ut possitis stare adversus insidias diaboli. Quoniam non est nobis colluctatio adversus carnem et sanguinem, sed adversus principes et potestates, adversus mundi rectores tenebrarum harum, contra spiritualia nequitiae in caelestibus. Propterea accipite armaturam Dei, ut possitis resistere in die malo et in omnibus perfecti stare. State ergo succincti lumbos vestros in veritate et induiti lorica iustitiae et calceati pedes in praeparatione evangelii pacis; in omnibus sumentes scutum fidei, in quo possitis omnia tela nequissimi ignea exstinguere. Et galeam salutis adsumite et gladium spiritus, quod est verbum Dei.

*OC* is unique in describing the knighting ceremony taking place, whereas other texts merely describe the knight's equipment. It is possible to argue that the earlier versions of *OC* show direct influence of the knighting passages from

<sup>12</sup> Both works edited by Ulysse Robert (Paris, 1897); see also Lewis Thorpe, 'Maistre Richard. A Thirteenth-Century Translator of the *De re militari* of Vegetius', *Scriptorium* 6 (1951) 39-50.

<sup>13</sup> See Bates's introduction to *Le conte dou barril*, pp. xxi-xxii.

Chrétien's romances, especially *Le conte du Graal*. However, the claim made by an earlier editor that the poet of *OC* employs 'phrases which repeatedly are almost Chrétien's own' is untenable.<sup>14</sup> The similarities consist mainly of instances where *OC* repeats in quite different phrases an idea also found in *Le conte du Graal*, such as the advice to aid women in distress (*Le conte du Graal*, ll. 533 ff., 1656 ff., and 6465 ff.). Even if such influences were to be admitted, it is surely the differences in spirit between Chrétien and *OC* that are most significant. Flori has recently reminded us of the three categories of dubbing discerned by Léon Gautier in his classic study and explains the difference between Chrétien and *OC* in those terms. The three categories are military, lay, and liturgical, and whilst Chrétien seems to represent an intermediate stage between the last two, *OC* is an example of the fully-developed third stage:

Quant à la troisième forme, l'adoubement liturgique, elle correspondait pour [Gautier] à la phase de cléricisation excessive et de symbolisme 'décadent' du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, lorsque l'adoubeur n'est plus un laïc, mais un clerc: lorsque la liturgie occupe tout le devant de la scène et que l'on complique la cérémonie jusqu'à en faire un véritable sacrement quasi ésotérique. Pour nous cette phase commence, *grosso modo*, dans le premier tiers du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle et se trouve pleinement illustrée par l'*Ordene de Chevalerie*, cette œuvre étrange que l'on date généralement de cette même époque.<sup>15</sup>

Most of the above remarks are valid for all of the poetical versions of *OC*, including the ones presented here. These Anglo-Norman texts, however, should also be seen as forming part of the reception of the 'version commune' which I now intend to sketch briefly. It is evident that *OC* remained popular in France and England well into the fourteenth century, and the divergences between the continental text and the Anglo-Norman redactions, as well as the differences between the insular texts themselves, suggest that this popularity was at least partly due to the flexibility with which the tale would be treated.

Of its fame and influence there can be no doubt. The mid-thirteenth-century poem *Le Pas Saladin*, one of the many texts to praise Saladin, seems to allude to *OC*:

Touz jours amast chevalerie,  
 Quar uns quens Hues l'adouba;  
 Trestoute l'ordre li moustra,  
 Li soudans l'avoit en prison;  
 Por ce li quita sa rençon,

<sup>14</sup> House, *L'ordene de chevalerie*, pp. 28-29.

<sup>15</sup> Flori, 'Pour une histoire', 36 and Léon Gautier, *La chevalerie* (Paris, 1884), *passim*.

Puis s'en rala en Galillee;  
Sires estoit de la contree.<sup>16</sup>

There are three Old French prose redactions of the poem, two probably dating from the later thirteenth century and one from the fifteenth. Most of the seven manuscripts which preserve these contain other material related to Jerusalem, such as the *Prise de Jerusalem*.<sup>17</sup> Two of the versions are cyclical, the episode forming part of a larger chronicle whole, and one independent. Furthermore, Geoffroy de Charny seems to borrow from *OC* (whether from the verse or prose version is not clear) in his mid-fourteenth-century *Livre de chevalerie*.<sup>18</sup>

Given the seminal nature of Old French literature in Europe in the Middle Ages, it is not surprising to note that *OC* seems to have had considerable influence outside of French language areas. Italy seems to have been particularly receptive as *OC* was paraphrased in a sonnet cycle by Folgore da San Gimignano,<sup>19</sup> as well as being included in three prose works, namely, Busone da Gubbio's *Fortunatus Siculus* (first half of the fourteenth century) and two collections of *novelle*, Borghini's *Cento novelle antiche* (sixteenth century) and Anton Francesco Doni's *Novelle* of the mid-sixteenth century.<sup>20</sup> As is often the case with this kind of work, the two *novella* collections contain material much earlier than their date of compilation. There is also a Middle Dutch version, in verse, by Hein van Aken, dating from the second half of the thirteenth century and entitled *Van den Coninc Saladijn ende van Hughen van Tabaryen*. This version includes the prologue proper to the continental version of *OC* and would therefore seem to be based on that.<sup>21</sup> Despite the appearance of a character called Hughen van Tabarien, the late Middle Dutch prose work *D'ystorie van Saladine* has nothing to do with *OC*, as was earlier thought to be the case.<sup>22</sup>

The reception of *OC* extends beyond the Middle Ages, for it seems to have been widely known, particularly in France, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Apart from two eighteenth-century editions, by Marin and Barbazan,

<sup>16</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale ms. fr. 24432, fol. 34r.

<sup>17</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale fr. 770, fols. 326r-327v; fr. 781, fol. 150r-v; fr. 25462, fols. 214v-216v; fr. 17203, fols. 124r-125v; fr. 12572, fols. 199v-203r; Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal 5208, fols. 147r-150r; Lyon, Bibliothèque Municipale 867, fols. 214v-216v. See Hilding Kjellman, 'Les rédactions en prose de l'*Ordre de chevalerie*', *Studier i Modern Språkvetenskap* 7 (1920) 139-77.

<sup>18</sup> Ed. K. de Lettenhove in *Œuvres de Froissart. Chroniques* 1.3 (Brussels, 1873), pp. 462-533.

<sup>19</sup> *Sonetti*, ed. F. Neri (Città di Castello, 1914).

<sup>20</sup> Details in Kjellman, 'Les rédactions en prose', 142.

<sup>21</sup> Ed. P. de Keyser (Leiden, 1950).

<sup>22</sup> Published by Arnold de Keyser (Audenarde, c. 1480). See House, *L'ordene de chevalerie*, pp. 32-33.

I have found three seventeenth- and two eighteenth-century manuscripts of either the verse or prose versions of *OC*. The very existence of these copies is witness to the unbroken interest in the Middle Ages shown by scholars in France, the extent of which is only now gradually beginning to be revealed.<sup>23</sup> The names of the great eighteenth-century medievalists Sainte-Palaye and Legrand d'Aussy, and their successors Barbazan and Méon, are associated with the post-medieval copies. Sainte-Palaye frequently cites *OC* in his highly influential *Mémoires sur l'ancienne chevalerie* (1759) which were translated into German, English and Polish before the end of the eighteenth century and which remained a standard work on chivalry well into the nineteenth.

The history of *OC* in England in the fourteenth century can also be seen as part of the entire reception of the original continental version of c. 1220, and in this respect their separate publication as a group can be further justified, for alongside the absorption into the corpus of Anglo-Norman literature of the 'version commune', the existence of the variant versions is yet another illustration of the *mouvance* of a medieval text.<sup>24</sup> Given that, in practical terms, the demands of the intended audience often determine the direction in which the text moves, it is to be expected that each version of *OC* will lay stress on various aspects of knighthood with which its intended audience was particularly concerned, and that passages of the original continental poem could be altered or excised, or new passages added. This is apparent even from the difference between the manuscripts themselves of the 'version commune', where the Anglo-Norman copies significantly lack a courtly, fourteen-line prologue present in the continental ones. It is clear that the scribes of all three redactions presented here worked from a manuscript of the 'version commune', although the scarcity of the correspondences between this and the Society of Antiquaries manuscript does not rule out oral transmission. This version certainly reduces the poem to its bare bones, stressing the moral rather than the story. Moreover, the general effect of the modifications made in the three redactions is to emphasise the moral, didactic, even predicator nature of the poem. The tone is, of course, common to a large body of literature in Anglo-Norman.

<sup>23</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale fr. 781, fol. 150r-v and fr. 23278, fols. 156r-161r; Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal 2763, fols. 71r-82r and 3125, pp. 281-301; Carpentras, Bibliothèque Municipale 793, fols. 650v-652v. Marin was the first to print the poem in his *Histoire de Saladin* 2 (Paris, 1758), pp. 445-83; Barbazan's followed a year later (Paris-Lausanne, 1759). On eighteenth-century medievalism see Lionel Gossman, *Medievalism and the Ideologies of the Enlightenment. The World and Work of La Curie de Sainte Palaye* (Baltimore, 1968) and Geoffrey Wilson, *A Medievalist in the Eighteenth Century. Le Grand d'Aussy and the Fabliaux ou Contes* (The Hague, 1975).

<sup>24</sup> See Paul Zumthor, *Essai de poétique médiévale* (Paris, 1972), pp. 70-73.

Finally, a consideration of the manuscript context of *OC* may give us a first indication of how the poem was viewed in England in the fourteenth century, and again, comparison with the continental manuscripts may be instructive.<sup>25</sup> These fall roughly into two groups, the large compendia of fabliaux, courtly poems, and religious and didactic pieces (*AJ*), and the smaller anthologies, including only religious and didactic texts (*NMH*). In the two Anglo-Norman manuscripts of the 'version commune', *OC* is once added by a later scribe to a codex containing a poem about the crusades, two *romans d'antiquité*, and an allegorical piece (*S*), and once found in the midst of some didactic items and pieces related in one way or the other to the East (*C*). One can only conclude from this that *OC* was considered a poem suited to many different contexts, and whose presence could be justified in a number of ways, either because it was courtly, or because it was Christian and didactic, or because it was related to the East. *L* is a typically eclectic English collection of the fourteenth century, but Herebert seems to stress *OC*'s essentially religious nature by following it with Bozon's poem, whilst looking forward to the context of *GB* by preceding it with the description of the armour. It is evident from *G* and *B* that *OC* was regarded as a practical piece, a real guide to the moral precepts by which a knight could perform his duty in accordance with God's commands. The practicality of *OC* is particularly apparent in *G*, where the compiler was able to precede it with a translation of Vegetius, follow it with some ordinances and then Twiti's *Art de venerie* (also present in *L*); *B*'s prose treatise on knighthood is also essentially practical, but the piece about the Holy Blood ensures that the religious context is preserved.

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None of the texts of *OC* presented here has been printed before. My editorial principles are simple: I have expanded abbreviations, distinguished between *i* and *j*, *u* and *v*, etc., and have made use of the acute accent and dieresis; I have emended the readings only when they are blatantly corrupt, and only then when I have been able to make a sensible emendation (each intervention is recorded in a note), and have made no attempt to 'correct' the apparent vagaries of Anglo-Norman orthography, syntax, or versification; I have punctuated liberally. The notes to each text are exclusively textual. Points of general and specific literary interest are discussed in my edition of the continental version of the poem. A short communal glossary of difficult words on p. 77 below gives references by means of manuscript sigla and line number.

<sup>25</sup> For a plea for reading medieval poetry in its manuscript context, see Derek Pearsall, *Old English and Middle English Poetry* (Routledge History of English Poetry 1; London, 1977), pp. 119-49.



I

LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY ADDITIONAL 46919 (= *L*)

The text of *L* is 380 lines long, compared with the 502 of the continental version. This is largely accounted for by the omission of the prologue of the Old French text and by an independent conclusion which drastically reduces the long address to the audience at the end. These and the changes made in the body of the poem give *L* a blunter and sterner tone; the person responsible for the alterations seems to pay particular emphasis to the sins of the flesh. Generally speaking, Herebert is a careful scribe; his hand is neat and clear, and he makes few obvious errors.

f. 87r Cy comence la descripcion de chivalerie par Hue de Tabarie.

- Jadis estoit en Paienye  
 Un roy de mout graunt signourye;  
 Il fu mout leal Sarazin;  
 Il out noun Sadalin.
- 5 En le tens de cel bon roy  
 Fyrent a genz de nostre loy  
 Ly Sarasyns mout graunt damage  
 Par lour orgoyl e par lor utrage,  
 Tant qe une foyz avynt
- 10 K'a la bataille un prince vint.  
 Hue out noun de Tabarie;  
 Yl out od ly grant compaignie  
 De chivalers de Galilee,  
 Qar sires ert de la countree.
- 15 Assez firent de armes le jour,  
 Mes il ne plout al Creatour  
 Qe lé nostres ussent victoyre.  
 Ore escotez ceste estoyre,  
 Qar la fu pryz le prince Hue
- 20 E pus mené par my la rue  
 Tut dreyt devaunt Sadalin.  
 Il le salue en son latyn:  
 'Hue, fet Sadalin, ben viegnez.  
 De deus choses elysez:
- 25 Par mon deu vous morrez  
 Ou graunt raunson renderez.'  
 Ly prince Hue respondy:

- 'Pus qe m'avet le jeu party,  
 Joe m'enth voil la ranson prendre,  
 30 Si j'ei de quey la pusse rendre.'  
 Donks dyt ly roys: 'Huwe, escotez:  
 Cent mile besanz me querez.  
 – A, sire, ateyndre ne poroye  
 Si tote ma tere vendoye.  
 f. 87v 35 – Si ferez bien. – Sire, coment?  
 M'enseygnez bon aveyment.  
 – Joe vous dirai, fit Sadalin,  
 Come joe diroi a mon cosyn.  
 Puys q'estés tant alosé  
 40 De chyvalerye e tant prysé,  
 Vous ne devez esmayer  
 De vostre ranson demander  
 Des bones genz de vostre afere,  
 Les plus riches de nostre tere,  
 45 Qar ce n'est pas vyleynie  
 En tel cas prier aïe,  
 E joe croy qe nul s'escundira  
 Qe a vostre ranson ne vous durra.  
 E issi vous poez aquyter.  
 50 – Ore, fet l'autre, voil demander  
 Coment joe m'en partirai de cy.'  
 Sadalyn ly respondy:  
 'Huwe, dist il, vous m'afierez  
 Desour le Deu en qy vous creez  
 55 E desour vostre creance  
 Ke dedenz deus ans saunz defaillaunce  
 Avez payé vostre ranson,  
 Ou vous revendrez en pryson;  
 E issi poez partyr de cy.  
 60 – Sire, fet Huwe, joe vous mercy.'  
 Lors ad Huwe le congé prys,  
 Q'aler s'en vout en son paÿs,  
 Mes ly roys od ly le prist

39 The *y* of *puy*s is written above the line.

44 Herebert does not always distinguish between initial *n* and *v*, but the sense probably requires *nostre* in this line.

- En une chambre, si li dist:
- 65 'Huwe, fet yl, par cele foy  
 Qe tu doys a Deu de ta loy,  
 Me voyllez ore enseigner  
 Coment hon fet chivalers.  
 – A, sire, fet Huwe, nòun feray.
- 70 – Por quey, sire? – Jeo le vous diray:  
 Li ordre de chyvalerye  
 Seroyt en vous mal employe  
 Puys qe n'estés de nostre loy;  
 Si n'avez baptesme ne foy,
- 75 E grant folye enprendroye  
 Si un fumer de dras de soye  
 Vorrei parer e vestir  
 Q'il ne pust jamés puÿr.  
 A nul foer fere le poroye,
- 80 Qar countre ma loy mesprendroye  
 E joe en serroye trop blamez.  
 – Huwe, fet ly roy, noun serrez.  
 Il n'y ad poynt de mespryson  
 Puys q'estés en ma prison,
- 85 Qar il covient ma voluté fere,  
 Mes q'il vous doyt ben desplere.  
 – Sire, fet Huwe, puys ke fere l'estut  
 E nul consail valer ne put,  
 Donks le fray joe sanz danger.
- 90 Ore vous voylez apariler  
 De reteynre cel haut estat  
 Q'est a nostre Deu bon e grat.  
 Puys ly fet aparailer  
 Ses chevuls, sa barbe, e son veyeer
- f. 88r 95 Plus honeste e plus bel,  
 Qar ceo afert a chivaler novel.  
 Ces sount seignes de prouesce,  
 De corteisie, e de sagesce.'  
 Puys ly fet en un bayn entrer;
- 100 Lors ly comence a demaunder

76 *fume* MS.

92 *grat* is guaranteed by the rhyme.

- Ly roys ke ceo senefie.  
 Huwe respont de Tabarye:  
 'Syre, ceo bayn ou vous baygnez  
 Est pur ce senefiez:  
 105 Tut ausi cum enfansons  
 Net de peché ist hors de founs  
 Quant est pleinement baptizez,  
 Sire, tut ensement devez  
 Issir saunz nule vyleynye  
 110 De ceo bayn, qar chivalerie  
 Se deyt baygner en honestetee,  
 En corteysie, e en bonté.'  
 Après li ad hors du bayn osté  
 E en un beau lit coché,  
 115 Et li dit qe lit signefie  
 Q'om doyt par sa chivalerye  
 Conquere lyt en Paradys  
 Qe Deux otroye a ses amys.  
 Quant en lyt out un poy jeü,  
 120 Sus le dresce si l'ad vestu  
 De blans dras q'erent de lyn,  
 E puy ly dit en son latin:  
 'Sire, ne tenez a eschar.  
 Cil dras qe sont pres de vostre char  
 125 Tous blans vous dounent a entendre  
 Q'adés doit chivaler entendre  
 A sa char nettement tenyr  
 S'il veut a Deu parvenir.'  
 Après li veste robe vermeyle;  
 130 Saladin mout se merweyle.  
 'Sire, dit Huwe, entendez  
 Qe ceste robe issi colorez  
 Veot qe vostre sank devez doner  
 Pur Deu servir et honorer  
 135 Et pur Seynte Eglise defendre  
 Qe nul ne ose countre ly mesprendre;  
 C'est entendu par vermail.  
 — Huwe, dit il, mout me mervail.'

101 *signefie* (also found in l. 115) seems to have been corrected to *senefie* in this instance.

128 *parvenir* has been corrected from *venir* (*veñir* ms.).

- Aprés li ad chaucees chaucees  
 140 De brune seye deliez,  
 E ly dit qe ces chausure noire  
 Veut q'il eyt adés en memoyre  
 La mort e la tere ou girra,  
 Dount vynt, e ou irra.  
 145 En orguil ja ne cherra  
 Ki de ceo se recordera,  
 Qar orgueyl devient a chivaler,  
 Qi qe vorra a dreyt penser;  
 Simplesce et humilité  
 150 Avyennent ben a tel digneté.  
 Aprés ly ceynt d'une ceynture  
 Blaunche e petite de feture,  
 E li dit l'entendement  
 Q'il garde ses reyns enterement  
 f. 88v 155 Saunt luxure en chastetee  
 E a sa fame teigne lëauté,  
 Kar Dieu het mout tele ordure.  
 E dit ly roy: 'C'est bien dreiture.'  
 Aprés deux esporouns li mist  
 160 Bien dorrez, e puy li dit:  
 'Sire, tut ausi cum chivaler  
 Des esporounz poynt son destrer  
 E le fet coure igneement  
 Quant a poyndre met son talent,  
 165 Tut issi devez par penance  
 Poyndre ta char qe par aliaunce  
 Ta alme ne face mes errer,  
 Ne en orde pensee deliter,  
 Mes fa qe ton corps al esperit  
 170 S'acorde saunt contredit,  
 E donks serra pur verité  
 Vostre destrer trebien gayee.'  
 Aprés li ad ceynte l'espeye.  
 Saladin ad demaundé  
 175 La signefiance du brank.

147 *devient* seems to be used as an opposite of *avient*.

155 The *t* of *Saunt* is written above the line.

158 *C'est*] *ce* ms.

- 'Sire, fet il, ceo est garaunt  
 Countre l'assaut del enemy  
 Par cete croyz qe veez cy;  
 En l'espee poez ver  
 180 Deux trenchans ke vous fount saveir  
 Qe dreiture e læuté  
 Aferent a chivaler dubbé.  
 Il deyt li povres hons garder  
 Qe ly riches ne ly put fuler,  
 185 E ly feble doit garantir  
 Qe li fort ne ly pust honir;  
 Ceo est oeuvre de misericorde.  
 Saladin mout bien s'acorde.  
 Après la blanche coyfe y mit  
 190 Sour son chief, si li dit:  
 'Cete coyfe cy saunz ordure,  
 Bien asise, blanche e pure,  
 C'est la gloire qe averés a quer  
 Quant li haut sire vendra juger  
 195 De ceo qe cy veyntés par vertue  
 Peché par le monde entur ewe.  
 La char ne le deble ne te poient  
 Veintre, e pur ce s'en avalerunt  
 As autres de lur afere,  
 200 Qi en ciel n'averunt qe fere,  
 Mes s'en irrount a cel liu  
 Ou ja Deu ne serra veü.  
 E quant en quer sovendras  
 De la merite qe deservy as,  
 205 E de la joie saunz terminer  
 Qe Deux otroie a bon chivaler,  
 Vostre quer enclorra une leesce  
 Come coyfe tient en detresce  
 Ta teste, en qy ta chevelure  
 210 Est adrescee par coyfure.  
 Meis entendez qe cel delit  
 Cum coife la chevelure enbelit  
 f. 89r Vous fra saunz fin un confort

193 *averer* ms.196 The context suggests that *ewe* means 'you'.

- Quant enl cel averez ta sort.  
 215 Donkes ariverrez a bon port  
 Quant serrez a chape tort e fort.  
 E li rois trestout escouta,  
 E en après li demanda  
 S'il failoit plus nule chose.  
 220 'Oïl, misire, qe fere nel ose:  
 C'est a la fin la colee.  
 – E pur quoy, dist li roys, ne le m'avez doné  
 E me dit la signefiaunce?  
 – Syre, fet Huwe, c'est en remembraunce  
 225 De celi ke l'ad dubbé  
 E mis en cele digneté,  
 E voet qe chivaler soit southmyse  
 A la foy de Seint Eglise,  
 E qe power eit de decoler  
 230 Ceus qe la foi veulent guerrier;  
 E qe sovent recorde en sa pensee  
 Coment Jesu fu flaelé  
 E suffrit dure passion  
 Pur la nostre mesprison.  
 235 Puys requert la colee  
 Qe cely qe est novel dubbé  
 Eit tut dis cum seignour  
 Celi qe le fist tel honour.'  
 Puys dit Huwe a Saladin  
 240 Corteisement en son latin:  
 'Sire, veyez les cinq articles  
 Qe la colee enclost par ces titles,  
 E gardez si un cheitifs enprisoné  
 Al roy deit doner la colee  
 245 Q'a nostre foy contredit  
 E force ne fet de Jesu Crist.  
 Coment decolereit les enemyz  
 Quant enprysoné les eslyz?  
 Puys me diez par quele colour  
 250 Un roy tendroyt cum son seignour  
 Un cheitifs meins alowé

- Ke nul garsoun de la menee.  
 E pur ceo qe jeo su de simple aray,  
 La colee ne vous dorray.  
 255 Tenez vous apaié de tant,  
 E entendet plus avaunt,  
 Qe sis choses especials  
 Deyt aver chivaler noveals.  
 La primere tut a comencement  
 260 Qe ja ne soyt a faus jugement.  
 L'autre qe soit atempré  
 En parole, en beoyre, e mesuré,  
 Q'a nul jour de sa vie  
 Chete en yveresce ou en gloutonye.  
 265 Puy en record de Nostre Sauveour  
 Doyt chescune symayne un jour  
 Juner; ceo est par vendredi  
 Q'est jour pur june establi;  
 f. 89v Cel jour fu feru de la launce  
 270 Jesu, e pur ceo deit en penaunce  
 Chescuns passer la journee  
 Qe ly cleyme pur avowé.  
 Chescun chivaler q'ad sauté  
 E par conpaignye n'est destourbé  
 275 Deit tener cele june  
 En remembraunce de la coroune  
 Espinouse dount Nostre Salveour  
 Fu corouné a cel jour;  
 E si juner ne purra,  
 280 Par amosnes s'aquytera.  
 Un autre chose fere estut  
 Qy bon chivaler estre veot:  
 S'il troeve dame esgarree  
 Ou pucele deconfortee,  
 285 Il les doyt bonement eyder  
 E en lëauté conseiller.  
 Unkore pur fere la parclose  
 Ly estut fere une chose:  
 Chescun jour doyt messe oÿr;

271 The *h* of *Chescun* seems to have been corrected, and the following *s* has been added above the line.



- 290 S'il eyt de quey, il deyt offryr;  
Mout est cel offrende ben aplayé  
Q'est myse a la table Dé  
Kar en porte graunt vertu.'  
Saladyn ad byen entendu
- 295 Ceo qe Huwe li va cuntant;  
Il en ad joye mout grant.  
Puys est estaunt levez  
Auxi come fu adobbez;  
En la sale s'en entra,
- 300 Cinkante admirals i trova  
Qe touz erent de son paÿs,  
Lors est en une chaïere assis,  
Puys fist Huwe lee ly ser,  
E vous comencé a ly parler:
- 305 'Huwe, fet yl, entendez:  
Pur ceo q'estés tant traivelez  
De ceo qe m'avez cy dubbé,  
E a ceo tres bien enseigné,  
Un beau doun vous dorray,
- 310 Qant fraunchement vous graunteray  
Voluntee e comaundement  
Qe si nul de vostre gent  
En poygnees seyt pris u en bataille,  
Pur t'amour quites s'en ayle.
- 315 Mes savez q'il vous covient fere?  
Vous chivaucherez par my ma tere  
Tut simplement e saunz deray,  
E sur le col de vostre palefray  
Mettrez vostre gaumbe en contenance
- 320 Qe hom ne vous face descunbrance.  
— Sire, dit Huwe, jeo vous mercy,  
Mes sachez qe jeo ne fu pas ubli  
Qe me deites qe demandasse,  
Quant jeo nul prodhomme trovasse,

292 *deu* MS.

297 *pyys* MS., half-erased for correction.

302 *en est* MS.

320 *-cūbrance* of *descunbrance* is written above the line, and the whole word written again in the left-hand margin.

- f. 90r
- 325 Q'il m'eidast a ma raunçon.  
 Jeo ne vey ore nul si prodhom  
 Cum vous estés, beau sire roy,  
 E pur ceo a vous me comenceray,  
 Puy qe demander m'avez aprys.'
- 330 Saladyn jetout un rys  
 E dit a semblant de home lié:  
 'Huwe, vous avez tres bien comencé.  
 Jeo ne voyl q'a moy fayllez.  
 Mile besaunz en averez,
- 335 E a ceo vous fray une bele procuracie  
 De ceste bele compaignie,  
 Qar il n'y a nul qe passera  
 Q'a vostre raunçon ne vous dorra;  
 Jeo m'en iray oveske vous.
- 340 Seignurs, dit ly roy, donez nous  
 A cety bon prince rechater.'  
 Lors comencerent a doner  
 Li admirals tut envyron  
 Taunt q'il out tute sa raunson,
- 345 Puy ad Huwe son congé prys,  
 Q'aler s'en vout en son païs,  
 Mes li roy l'a fet demorer  
 Huit jours pur son corps recreer  
 A grant joye e grant deduyt.
- 350 Puy ad demaundé le condeut.  
 Saladyn ly ad lyveré  
 Conpaignye a voluté  
 Qe le conduit par payenye  
 Saunz mal aver u vylaynie.
- 355 E quant cele bele route  
 En soun pays sanz nule doute  
 Ly bon prynce mené aveient,  
 A lour seignour retourneyent,  
 E ly prince de Galilee
- 360 Sauf revynt en sa countree.  
 Ore est Huwe revenuz

331 *lie* om. ms.356 *sour* ms.361 *Ore* has been corrected from *Oore* (*Oore* ms.).

- Come bon chyvaler hardy e pruz  
 De la tere defaee,  
 En quele tant avant ert moiné  
 365 Cortoys e chyvalerous  
 K'al roy devynt tregracyous  
 Issi qe chevaler le fist,  
 E sa gent de hors pryson prist,  
 Sa ransoun tot pleynement rendit  
 370 E d'eleokes quyte s'ent partist,  
 Ordre de chivalers descrit,  
 E en ceo le procès finist.  
 Nostre Sire Jesu Crist  
 Face qe chevalers solonk son dit  
 375 Seient de vie si tresparfit  
 Qe rien ne facent sor lour profit.  
 Amen. E jeo les doyn respit  
 Tant k'il veient cest escrit,  
 Qar ces povere e petit  
 380 Le romans de novel vestit.  
 Explicit.

375 *te tresparfit* MS.

376 *sor*] *for* MS.

## II

CAMBRIDGE, GONVILLE AND CAIUS COLLEGE 424/448 (= *G*)

The text of *G* is 696 lines long and therefore considerably longer than the continental poem. Given that *G* also lacks the prologue and final address of the original, its expansion must be all the greater. This can mostly be accounted for by Hugh's longer and more detailed exposition to Saladin of the various virtues and vices he should acquire and avoid; the tone is consequently more aggressive, and the aggressiveness reinforced by frequent allusions by Hugh to Saladin's godless state. The total effect is to produce something even closer to a sermon than the other versions. The scribe of *G* is not particularly careful, and there are quite a number of clear errors. According to Tilander (*La venerie de Twiti*, p. 9), the text of the *Art de venerie* copied by the same scribe is also mediocre and full of mistakes. There are in the text of *OC* quite a few apparently corrupt passages, but I have emended only when not even tenuous

sense could be made. At the top of p. 79 a sixteenth-century hand has added: *De bello Saladini et Hugonis de Tabarrie: seu de ordine militiae.*

- p. 79a
- Jadys eustoit en Panye  
 Un roy de mult grant seignurie  
 Et fust mult lëaus Sarasyn,  
 Si out a noun Saladhyn.
- 5 Mes a tens de cesty roi  
 Luy Sarasyn firent grant desrei  
 As ceaux de la nostre creaunce,  
 Par lour orguil et lour bobance,  
 Tant qe par aventure avent
- 10 Qe a la bataille un prince vent.  
 Hughe a noun de Tabarrie  
 Qe luy mena grant cunpaignie  
 Des chivalers de Galilee,  
 Car sires ert de la cuntré.
- 15 Assez en firent d'armes le jour,  
 Meis ne plust pas a Creatour,  
 Qi est Sires et Roi de Gloire,  
 Qe noz gentz eurent la victoire;  
 Mais tut a force de Sarasyn
- 20 Luy prince Hughe vait a declyn,  
 Et plusours gentz de ses occys,  
 Enprisonetz et maumys,  
 Tant qe i est pris le prince Hughs;  
 Si est menez par my les ruwes
- 25 Et presentez a Saladhyn,  
 Qi luy saluwe en son latin:  
 'Hughe, fait il, ben venant,  
 Par le grant dieu Termagant,  
 A quy doy fëauté e homage,
- 30 Et poise moi, sire, de damage  
 Et de la perte et del enuoie  
 Qe entré estés a jour de huye,  
 Mais amender ne t'i en purroie,  
 Si countre ma foi ne mesprendroie.'
- 35 Luy prince Hughe respond atant

p. 79b

- Au soudan q'il estut devant:  
 'Sire, fait il, ne mervailles mye  
 Qe ciel qe quert chevalerye  
 Ne put pas tut dis espleiter,  
 40 Ne a sa volunté conquerer,  
 Mes a gain e a pierte  
 Se tendra de corage overte,  
 Si com Dieu doner le veut  
 Qe faire et deffaire puet.  
 45 Et ja prodome le plus se esmaie  
 Ne soen Dieu ne sa loi renaie,  
 Mais en touz poyns le doit loer  
 Et tendrement enmercier.  
 Ceo di je bien, sire emperour,  
 50 Pus qe ne agree a mon Seignur  
 Qe je ey l'espleit a la journé.  
 Ore seit a sa volunté.  
 Si me rent a voz comanz  
 Come chivaler renduz est chanz.<sup>37</sup>  
 55 Le roi se avyse de la parole:  
 'Hughe, fait il, de bone escole  
 Vous vient la foi e la creance  
 Qe vous pernez la grevaunce  
 De ferme foi et de franc coer.  
 60 Mult fait tiel prodome a preiser,  
 Et pur la foi qe vous tenetz  
 A vostre Dieu en qi creez  
 Une chose averez de moi,  
 Qe auques vous vaudra, ce croi.  
 65 Le qel vous voletz, le rançoun,  
 Ou demurrer en ma prisoun?  
 – Sire roi, fait il, mult grant mercye.  
 Endroit de choiser le vous dye  
 Qe mieuz voil a raunçon vener  
 70 Qe en prison longement languer,  
 Si vous ne me mettez trop haut.  
 – A, Hughe, fait il, ne vous eschaut,

37 *Sire*] *Si* MS.

46 *renae* MS.

69 *nieuz* MS.

- p. 80a
- De poverté mes en parlez.  
 Vous estés prodome assetz  
 75 Et tant prisé de chevalerie,  
 Si vous ne escoundra mye  
 Franc prince a vostre rantzoun  
 Q'il ne vous dorra riche doun.  
 – Sire, fait Hughe, si vous plest,  
 80 Dites moi ceo qe beaus vous est;  
 A qe poit ore me tendray.  
 – Hughe, fait il, je vous dirrai:  
 Mille besantz vous me dorretz,  
 Et par itant vous en juretz,  
 85 Car de meins ne parlez ja.'  
 Hughe itaunt luy mercia,  
 Et mult curteisement le prie  
 Qe del apaïé jour l'en die  
 Et auxi de sa deliverance.  
 90 Et dit ly rois sanz delaiance:  
 'Hughe, jeo voil qe me affietz  
 Par le Dieu en qi creetz,  
 Et sur la vertu et la foi  
 Qe vous devez a vostre loi,  
 95 Qe de huy en deuz anz revendrez,  
 Et le rantzoun me aporterez.  
 Si alez a Dieu par itaunt.  
 – Sire, fait Hughe, et je le grant.'  
 Ensi est il desprisoné.  
 100 Ceo di jeo pur la sureté  
 Du payen qe ly crust si ben;  
 Ja faudroit ore un Cristien  
 Vers un aultre de ceu covenant,  
 Mes a cel heure fu lëauté grant  
 105 Par my trestot le mond tenue.  
 Atant parla le prince Hughe,  
 Si li demande congé d'aler,  
 Qe a son païs veut retorner.  
 Et quant li saudan li veit passant  
 110 Donqe ly ad dit en riaunt:
- p. 80b

- 'Hughe, fait il, ore me escotez.  
 D'une chose m'y remembrez:  
 Vos gentz de la Cristienye  
 Tenez un ordre de chevalrie  
 115 Qe mult en ay oÿ priser.  
 Si me le ditez, ceo vous requer,  
 Coment hom fait les chevalers,  
 Car jeo le serroi volunters.'  
 Et prince Hughe le respondi,  
 120 Quant cele reverye oÿ:  
 'Sire roi, fait il, ne parlez ja.  
 Ne plaeece Dieu qi tut forma  
 Qe cieü socié unqe me avenist,  
 Car a ce qe le proverbe dist,  
 125 Cil en perdroit touz ces juweaux  
 Q'il les gestat a purceaux,  
 Car des pes les desfoleroient  
 Ne ja un soul aporteroient.  
 Et grant folie ore enprendroie  
 130 Si un femeir de dras de soie  
 Voleie parer et vestier  
 Qe il ne purroit ja puer.  
 Tout auxi di jeo par deça,  
 Qe tiel ordre a vous dirra  
 135 Mult ferroit a Dieu grant desroi,  
 Car baptisme ne avez ne foi;  
 Ainz serroie de Dieu blamez.  
 → Hughe, fait il, noun serretz,  
 Ne averoit ja mesprisoun  
 140 Puis qe vous estés en ma prison.  
 Et si vous covent mez comanz faire,  
 Mais q'il vous doit auques desplaire.  
 Come l'en dit par antiquité,  
 "Tot dis force pest le pre."  
 145 Et ciel qe veit qe faire l'estut  
 Et qe traverser ne puet,  
 Ainz covent sez comantz faire.
- p. 81a

123 *cieu* <*caecus* (blind)?

125 *pendroit* ms.

127 *desfoleroit* ms.

- Cheveux, barbe, e viaire  
 Luy fait apparailer plus bele;  
 150 Ceo est droit a chevaler novele.  
 'Sire roi, fait il, ceste rasture  
 Ne ceo mettez vous mie a troflure,  
 Ainz le devez parfitement  
 Garder com nostre loy entent;  
 155 Si come par ceste novel rasture  
 Vous ouste adés tut l'ordure  
 Qe vous encrust en visage,  
 Tut auxi mauvés usage  
 De vostre maleite creaunce  
 160 De pus le temps de vostre enfance  
 Seit ousté de vous adés,  
 Et qe ne aherdés a nul jour mes  
 A ceste cheitive maumetrye;  
 Ains tenez vous a la sure vie.  
 165 Si creetz en l'incarnacioun  
 E home nous fesoms, e si noun  
 Tant mar vous avendra le hure.'  
 Ly rois s'en rist a desmesure  
 Et dist: 'Hughe, par ma foy,  
 170 Mult me est l'ordre plesant en soi,  
 Pus tant vaut ore le barber  
 Qe vous nous avetz dist primer.  
 – Oil, sire, fait Hughe, mult plus i a.'  
 Et dit ly rois: 'Ore et parra.  
 175 Mult i a bieu comencement,  
 Car unquore ben m'y assent.'  
 Pus luy fait tut noet vailler  
 Et l'araison a esponer:  
 'Sire roi, fait il, ne vous grevez  
 180 Ne en desdeyn ja nel eetz,  
 Car ce veille vous espoune  
 Grant curioseté, et doune  
 Ensamplé de eschure peresce  
 Et tote manere de laschesce.  
 185 Si vous aprent, si beau vous est,
- p. 81b

165 *en l'incarnacioun*] *len incarnacioun* ms.

183 *eschure* <*excadere/excidere* (to escape)?



- Qe vous soiez toz jours prest  
 Dieu defendre et sa ley,  
 Qe kuardye endroit de sey  
 Ne vous est prys en sa baillye,  
 190 Mes par duwe chevalrye  
 Serretz veillant et travaillant,  
 Les enemys Dieu guerrant,  
 Et enhansant sa ley toz jours.  
 Mais ce est ore encontre plusors  
 195 Qe ne se dountent a aultre entent,  
 Mes tot lour force et lour juvent  
 Usent en charnieux delitz;  
 Ne prisent Dieux ne ses amitz  
 .....  
 200 Veintre ne aider tant ne quaunt;  
 Aynz sont bubengers apert,  
 Car par lour fruitz est discovert  
 Qele vie il ount choisy.  
 Luy rois s'en rist et respondy  
 205 Qe mult fait cel article a plier,  
 Car n'y a chose qe luy contrair;  
 Einz luy agree qant il l'ad oÿe,  
 Mais a la ley ne acorde mye.  
 E pur quant, pur plus oÿr,  
 210 Assez se peine de bien soeffrir.  
 Ore ly fait un bayn entrer,  
 Et ly rois, sanz plus targer,  
 Luy demande qe fait le bayn.  
 'Sire, fait Hughe, soiez certeyn  
 215 Qe mult fait ceo point a amer,  
 Car auxi come vous faitez laver  
 Tot le corps e sa soilleüre,  
 Auxi devez de tent pure  
 La conscience inonder dedentz,  
 220 De touz lesdez afaitementz  
 De quer ausy et de bouche,

p. 82a

186 *toz* om. MS.

190 The word *duwe* here and elsewhere is a mystery to me: possibly a form of *douce*?

199 This line is omitted in the manuscript.

207 *at* has been written by a later hand above *qnt.*      *l'ad oÿe*] *al oÿe* MS.

- Si qe velanye ne vous touche  
 Ne en fait ne en parole;  
 Mais tut de novelle escole  
 225 Seez des ore afaité,  
 Qe la riote avaunt usé  
 Ne vous eschape a nul feor  
 Mais qe vous courge contre coer.  
 Chose qe l'en vous face ou dye,  
 230 Ja plus toust par malecolye,  
 Ne querrez sur luy vengeance  
 Par nulle membre qe a vous apent.  
 Ne ja de poyn ne de pee  
 Fors qe lance ou d'espee  
 235 Ne devez nully assailler;  
 Ainz vous appartient de suffrir,  
 Car l'ordre le comand adés  
 Qe sobreté pregniez après,  
 Qe ja yveresce ne vous atigne,  
 240 Car descovenable est l'enseigne  
 Qe luy chevallier soit yverous;  
 Ainz doit estre sobre et douce,  
 Car de yveresce vent autre mal,  
 Maint toil et maint batail,  
 245 Dont ce bain sert de laver.'  
 Luy rois ne trove qe blamer,  
 Ainz le prie de plus dire.  
 'Oïl, fait il, beau douce sire,  
 Plus i a, si le escotez.  
 250 – Oïl, fait luy rois, si le vous mustrez.'  
 Ore luy mette uns dras de lyn,  
 Dont se mervaille Sahaladyn.  
 'Sire roi, fait il, ore esgardez:  
 Par ceux blanc dras qe cy veez  
 255 Qe vous met a la char niye,  
 Une vertu est entendue,  
 Ceo est parfite humilité;  
 Et ceo vous covent estre posé

225 A second *e* has been partially erased after *afaité*.

251 *Ors* MS.      *uns*] *voz* MS.

253 *il* om. MS.

p. 82b

- Plus pres de coer qe autre rien,  
 260 Car si vous ussez tut le bien  
 Et totes les vertues et les bontez  
 Qe unques furent a home donez,  
 Et vous fausist humilitee,  
 Tot fuissez niy et dispoillé  
 265 Et tote l'autre venisse a nient;  
 Car humilité en soy tient  
 Totes les autres vertuz qe sount,  
 Qe sanz cele nulle bien ne font.  
 Mais ausi come sez dras linois  
 270 Vous sont plus pres a totes fois  
 Pur le corps cherir et garder,  
 Ausy vous voil aviser  
 Qe en tous voz envois et contraires  
 Soiez douz et debonaires,  
 275 A quer de aignel sanz felonye,  
 Car ceo est un point de chivalrie:  
 Estre en chambre com aignels,  
 Mes en champ leon rebels  
 Et en nulle autre condicioun;  
 280 Ne averez ja fierté si noun  
 En defence de la terre,  
 Car en tiel busoigne le retrere  
 N'est pas dever de chivalrie,  
 Mais aillours ne apent stotie,  
 285 Ains doit parfitement estre fondee  
 De douçor et de humilitee  
 Vers Dieu e tote gent;  
 Et en tote manere troeblement  
 De adversité ou mal ou pierte,  
 290 Nel rettez ja a aultri deserte  
 Fors qe a vostre pecché de meyn,  
 De vostre char qe est fresle et vein,  
 Et tut dys prist a Dieu offendre.  
 En tiel entente devez prendre  
 295 Les tribulaciouns addurés  
 En remission de voz pecchés;

272 *voil* om. ms.

273 *en of envois* is written above the line in a later hand.

- p. 83a
- 300 Et sachez qi qe ensi fet faire,  
 En parseiverance sanz retraire,  
 Eceluy est droit chivaler,  
 Seit il baroun ou bercher,  
 Ou soit il mendise ou menant.  
 Luy rois respondi en riaunt  
 Qe mult fait bien ce point a croire,  
 Qe avoir le veut en memoire,  
 305 Car le ley Cristien le tirye  
 Et l'autre ley ne defent mye.  
 Ore luy veste la robe vermaille  
 Et Sahalady le plus merveille:  
 'Hughe, fait il, de Tabbarie,  
 310 Ceste robe qe signefie?  
 – Sire roi, fait il, jeo vous dirrai  
 La creance de nostre lay:  
 Par ceste robe entendons nous  
 Le sanc vermail precious  
 315 Qe le fitz douz Dieu expandy  
 Quant pur nous en la crois pendi;  
 Et si le ussoms en signefiance  
 De perpetuele remembrance  
 Qe sanz nul jour ublier  
 320 Le devoms loer et mercier,  
 Qe si haut rançoun sanz sa deserte  
 Volleit offerer pur nostre perte,  
 Et pur nous resorter de mortz.  
 Mult fu l'amour fyn et fort  
 325 De celuy qi fu roi celestre  
 Qe entre nous vousist venir et nestre,  
 Et sur ly prendre tiel despyt  
 Qe umqes de rienz ne mesprit,  
 Ne umqes pecché poit faire,  
 330 Mes pur nous prist si grant affaire  
 Qe tut son sanc voleit despendre  
 Et pur nous restorer et rendre  
 Ceo qe nous mesmes ne poams mye,

299 *Et eluy* ms.319 *umblir* ms.326 *nous om.* ms.

p. 83b

- Car plus haut gelousye  
 335 Ne fu unques moustré en terre;  
 Et en memorie de cel afaire  
 Usoms cele robe vermail  
 Si qe par duwe definail  
 Devoms le signe de ly porter  
 340 Et de soun meynage clamer,  
 Qe par soun sanc sumus nous reint.  
 Pur ceo avoms l'ensigne tient  
 Du colour vermail com vous veiez,  
 Mais ren ne vous vaut, ce sachez;  
 345 De cele article n'avez qe faire,  
 Ne nulli de la ley putaire;  
 Mais auxi com cel sanc benoit  
 Nous est perpetuel aiguait  
 Countre tut temptacioun,  
 350 Auxi est vostre dampnacioun;  
 Et pur ceo, sire, n'ent parlez mez,  
 Cele article laissez en pees.'  
 Et adonqe luy ad chaucez  
 De brune soie colourés,  
 355 Et dit: 'Beau sire enperour,  
 Pur vous mettre hors de errour  
 Vous dirra quel chose espoune  
 Selom qe nostre lei se doune.  
 Sire, par ceste chausour noire  
 360 Avez vous tut dis en memoire  
 La feblesce et la fresletee  
 En qi vous estés engendré,  
 Et de quele matire estez conceü,  
 Et com vostre carnele vertu  
 365 Est nient durable et non certeyne;  
 Ainz estés un carein vilaine,  
 Vessel plain de pulencie,  
 Char a pureture murrie,  
 Viande as vermes et a vermyne,  
 370 Quant mort avera de vous seisine.  
 Et si de ceo, sire, vous soveignez,  
 Ja de orgul vencu ne serrez,  
 Car tot soiez vous emperer  
 Et tant avez a justicer,

- p. 84a
- 375 Vostre power en mounde n'a  
 Qe assseurer vous purra  
 Brevement desqe a la vespré,  
 Tant non certain est la sanité.  
 Et pur ceo vous est cel chausure
- 380 Noir de colour a dreiture  
 Qe touz jours qant la regardez  
 De vostre estat vous subveignez  
 Et de vostre mort auxi.  
 Luy rois itant le respondi
- 385 Qe mult luy est ce point plesant.  
 Or ly prie dire avaunt  
 Ceo qe il i faut qe ne ad pardit,  
 Car trestut luy vient a delit.  
 'Et je, sire, fait il, pus qe ensi est
- 390 Qe le escoter plus vous plect,  
 Ne lerrai qe plus vous en die  
 Pur oustre vostre mescreancie  
 Et pur la droit foy aprendre,  
 Si vous, sire, le veulz entendre.'
- 395 Quant luy rois luy ad escoté  
 Come la chausure il ad esponé,  
 Lors luy ad ceint d'une centure  
 Ou mult ad riche l'endenture  
 De or et de pierre precieuse
- 400 Et de autre noblei meveylouse.  
 'Sire, fait il, ore esgardez:  
 Ceste centure qe vous veez  
 Qe vostre corps vous environne  
 Un entendement vous doune
- 405 De estable parseveraunce  
 Qe en noun chaler ne en ubliance  
 Ne mettez rien qe vous ai dit;  
 Mes de coer pur et parfyt  
 Faites regard par bon entente
- 410 Si qe tut vostre corps se assente

376 *asseurez* MS.389 *plus* MS.391 *vous en die*] *vendie* MS.403 *corps vous*] *corps qe vous* MS.

- p. 84b
- Et soit a chascun point pliaunt  
 Sanz onke freide tant ne quant.  
 Tot auxi com voz dras vous sont  
 Lacez aval et amount
- 415 A vostre corps par ceste seinture,  
 Auxi covient qe sanz blemure  
 Soient touz voz cens ajont  
 A garder l'ordre en chescun point,  
 Et qe pur vinere ne murrer
- 420 Ne devez feindre ne flecher  
 Nul de ceux pointz qe il i a.  
 Salahady le regarda,  
 Si se acord bien au point,  
 Car greignur sens ne fu ajont
- 425 Umqe en nul lieu, ce li est avys,  
 Tant ly sount plesanz ses dys.  
 Ore ly ad seinte l'espee,  
 Et ly rois ly ad demandé  
 La signefiance de braund.
- 430 'Sire, fait il, ce est un grant  
 Countre le assaut del enemy  
 Par ceste crois qe veez issy;  
 Deux trenchantz vous veez  
 Qe par deux sens sont esponez,
- 435 L'un droit, l'autre lëaulté,  
 Deux vertuz de grant renomé.  
 Ceus deux pointz deit li chevaler  
 Sur le chief ou les membre coper  
 Endroit de luy bien meintener
- 440 Plenement desqe au murrir.  
 Unquore ne doit estre ublyee  
 Aultre entendement del espee:  
 Si chivaler ait affaire  
 Qe doit a soun ordre plere,
- 445 Et mounta palfrey ou destrer,  
 De sa espee se doit aviser  
 Qe a soun sinistre soit ceinte,  
 Si qe garny fust par la crois seinte  
 Del deable e sez assaus,
- p. 85a

- 450 Tant est engynous, fors et faus,  
 Et plein de bule et de veidie.  
 Pur ceo est sens, noun pas folie,  
 Qe chescun sage soit garnye  
 Countre si forte enemy.
- 455 Ore avez oÿ del espey  
 Com entre chevalers est usee,  
 Mes pur vous, sire, nel di jeo mye,  
 Ne pur la mahonnerye,  
 Car en la crois ne fiez pas;
- 460 Tant vous ad fermé en sez las  
 Celuy prince de baratroun  
 Qe ne rewarde si mal noun  
 A touz ceux qi ly claiment servir.  
 Et l'emperour ne se poet tener
- 465 Qe ceo ne greve en partye  
 Quant il despise la paenye;  
 Et ne pur quant rien ne parla,  
 Mais conter avant le rova.  
 Et lors luy chauce les esperounz,
- 470 Si les atache a ses talons.  
 'Sire, fait il, ore esgardetz:  
 Ceux esperouns qe sont dorrez  
 Vous signefient un nobley  
 De reverence et de maney
- 475 Pur l'ordre qe est si haut en soy,  
 Car tut soiez prince ou roy,  
 Plus haut ne estez de chivaler  
 Si noun par riches et poer;  
 Mes quant a l'ordre de dignité,
- p. 85b 480 Aundy estés en un degré.  
 Ceo signefie l'esperoun,  
 Et auxi par un autre reison.  
 Veez le destrer abrivé  
 Qe de coure est entalenté?
- 485 Qant le hourte del esperoun,

468 *contre* MS.472 *esperoms* MS.480 *Aundy* <*auner* (to unite)?483 *la destre* MS.



- Ly cours ad chosy a randoun.  
 Auxi aidant, sire, soiez vous,  
 Et si fers et si corageous  
 Pur Dieu venger et defendre,  
 490 Et tut vostre temps espendre  
 En son servise et son honure.  
 Veez si baillie de haute valoure  
 Qe chevaler tient endroit de soy.  
 A ceste parole s'en rist le roy;  
 495 Si le tien tut a troeflure,  
 Et ja tardois a cele hure,  
 Ne luy traverse tant ne quant,  
 Ainz luy prie conter avant.  
 Atant luy ad la coife myse,  
 500 Blanche et bele a devise,  
 Et dist: 'Sire roi, si luy vous plect,  
 Endroit de ceo savez q'il est;  
 Mult serroit vein la parlance,  
 Car de vous fu en desperance  
 505 De part avoir de la seisyngne.  
 En ceste signifiance enclyne,  
 Et par la coife sur la teste,  
 Sur touz voz dras blanche et honeste,  
 Entendoms le regne celestre  
 510 Ou tut ly bien encresont estre  
 Qe Dieu ad a touz soens promitz;  
 Si ad le deable disseisys  
 De soen poer et maistrie  
 Al hure qe del virgine Marie  
 515 Voleit devenir home en terre  
 p. 86a Pur nous le regne en fuie conquerre,  
 Qe ne poet estre regaigné  
 Par nul homme de mere nee,  
 Tant fu le trespas haut en say,  
 520 Mais benot soit le riche roy  
 Qe tute fist et tut deffra;  
 Par sa doçour nous repella  
 Hors de la prison de mavestre

492 *haite* ms.

510 *b* of *bien* and *enc<sup>e</sup>sôt* have been inked over by a later hand.

- A sa mayson celestre,  
 525 La ou tous purront venir  
 Qi le volerent deservir.  
 Et a ceste heritage  
 Doit homme mettre coer et corage,  
 Qe desesperer ne doit pur rien  
 530 Coment qe avensist, mal ou ben.  
 Tot mettroit a noun chaler  
 A tiel q'il fust parcener  
 A ceste noun disable joye.  
 Et ceo est bien, sire, la haute voie  
 535 Et la droite signefiance  
 Pur quei vous met la coife blanche;  
 Tut soit il a vous chose veine,  
 A nous, si Dieu plest, est certeine.'  
 Ly rois s'en rist coy et suefe,  
 540 Et ly demande del recheffe  
 S'il y unquore ad unques plus.  
 'Oil, sire, fait il, ceo verrez vous.'  
 Et le met le anel au doy,  
 Et dist: 'Ore beau sire roy,  
 545 Ceste anel qe vous aparaille  
 Est si come un esposaille  
 Pur vous en l'ordre assensere,  
 Qe qanke vous ay dit primere  
 Vous soit affermé enviroin  
 550 Come fust par une professioun  
 Qe prudomme a son ordre fet,  
 Qe ja par luy ne soit defet,  
 p. 86b Ne freint pur gref n'encombrer  
 Qe home le face endourer.  
 555 Auxi come ly lëaux espous  
 A sa espouse est desirrous  
 Gainer rien qe la poet plere,  
 Et suffrer tant gref et contrere,  
 Et de ceste forte aliaunce  
 560 Ne poet aver deliverance,  
 Si noun par mort qe tut en prent,  
 Auxi vous di jeo verrament

- Qe l'en chivaler serra  
 Suffrant a qanqe vouldra,  
 565 Et ferme tenant endroit de ly  
 Les pointz qe y sount estably  
 Sanz nul de eaux nul jour flecher.  
 Ore vous ay sanz discoverer  
 Mustré tut la prophecié.  
 570 Et ly rois ly ad demandé  
 S'il faut ore nulle chose.  
 'Sire, oil, fait il, qe faire ne ose.  
 – Et qe est ce? – Sire, ceo est la colee.  
 – Et pur qei nel me avez donqe donee?  
 575 – Sire, fait il, ceo est l'achaisone,  
 Qe jeo su auxi come prisone;  
 Et pur ceo ne vous veul ferrir,  
 Bien poez vous de tant suffrir.  
 Autre raison vous dirrai  
 580 Qe la colee ne vous donay:  
 La ley la veut de chivalrie,  
 Par duwe ordre de ancestrie,  
 Qe cel qe celui de autre prent  
 Endroit de son adoubement  
 585 Obeïra a sa presence  
 Et fra honur et reverence  
 A luy com a son seignur,  
 Et qe jamés a nul jour  
 Ne luy verra despit ne hounte.  
 590 Et ceo est la raison qe i amounte  
 Qe ne vous ferri en yce cas,  
 p. 87a Car, beau sire, ne me semble pas  
 Qe avenistes, un riche roy,  
 Obedience avoir vers moy.  
 595 Mais pur parfitement aprendre  
 Del ordre, devez vous entendre  
 Quatre choses especiaus  
 Qe averoit chescun chivaler lëaus:  
 Le principal et le primer  
 600 Qe chescun jour messe doit oier  
 Et chescun jour vait a moster

- Et c'il a dont, si doit offrir,  
 Car mult est beau le offrende assise  
 Qe al table Dieu est mise.
- 605 L'autre article ensement  
 Qe ne soiez au faus jugement,  
 Ne en nul lieu ou soit doné  
 Ne compassé ne procuree,  
 Car ceo est un rien de mounde
- 610 Qe le sicle plus confounde,  
 Ceo est traïson et fausyne;  
 Mal ait qi plus i acline.  
 Le terce article veut est celé:  
 Si vous troverez veove esgarre
- 615 Qe par defaute de mary,  
 Ou de parent ou de amy,  
 Encourge gref ou damage,  
 Ou pucelle qe en pucelage  
 Eye vivre sanz vivant,
- 620 Vous le devez estre aidant  
 Et l'un et l'autre conseiller,  
 Et defendre lour destourber.  
 La noene et sa noeneté  
 Et l'autre en vou de chasté,
- 625 Rehaucez les en lor defaute,  
 Car ce est une aumoigne haute  
 Pur visiter les soeffretoures,  
 Et d'autre part pités et doeles  
 Si par defaute de symple aÿe
- 630 Cheirent en pecché et en folie.  
 Le quarte ne faite a ublier:  
 S'il i a laron ou murdrer  
 Qe as païsons face furtie,  
 La moustrez vostre chivalrie
- 635 Pur tieux mauveis destruire  
 Et le païs ensi rescure.  
 Et c'il ert heretik ou tirant  
 Qe traverse tant ne qaunt
- p. 87b

612 *Mail* MS.614 *veove*] *veou* MS.

- Cel estat ou le fraunchise  
 640 Qe aprendre doit a Seint Eglise,  
 Le chivaler ad le power  
 Venir armé sur son destrer,  
 Et en mesme le esglise li poet occire.  
 Ceo poit ne doit nul desdire;  
 645 N'est ceo donqe haute franchise  
 Qe chivaler tint pur Seint Eglise?  
 Ore sire, fait il, avetz oÿ  
 L'ordre en tant com jeo vous dy,  
 Dont me semble q'il i suffist.'  
 650 Et luy roi respond et dist:  
 'Hugh, fait il, foy qe vous doy,  
 Mult est bon l'ordre de soi,  
 Et mult vous sai mercies et greez  
 De ceo qe m'avez si ben mustrez  
 655 Et entremis de m'aprise,  
 Si ne perdez pas vostre servise;  
 Mais une chose averez de moi  
 Qe unques vous vaudra, ceo croi.  
 Tous les prisons de vostre païs  
 660 Qe avesques vous sount a force pris,  
 Jeo les quite claim de raunsson  
 Sanz rendre vaillant un botoun,  
 Qe rien ne dorront a nul jour.  
 Ceo, Hugh, fra je pur vostre amour.'  
 665 Et cil quant le oÿ hauce la chere,  
 Si respond en tiele manere:  
 'Sire roi, fait il, mult grant mercy,  
 Car mult i ad bel offre sy;  
 Mult fait cil chose a mercier,  
 670 Mais ne fait mie a ublier  
 p. 88a Ceo qe m'aprestés, qe demandasse,  
 Quant jeo nul prodome trovasse,  
 Q'il me aydast a ma raunssoun,  
 Et je ne vey ore nul si prodoun  
 675 Come vous estés, bieu sire rois;

639 *Sel* MS.

671 *ma aprestes* MS.

673 *Qel* MS.

- Si me aidez ore, car ceo est drois.'  
 Luy roi respond en ryaunt:  
 'Par le grant dieu Termagaunt,  
 Ne faudrez ja endroit de moy.  
 680 Mille besanz vous en dorroy  
 En relés de la raunsoun.'  
 Et pus s'en vait tut environ  
 As amirautz e as dukes.  
 'Seignurs, fait il, aidez nous  
 685 A ces franc prince rechater.'  
 Et ciel le prenent trestouz doner;  
 Chescun dona riche doun,  
 Tant q'il fust quites del raunsoun;  
 Si valut bien les remananz  
 690 Quinze mil de bone besantz,  
 Tant gayna cist chivalers.  
 Si retorna sanz demurrers  
 A soun païs a Galilee.  
 Si n'a le geste plus duree,  
 695 Ainz vous finist par ytaunt.  
 A douz Dieu trestoz vous camand.  
 Explicit liber de ordine  
 Milicie ut supradictum est.

684 *nous* has been corrected from *vous* in the manuscript.

### III

LONDON, SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES 136 C (=B)

At 240 lines, the text of *B* is the shortest of all the complete versions of *OC*. Again, the continental prologue and the final address to the audience are omitted, and this time, the rest of the poem has been trimmed back to essentials. The passage towards the beginning of the poem, where the conditions for Hugh's ransom are set, is left out; Hugh's initial refusal to tell Saladin all about knighthood is reduced to a few lines; Saladin is not put in a bed (this is also lacking in *G*), nor is the *coife* put on his head (also absent from *L*), nor the belt made the object of a separate explanation. The poem ends rather abruptly in *B*, with no reference to Hugh's returning home, but is apparently complete. The text is on the whole comprehensible, but not without errors.

f. 42ra

- Jadys y fuist un Sarasyn  
 Qe out a noun Saladyn;  
 Cy fuist bon guerreour:  
 En tout le mounde ne fuist meliour.
- 5 Prisoniers prist en un bataile,  
 Plusours Cristiens saunz faile,  
 Multez fist tuere saunz tarde  
 Et ascuns mist en fort garde,  
 Esquiers, chivaliers de graunt renoun,
- 10 A cause de feare a luy raumsoun.  
 Saladyn fuist bon saunz pere,  
 Mes unques ne fuist chivalier.  
 Il y ad oÿe tresovent  
 Del graunt honour qe al chivalrie pent,
- 15 Et fuist en purpos tout entier  
 D'estre feat chivalier.  
 Et vient un jour en le maisoun  
 Ou furount lez gentz en prisoun;  
 Entour le maisoun mist sa vewe
- 20 Et vist seer en mesme le lieue  
 Un graunt home de graunt vilesse,  
 Loial et sage, de moult prowessse,  
 Chivalier il semble par sa resoun,  
 A quel demandast coment a noun.
- 25 'Monsire, Hugh, fist il, par Dé.  
 Chivalier su d'antiquyté.'  
 Saladyn dit: 'Il n'i a plect,  
 De vous serra chivalier fait.'  
 A tiel mot fuist esbaÿ
- 30 Monsire Hugh, et dit ensy:  
 'Jeo suy prisonere en vostre prisoun  
 Et vous seignour de graunt renoun.  
 – Mez vous ne dust unques displeire,  
 Si vous covent moun volier fere.
- 35 – Sire, puis qe feare l'estuit,  
 Et qe nul contredire poet,  
 Jeo vous dirroy a moun scient

1 *J* of *Jadys* has not been added to the space left for it.

2 *ount* ms.

31 *prisonere*] *ponere* ms.

34 *fere*] *feare* ms.

- Lez pointz et l'entendement.'  
 Donques prist Hugh a retrere,  
 40 Sy luy ad fait sa barbe riere,  
 Et li fist aparailer pluis beal,  
 Car si apent a chivalier novel.  
 Puis luy fist en un bayn entrier,  
 Si luy comence a demoustrier:  
 45 'Sire, fet il, ore esgardez:  
 Cest bayn ou vous estez entrez  
 Vous ad suillure lavé  
 Et de chescun mortel pecché,  
 Et serrez en toutz pointz renovelé,  
 50 Et quant al alme clarifié,  
 Si qe a vostre orde vie  
 Ne approchez mez ové bodie;  
 Ceo est par le bayn entendu,  
 Et maint crestera vostre vertu.'
- f. 42rb 55 Puis luy vesty de drap lyn;  
 Lors soy mervaila Saladyn,  
 Si ly demanda ceo qe amounte,  
 Et sire Hugh luy tost recounte:  
 'Sire, par cez draps de lyn,  
 60 Que sount blankez come nul ermyn,  
 Et vous sount mys pres de corps nue,  
 Par ceo cy est entendu  
 Qe tout manere beauté de vie  
 Serra a toy fort aquillye,  
 65 Et qe avaunt rien feïssez  
 Toutz jours remembre devez  
 Et aver primer en memorie  
 La merite de la graunt glorie  
 Q'a null home failier ne poet;  
 70 A luy qe a droyt vivere voet  
 Ceo serroit le greynour desyr  
 Et pluis pres de vostre coer gisir;  
 C'est entendu par le blank draps  
 Qe pluis pres de le char metteras.'
- 75 Puis le vesty de robe vermaile  
 Et Saladyn pluis se mervaille:



- 'Hugh, fait il, de Tabarie,  
Ceste robe qe signifie?  
— Sire, certes, jeo le vous dirray
- 80 La meilour resoun qe jeo say:  
Par la robe qe vous avez vestue  
Un signifiaunce est entendue,  
Q'en memorie tout dis aiez  
Le sank vermaile glorifiez
- 85 Qe Jesu Crist expandist pur vous  
Qant il morust pur toutz peccheours;  
C'est la resoun de draps vermail.  
Et Saladyn ceo moult mervail,  
Car cest point estoit encountre sa fey;
- 90 Nequedent deyt suffrir la ley.  
'La manere, fait il, assez m'agré,  
Qar ne voie si noun graunt beauté.'  
Adonques luy ad le chaucez moustré  
Dount Saladyn serra chausé.
- 95 'Sire, fait il, avisez vous:  
Lez chausez signefient saunz plus,  
Pur ceo q'ils sount brouns et noir,  
Q'en memorie devez avoir  
Qe terre es et a terre irras
- 100 Toutdis quaunt lez regarderaz  
Et quaunt vous veez les piez;  
Et de cel article vous sovenez,  
Et si vous facez a moun voil  
Lez meins serrez vencu de orgoil,
- 105 Car orgoil reigne un poy adés,  
Mez graunt hounte y vent après  
Et nomement l'alme occist,  
A ceo qe seint escripture nous dist.'  
Aprés ceo l'a seinte l'espee
- 110 Et Saladyn luy ad demandé  
La signefiaunce de la brank.  
'Sire, fait il, c'est un garrant  
Countre l'assaut del ennemy;

90 *Nequident* MS.

101 *pees lez viez* MS.

104 *ventu* MS.

111 *brak* MS.

- Par cest croys qe vous veez ycy  
 115 Et deux trechauntz vous seez,  
 Qe par deux sens sount signefiez,  
 Cez sount droiture et loialté  
 Saunz null colour de fauxté,  
 Par cest crois vous defenderez  
 120 Seint Eglise et socourés.  
 Si nul heretyk y soit  
 Qe la foy unques disdissoit  
 Ou qe guerroie la franchise,  
 Le chivalier entre en Seint Eglise  
 125 Trestout armé sur soun destrier,  
 Car il ad dignitee et poere  
 Toutz les heretikez occire;  
 Ceo point ne deit null contredire.'  
 Puis luy chauce lez esperouns,  
 130 Si lez enclost a cez talouns,  
 Et dit: 'Sire soudons, jeo vous em pri  
 Qe point ne mettez en obly  
 Come vous estes moult bien mounté  
 Et lez esperouns vous sount eschausé:  
 135 Ceux sount vous en remembraunce  
 Qe vous soiez en esperaunce  
 Pur defendre vostre païes,  
 Qe si null laroun illeoques mespris  
 Ou si null robeour y soit  
 140 Qe encountre le pees mal freit,  
 Vers luy vous devez combatre  
 Et lez larouns toutz abatre;  
 La pees devez vous meyntener  
 Mes qe vous devez la mort suffrier;  
 145 Vous devez lez poveres defendre  
 Et issint voz biens despendre,  
 Qe avent a chevalrie;  
 Jesques a morir ne faudrez mie.  
 Et auxi come vous veez  
 150 Le destrier curre q'est touchez  
 Del acu dez esperouns,  
 Auxi ardaunt soiez vous  
 Pur toutz lëautez susteyner  
 Saunz null manere de fleschier.'

- 155 Saladyns respount ataunt:  
 'Par la graunt dieu Termagaunt,  
 Moult vaut cel ordre bien a gardier.'  
 Et de rechief luy prent a demander  
 S'il faillist null chose.
- 160 'Voir, sire, si faire l'ose.  
 – Et quoy est ceo? – Sire, la colé.  
 – Et pur quoy ne me l'avez doné?  
 – Pur ceo, sire, qe m'est avis  
 Qe vous estes de plus haut pris
- 165 Quant a seignourie et renoun  
 Et jeo sui auxi come prisoun,  
 Et pur ceo ne vous voil ferir;  
 Bien vous poet en taunt souffrir,  
 Mez unqore vous touchera
- 170 Et pur vostre prou recorderay  
 De quatre chosez especiaus  
 Qe aver doit chivalier loiaus.  
 La primer chose ne vous ert celez:  
 A Seint Eglise matyn alez
- 175 Chescun jour masse oyer;  
 Si avez dount, si devez offrir,  
 Qar moult est l'offrande a pris  
 Qe sur la table Dieux est mys.  
 La secounde chose est ensement
- f. 42vb 180 Qe vous ne soiez a faux jugement  
 N'en null lieu ou soit doné  
 Ou compassé ou procuré.  
 La tierce chose ne obliez mie,  
 Qe vous ne soiez a roborie
- 185 Pur nul chose a tort gayner  
 Si vous ne facez restorier.  
 La quarte chose oier covent  
 Q'ensi unques de force tient:  
 Si vous trovez vieve esgarré
- 190 Ou pucele discoumforté,  
 Ové bon foy les counsailez  
 Et de vostre lez socourés.

- Sire soudons, de ceo suffist  
 L'ordre en taunt come vous ay dit,  
 195 Et pur ceo le congé vous demaunde.  
 Saladyns dit: 'Par Termagaunt,  
 Droyt est qe merite vous atent  
 Par vostre bon enseignement.  
 Sir Hugh, touz ceuz de vostre ley  
 200 Qi en champs sount renduz a moy  
 Et sount restenus en ma prisoun  
 Quitez serrount saunz raumsoun.  
 Un autre chose vous jeo fray  
 Pur vostre amour tan qe come viveray:  
 205 Touz ceux de la creaunce  
 Entrent ma terre saunz dotaunce  
 D'alier et revenir saunz rancour;  
 Ceo lour doyne pur vostre amour.  
 – Sire, fait il, graunt mercy,  
 210 Mult y ad beal offre cy,  
 Moult fait cil doun a mercier;  
 Mez jeo ne voil pas oblier  
 Ceo que vous me apristez, qe jeo demandasse,  
 Quaunt jeo null home trovasse,  
 215 Q'il me aidast a ma raumsoun;  
 Et jeo ne voi nul plus prodhome  
 Qe vous n'estez, bieu sire roys;  
 Si m'ayde Dieux, ceo est droys.  
 – Certes, fait li roy, ceo est voir;  
 220 Jeo vous dorray de moun avoir;  
 C'est mil besauntz en averez  
 Car ne voil qe a moy failez.'  
 Adonqe se leva tost a raundoun,  
 Si soy mette tout a bandoun  
 225 As autres duxs et amirauxs,  
 Si lez ad dit ygnel pas:  
 'Seignours, m'eydés de vostre or,

193 *Sire*] *Suz* MS.

211 *il* MS. The whole line is written in the right-hand margin.

216 *voil* MS.

219 *il* MS.

220 *dirray* MS.

222 *doil* MS.

227 *moydes* MS.

- Et moy donez de vostre tresor.  
 Et sy luy comencent touz a donier  
 230 Pur un tiel prince rechatier  
 Si largement qe le remenaunt  
 Valuist bien dis mil besaunt.  
 Seignours, vous qe avez entendu,  
 Moult vous doit estre chier tenu,  
 235 Car meynt yl y a qy ne set mye  
 La signefiaunce de chivalrie,  
 Ne pur quoy fuist primez ordayné,  
 Mez vous qe lez avez escoté  
 Devez entendre si bien vous est,  
 240 Car a chescun prodhome plest.

229 *sy luy*] *syl luy* MS.

235 *yl ly a* MS.

238 *qe vous* MS.

### Glossary

N.B.: This glossary includes only unusual words or those whose form is so strange as to make them difficult to recognize.

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| abrivé, adj.: <i>rapid, impatient</i> (G 483)                                   | freide, n.f.: <i>difficulty, hesitation</i> (G 412)      |
| aherder, v.: <i>to adhere</i> (G 162)   | fumer, n.m.: <i>dunghill</i> (L 76, G 130 [femeir])      |
| apaié, pp.: <i>apaié jour, day on which a settlement will take place</i> (G 88) | furtie, n.f.: <i>violence</i> (G 633)                    |
| aplayé, pp.: <i>employed</i> (L 291)  | gayee, pp.: <i>prepared</i> (?) (L 172)                  |
| assensere, v.: <i>to instruct</i> (G 547)                                       | maney, n.f.: <i>riches</i> (G 474)                       |
| aundy, pp.: <i>united</i> (G 480)   | moiné, pp.: <i>remained</i> (L 364)                      |
| aveyement, n.m.: <i>advice</i> (L 36)   |  |
| bubengers, n.m.pl.: <i>debauchees, wastrels</i> (G 201)                         | parcener, n.m.: <i>sharer</i> (G 532)                    |
| bule, n.f.: <i>guile</i> (?) (G 451)  | pardire, v.: <i>to finish saying</i> (G 387)             |
| carein, n.m.: <i>corpse, carcass</i> (G 366)                                    | procuracie, n.f.: <i>help, support</i> (L 335)           |
| compassé, pp.: <i>planned</i> (G 608, B 182)                                    | procuree, pp.: <i>thought up, planned</i> (G 608, B 182) |
| coper, adj.: <i>corporeal, of the body</i> (G 438)                              | pulencie, n.f.: <i>stink</i> (G 367)                     |
| defaece, adj.: <i>infidel</i> (L 363)   | retter, v.: <i>to blame</i> (G 290)                      |
| definail, n.m.: <i>end</i> (G 338)  | riote, n.f.: <i>dispute, quarrel</i> (G 226)             |
| deliez, adj.: <i>fine, delicate</i> (L 140)                                     | stotie, n.f.: <i>force, strength</i> (G 284)             |
| eschure, v.: <i>to eschew, avoid</i> (G 183)                                    | troflure, n.f.: <i>jest</i> (G 152, 495)                 |
| eslyz, n.m.pl.: <i>the chosen (of the faith)</i> (L 248)                        | vinere, v.: (here n.) <i>persecution</i> (?) (G 419)     |
| ewe, pron.: <i>you</i> (?) (L 196)  |  |

A COMPILATION OF THE DIOCESAN SYNODS  
OF BARCELONA (1354):  
CRITICAL EDITION AND ANALYSIS\*

*J. N. Hillgarth and Giulio Silano*

THE compilation edited here for the first time is due to Franciscus Ruffacius (Ruffach), doctor of canon law and canon of Toledo and Barcelona, in his capacity as vicar-general of the absentee bishop of Barcelona, Miquel de Ricomá (1346-61). Ruffacius first appears as vicar-general in 1348 and continues to act until at least 1354.<sup>1</sup> Ricomá, who was translated from the see of Vich in 1346, apparently never resided in Barcelona but continued to hold office at the papal court at Avignon.<sup>2</sup>

In his preface (2) the vicar-general sets out his reasons for making the compilation, notably the excessive number of existing constitutions issued by past bishops of Barcelona and their vicars, whose very number had ensured their non-observance. With the consent of the cathedral chapter of Barcelona he was proceeding to edit earlier canons, making the necessary changes in them. This new collection would henceforth have the force of law and would supersede earlier diocesan legislation. In the last section of his compilation (135) Ruffacius reinforces this provision by prescribing a heavy fine (100 s., the heaviest fine mentioned in the canons) for failure to obtain and use a copy of

\* The numbers in parentheses refer to the section numbers into which we have divided the text, which are, when necessary, followed by the numbers of the lines within the section. We use the following abbreviations: *AST* = *Analecta sacra tarraconensia*; *NC* = *Notule communium* (a series of episcopal registers in the Arxiu Diocesà, Barcelona).

<sup>1</sup> Ruffacius was in office at latest by 9 October 1348 (*NC* 15, fol. 31v). In *NC* 15 he appears clearly as Ruffach and as canon of Toledo as well as of Barcelona (see our ms. M, here superior to ms. B). Ruffach also appears in the first documents but not thereafter as archdeacon 'de Baroncella in ecclesia Aurensi' (Orense). By January 1356 Ruffacius had been succeeded as vicar-general by G. Guasch (Sebastià Puig y Puig, *Episcopologio de la sede barcinonense* [Barcelona, 1929], p. 482).

<sup>2</sup> Ricomá took possession of the see on 14 August 1346 and died 7 June 1361. The first date appears in *NC* 14, fol. 104r, the second in Jaime Villanueva, *Viage literario a las iglesias de España*, 22 vols. (Madrid, 1802-52), 18.14. See Puig y Puig, *ibid.*, pp. 254-57.

his work, as well as one of the constitutions of Tarragona, the ecclesiastical province in which the diocese of Barcelona was situated.

There is little doubt that Ruffacius was modelling his work on the similar compilation of the canons of Tarragona, which had been issued in 1330 by Prince Juan (or Joan), a son of King Jaume II of Aragon, titular Patriarch of Alexandria and administrator of the archdiocese of Tarragona. The patriarch's compilation is contained in a large number of manuscripts and a copy of it would certainly have been available to Ruffacius.<sup>3</sup> His references to some earlier canons of Barcelona as 'ualde periculose suis subditis' and to others as needing to have 'superflua resecata', the result being included 'in unum uolumen' which was in future to enjoy exclusive force, seem derived textually from the patriarch's remarks in the preface to his earlier compilation.<sup>4</sup> Both these compilations enjoyed considerable influence, but whereas in the province of Tarragona legislation continued at least down to the end of the fourteenth century (the additional synods being added to the patriarch's compilation), in the diocese of Barcelona Ruffacius' work seems to have had no successors until the Council of Trent.<sup>5</sup>

Ruffacius did not draw on all the previous synods of Barcelona.<sup>6</sup> He can be shown to have made selective use of the work of his predecessors and of the provincial councils of Tarragona, which are cited on several occasions.<sup>7</sup> He also made considerable (unacknowledged) use of the *Summa septem sacramentorum* of Archbishop Pere d'Albalat of Tarragona (1238-51).

Pere d'Albalat was a faithful disciple of the French theologian Jean d'Abbeville, cardinal-bishop of Santa Sabina and papal legate to Spain and Portugal in

<sup>3</sup> The modern editor of the compilation lists nineteen mss. They do not include our ms. B, which contains it. Two other mss. used in the new edition also belong to the Arxiu de la Catedral, Barcelona. See Josep M<sup>a</sup>. Pons Guri, 'Constitucions conciliars Tarraconenses (1229-1330)', *AST* 48 (1975) 312-15.

<sup>4</sup> Pons Guri, *ibid.*, 318. One may also compare the prologue by Bishop Pons de Gualba to his compilation of constitutions for the Cathedral Chapter of Barcelona in 1332, in Edmond Martène and Ursin Durand, *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum*, 5 vols. (Paris, 1717), 4.595, which refers to some earlier constitutions as dangerous, others as superfluous: 'quibusdam ex ipsis periculosis, quibusdam vero tamquam superfluis resecatis ... decernentes easdem [those constitutions included in his compilation] et non alias haberi ... ac mandantes ipsas inviolabiliter observari.'

<sup>5</sup> Pons Guri, *ibid.*, 311; José Sanabre, *Los sínodos diocesanos en Barcelona* (Barcelona, 1930), p. 23. Our compilation can be compared to a similar one promulgated for the diocese of Gerona by Bishop Ennec [Iñigo] de Valterra in 1368, edited by Tomas Noguer i Musqueras and Josep M<sup>a</sup>. Pons Guri, 'Constitucions sinodals de Girona de la primera compilació', *Anales del Instituto de estudios gerundenses* 18 (1966-67) 183-208.

<sup>6</sup> For instance he did not use the two synods held by Bishop Pere de Centelles in 1243-44, published by Villanueva, *Viage* 17.341-50. Sanabre, *ibid.*, cites many canons not used by Ruffacius; there was much repetition of the same measures and this was rightly excised by him.

<sup>7</sup> See below, the notes on c. 116 et alibi.

1228-29. It is possible that Pere was influenced by his fellow Catalan, the great Dominican St. Ramon de Penyafort, the leading canonist of his day. Pere's legislative work in the province of Tarragona, where he convoked a remarkable series of councils, was an attempt to put into effect the ideas of contemporary reformers.<sup>8</sup> The *Summa*, 'the earliest known example in the Spanish peninsula of the *Liber sinodalis*', expresses the same ideas through its disciplinary code for the clergy. It drew heavily on the statutes of Paris promulgated by Bishop Eudes de Sully (1196-1208), but it made slightly more independent use of these statutes than did another contemporary Spanish bishop, Ramon de Ciscar of Lérida (1238-47), and arranged the material in a more orderly way.<sup>9</sup> The *Summa* was promulgated, probably for the first time, in a synod held by Archbishop Pere in Barcelona in 1241, at a time when that see was vacant. Copies were soon made and sent to the other dioceses of the province.<sup>10</sup>

A comparison between the text of the critical edition of the *Summa*, due to P. A. Linehan, and Ruffacius' compilation shows that the latter's cc. 3-58 derive textually from the *Summa*; even its rubrics are copied.<sup>11</sup> The cases where the *Summa* has been used to correct the text of the surviving manuscripts of the compilation are listed below.<sup>12</sup> A few additions and changes were made by Ruffacius to the text of the *Summa*.<sup>13</sup> One may cite the relaxation, in the rules on marriage banns, from eight days' notice to 'three at least' (31). Similarly, Pere's requirement of Latin for ordination as an acolyte was changed to that for a subdeacon, perhaps a more realistic proviso.<sup>14</sup> While these changes are not very significant, it is interesting to see the use made by a mid-fourteenth-century canonical compiler of a thirteenth-century disciplinary code.

<sup>8</sup> P. A. Linehan, *The Spanish Church and the Papacy in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1971), pp. 55-82 and 'Pedro de Albalat, arzobispo de Tarragona y su *Summa septem sacramentorum*', *Hispania sacra* 22 (1969) 9-11.

<sup>9</sup> Linehan, 'Pedro de Albalat', 12-14 and *The Spanish Church*, pp. 71-77 (the quotation from p. 74).

<sup>10</sup> Linehan's edition ('Pedro de Albalat', 15-30) is based on the *Llibre de la Cadena* of the Arxiu de la Catedral, Barcelona, saec. xiv, which he collates with two other manuscripts and an edition, that show the use made of the *Summa* in Tarragona and Valencia. The copy of a Tarragona ms. (Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia 9-24-5, 'ST' in Linehan's apparatus) is closer on some occasions to our compilation than is the Barcelona ms.

<sup>11</sup> There are exceptions to the use of the *Summa*'s rubrics for our cc. 46-47. A paragraph in the *Summa* (p. 28), dealing with the alienation of church property, is omitted by Ruffacius. The subject is dealt with elsewhere in his compilation (c. 64).

<sup>12</sup> See below, p. 93.

<sup>13</sup> For additions see c. 11: 'atque in clericos'; c. 56: 'et confratrum ecclesie sedis Barchinonensis'.

<sup>14</sup> See c. 4.4, and also c. 42.1 where Ruffacius appears to be tightening up the regulations in the *Summa* from 'quantum gradum' to 'sacrum ordinem'.



The sources drawn on by Ruffacius for the next part of his compilation (cc. 59-77) are less clear. It seems that most of the canons included in this section were first promulgated by Bishop Bernat Peregrí, O.M. (1288-1300), the bishop who issued the decree which appears as our c. 80.<sup>15</sup> A number of these canons followed norms established by earlier provincial councils.

With c. 78 we begin a new part of the compilation, devoted to the sexual misbehaviour of the clergy. The decrees of the papal legate, Jean d'Abbeville, against concubinary clergy were promulgated at the Council of Lérida in 1229.<sup>16</sup> By the middle of the thirteenth century it had become clear that it was impossible to apply their rigorous sentences, which suspended all the clergy concerned and excommunicated their women. In our compilation the process of commutation of these decrees to a fine begins with a prologue dated 1276 (78), which is followed, first, by the sentence issued by Cardinal Gil Torres in 1251 (79) and then by the application of this measure to the diocese of Barcelona by Bishop Peregrí in 1289 (80).<sup>17</sup> For the sentence of Cardinal Gil (Egidius) one can compare the text of our manuscripts with the recent critical edition of the councils of Tarragona, where the sentence also appears. Such comparison enables us to emend our text in several instances.<sup>18</sup>

Bishop Peregrí's decree of 1289 is followed (81) by a constitution of 1300 against non-resident clergy, issued by Hugo de Cardona, the vicar of the bishop-elect, Pons de Gualba.<sup>19</sup> Then there comes a long series of canons issued

<sup>15</sup> Sanabre, *Los sínodos*, p. 15, using other manuscript sources, ascribes to Bishop Peregrí our cc. 60-77; he sees them as issued in a synod of 1290, together with other decrees not found in our compilation. He appears (p. 14) to ascribe our c. 59 to Bishop Arnau de Gurb (1252-84). Puig y Puig, *Episcopologio*, p. 231, also ascribes many of the same canons to Bishop Peregrí but his descriptions are less exact. He depends on the *De vitis pontificum* of the sixteenth-century archivist, Tarafa (for whom see below). Tarafa's work is preserved in the Arxiu de la Catedral, Barcelona; see José Oliveras y Caminal, 'Codicum in Sanctae Barcinonensis Ecclesiae segregatis asservatorum tabulae', *Scrinium* 7 (1952) 13, but the present shelf mark is 122, not 165. The autograph ms. of Tarafa is dated 1547. We have also used a more readable copy in the same Arxiu, s.n. (of saec. xviii), from which the title is taken. The relevant passage here is found in ms. 122, fol. 52r, in the copy fol. 50r-v.

<sup>16</sup> Lérida, 7 (Josep M<sup>a</sup>. Pons Guri, 'Constitucions conciliars Tarraconenses (1229 a 1330)', *AST* 47 [1974] 79).

<sup>17</sup> For Cardinal Gil see Linehan, *The Spanish Church*, pp. 51 f. Our mss. date c. 80 in 1279 but this must be mistaken as Bishop Bernat (Bernardus) did not become bishop of Barcelona until 1288. In 1279 the bishop was Arnau de Gurb. In 1257 Bishop Arnau renewed the harsh decrees of 1229 in a diocesan synod (ms. Barcelona, Arxiu de la Catedral s.n., fol. 57v: *Constitutiones synodales et provinciales*). The 'prologus' of 1276 appears in the same ms., fol. 66r-v, and is followed by cc. 79-80 (the latter dated 1290, fol. 68v). Tarafa (cited n. 15 above: ms. 122, fol. 52r, in the copy fol. 50r) dates the decree to 1289.

<sup>18</sup> See below, p. 93. The process of commutation shows how the emendation of legislation initiated at the papal curia comes down through the province (1253) to the diocese (1289).

<sup>19</sup> Hugo de Cardona was already acting as vicar in 1286 (Villanueva, *Viage* 18.2). His decree does not appear among his constitutions in the ms. of *Constitutiones* cited in n. 17 above.

by Bishop Pons himself during his tenure of the see (consecrated in 1303, he died in 1334). Bishop Pons was a very active administrative reformer, issuing a collection of statutes for the cathedral chapter of Barcelona in 1332 and instituting for the first time a number of different series of episcopal registers.<sup>20</sup> He is known to have held a number of diocesan synods. Those of 1306 (cc. 82-95), 1317 (cc. 96-98), 1318 (cc. 99-108), and 1319 (cc. 109-114) are represented in our collection.<sup>21</sup>

Bishop Pons was succeeded by the Dominican Ferrer d'Abella, formerly bishop of Mazara in Sicily (1334-44), who, like his predecessor, issued constitutions for the cathedral chapter (in 1341 and 1343) and promulgated canons for his diocese at a synod held in 1339 (represented here by our cc. 115-122).<sup>22</sup> After a brief interregnum a leading theologian, Bernat Oliver, O.S.A., was translated from Huesca to Barcelona. During his one year as bishop of Barcelona (July 1345 - August 1346) Oliver held a synod (in August 1345), and one of its canons was included in the compilation (123).<sup>23</sup> In 1346 Oliver was translated to Tortosa. The compilation ends with twelve canons issued by Ruffacius himself in 1354 (124-135), as vicar-general of the absentee Bishop Miquel de Ricomá.<sup>24</sup>

If one looks at the legislation contained in this compilation as a whole (cc. 59-135, prescindig, in general, from the *Summa* of Pere d'Albalat, already discussed), one can see that though it contains canons issued by different authorities over the period 1289-1354, namely, by Bishops Bernat Peregrí, Pons

<sup>20</sup> The statutes for the Cathedral Chapter are in Martène and Durand, *Thesaurus* 4.595-620. For the registers see below, n. 29.

<sup>21</sup> Sanabre, *Los sínodos*, pp. 18-20, again using other manuscripts, attributes cc. 82-88 and 91-95 to the synod held by Bishop Pons in 1306 (together with our c. 99), c. 90 to the synod of 1307. He attributes the other canons issued by the bishop to the same synods as does our compilation. As usual Ruffacius has omitted unnecessary canons. The ms. of *Constitutiones* cited in n. 17 above contains many of Bishop Pons' decrees.

<sup>22</sup> See Martène and Durand, *Thesaurus* 4.620-24. Sanabre, *ibid.*, p. 21, corroborates the ascription of cc. 116-122 to Bishop Ferrer.

<sup>23</sup> This decree, and the rest here contained, appear in ms. Barcelona, Arxiu de la Catedral s.n., *Constitutiones capitulorum generalium ecclesie Barchinone* (saec. xiv and xv), fols. 145r, 171r-v. Ruffacius's name appears (fol. 145r) as it does in our text. Bishop Oliver's activity in the diocese appears particularly in NC 14, 1345-48, which we have published in calendar form as *The Register Notule Communium 14 of the Diocese of Barcelona (1345-1348)* (Subsidia mediaevalia 13; Toronto, 1983). Henceforth this register is cited as *The Register* and by the number of the document it contains.

<sup>24</sup> For the erroneous attribution of some of Ruffacius' canons to Bishop Oliver see below, n. 40. Sanabre cites our ms. B (*Los sínodos*, pp. 22 f.) but has a somewhat different heading for Ruffacius' canons. That Ruffacius was a legislator also appears from his statutes for the Cathedral Chapter (ms. cited above, n. 23, fol. 153r, dated 1350).

de Gualba (and his vicar, Hugo de Cardona), Ferrer d'Abella, Bernat Oliver, and Ruffacius in the name of his absentee bishop, Ricomá, it is possible to see certain main themes. Ecclesiastical administration naturally receives pride of place. The relations between the bishop and his clergy (here understood, in general, as the clergy in major orders) are laid down. No cleric is to receive a cure of souls except from the bishop (61). No cleric from outside the diocese is to be received without the bishop's permission (74). Clerics are to obey the mandates received from the episcopal curia (67), and to appear when first cited to do so (111). They are to come to the diocesan synod (88) and pay the annual synodal dues (69). They are to report to the bishop whenever they enter the city of Barcelona (70). Excommunicated clerics are not to appear at divine service (77).

Qualifications for ordination are not dealt with in detail, but it would seem that by 1354 the provision in Pere d'Albalat's *Summa* (as relaxed in our compilation [4]) that no one should be ordained subdeacon 'nisi loqui sciat latinis uerbis' was felt to be in need of reinforcement. In 1354 Ruffacius decreed that no one was to say his first mass until he had been examined in the canon by the bishop or his vicar (130). In 1339 Bishop Ferrer had prescribed (118) that all priests were to 'have and know the *Tractatus patriarche Alexandrini*... on the articles of the faith, the ten commandments and the sacraments of the church'. This brief work by the Patriarch Juan, already cited as the compiler of the provincial councils of Tarragona, exists in several manuscripts (it survives in three of the manuscripts of our compilation).<sup>25</sup> Ruffacius' compilation concludes (135) with a prescription that the parochial clergy are to possess within a year a copy of his work together with the provincial constitutions of Tarragona, under penalty of 100 s.

The parochial clergy were restricted in a number of ways. They were not to buy the revenue of two churches at one time or rent out the revenues to laymen (71). They were not to supplement their income by celebrating more masses than one on normal days of the year nor were they to take a salary to act as a chaplain (*conducticius*) from two sources at once (73). (This second provision was reinforced in 1354, though certain exceptions to it were allowed; see 124.) They were not to alienate the property of their church without episcopal permission (64). They were to hand on legacies for the cathedral of Barcelona to the appropriate officials (65). They were to be active in collecting alms for the great new Gothic cathedral of Barcelona, which was effectively begun by Bishop Pons about 1300 (94), and to celebrate four masses a year for

<sup>25</sup> See below, pp. 90-91, and the recent edition of the work by D. W. Lomax, 'El Catecismo de Alborno' in *El Cardenal Alborno' y el Colegio de España*, ed. E. Verdera y Tuells, 1 (Studia albornotiana 11; Bologna, 1972), pp. 213-33, at pp. 225-33.

benefactors to this work (95). The parish clergy (and the episcopal notaries) were reminded in 1354 that a fee for all appointments to benefices was due to those in charge of building the cathedral (126).

To get the clergy to reside in their own parish or benefice was a difficult task. The canon of 1289 on this subject (72) was reinforced in 1300 (81) and again in 1306 (91). Those alleging the insufficient revenues of their benefices were ordered by Bishop Pons to justify their allegation by producing the necessary documents. They were to appear within a month of their provision to a benefice with the documents before the bishop (92). But, in 1345, Bishop Bernat Oliver was obliged to threaten the persistent non-residents with deprivation. These decrees admitted exceptions, notably 'studiorum causa', and were not to be applied to the canons of Barcelona Cathedral nor to those clerics in the bishop's service (123).

Regulations concerning the cleric's personal life are those found elsewhere. The measures against concubinary clergy and their commutation to a fine have been already cited (78-80). In c. 66 all the clerical body (the large number of men merely tonsured as well as those in major orders) were told that to preserve the 'clerical privilege' they should maintain a visible tonsure and dress suitable to the clerical state, otherwise they would not be defended by the church. A later canon concerns those holding parishes or benefices and prohibits their wearing gold and silver ornaments (97). In 1354 Ruffacius issued a more detailed list of prohibited articles of dress (134). Another subject of conciliar complaint, almost as frequent as unsuitable dress, was the addiction of the clergy to games of chance. Here Ruffacius sensibly relaxed earlier statutes, permitting 'ludum alearum' (dicing) for a very small sum, provided it was played inside clerical houses or, when absolutely necessary, on a journey, 'causa recreacionis' (133).

Within the church building the clergy was also subject to dress regulations. They were not (82) to wear unsuitable head coverings in choir (*pillea uel capucia*) but surplices (*superpellicia*), and, if they wished, *birretas* or *almucia* (amices). This regulation was repeated, perhaps the following year, because it was not observed (93), the same bishop, Pons de Gualba, mentioning this time, in addition, the objectionable boots (*calepodia*) the clergy of his diocese liked to wear during the office. On this second occasion a fine was added, to discourage repetition.

The canons prescribing care for the church building and ornaments include the standard provision against storing grain, wine and other unsuitable things in the building, except in time of war (83). The church ornaments were to be kept in proper order (84). The custody of the holy oils and of the Host was regulated (89, 117). Bishop Pons was also concerned to prohibit the sale of *capide* (albs) to laymen and their conversion to profane use (99, reinforced by 114).

No cleric, whether in orders or not, was to carry arms within the city of Barcelona ('unless coming to Matins'), or, if in orders, outside the city (112). All clerics in major orders were left free by Ruffacius to choose their own confessor (132, an extension of earlier partial permissions).<sup>26</sup> No cleric, in orders or beneficed, was to act as a lawyer in a secular court, especially not against his own see (62). Whether in major orders or tonsured or married, he was not to appear when summoned before a secular judge except to plead his clerical privilege or in other defined cases (109). No cleric was to practise usury (110). Nor was he, Ruffacius prescribes, to gain money by trade or keep an inn, except to sell his own wine (125).

The relations of the clergy to the laity receive much less attention than does the discipline of the clerical body. The standard requirement that every Christian confess at least once a year, to his own rector or to a priest known to the latter, was repeated, evidently because it was not observed (113). Doctors were exhorted not to treat their patients until they had made their confession (100). One parish priest was not to receive another's parishioners to the sacraments without authorisation from his colleague (98). No charge was to be levied for the administration of the sacraments (63). There is the usual denunciation of clandestine marriage (76) and more detailed regulations on the subject of banns (90). The marital blessing was not to be bestowed on those marrying for the second time (119). The laity are to observe two special vigils (68), as well, presumably, as those already prescribed. No doubt Ruffacius intended the clergy of the diocese to supplement these canons by the discussion of the administration of the sacraments in the *Summa septem sacramentorum* which he had incorporated in cc. 3-58 of his compilation.

Apart from the sacraments, the main contacts of the clergy and the laity, it would appear from this compilation, consisted in the use or abuse of excommunication. Ruffacius' compilation ends (135) by telling the clergy that they have to expound to the people the cases in the canons of Tarragona or Barcelona which involve the excommunication of laymen.<sup>27</sup> Rectors are reminded that they have to denounce the excommunicate (86). They are authorised to use excommunication to defend the rights of their church but the procedure to be used is carefully laid down (87). A canon of Bishop Peregrí (59) states that a copy of the sentence of excommunication must be given to the person excommunicated if he requests it and warns against the abuse of excommunication, which is punishable by suspension of the prelate

<sup>26</sup> See, for instance, *The Register*, no. 296 (11 September 1346).

<sup>27</sup> These cases are set out in Catalan in the document issued by a later bishop which is included in our ms. B (see below, p. 89).

responsible. In 1306 Bishop Pons reinforced this warning by adding a heavy fine as a penalty for the clergy responsible for abusive excommunications (87).

Only two canons mention non-Christians, Jews in both cases (the city of Barcelona contained a flourishing Jewish community at this time but virtually no Muslims), and there are no mentions of heretics, though they were to be found in the diocese.<sup>28</sup> In 1306 Bishop Pons repeats earlier canonical decrees against selling Jews missals or other liturgical books or ornaments (85; see also 49, taken from the *Summa* of Pere d'Albalat). In 1318 he prohibited the consultation of a Jewish doctor unless the latter was accompanied by a Christian colleague (101).

This brief summary of the themes discussed in Ruffacius' compilation may conclude with the episcopal curia itself. It seems that one can distinguish here a notable attempt to regulate and centralise the administration of the diocese. This attempt appears to stem from Bishop Pons de Gualba, the real founder of the episcopal archive, who created the first series of episcopal registers. These deal separately with day-to-day administration (*Notule communium*), with appointments to benefices (*Collationes*), with visitations (*Visitationes*), and with ordinations (*Ordinationes*).<sup>29</sup> Bishop Pons is responsible for an important group of canons (102-108). They contain regulations controlling the salaries to be received by episcopal officials, both in the episcopal palace and in the two deaneries of Penedès and Vallès (102) and stipulating that the notary working for the bishop's official should have suitable deputies and also have his seal available, so that litigants should not be subject to undue delays (103-104). If the delay is the notary's fault, he is bound to make good the injured party's expenses. There are similar regulations controlling the salaries due to the *sagio* (sworn messenger) of the curia and the episcopal jailer (105-106) (the persons with whom the ordinary Christian arraigned before the curia was most likely to come into often unpleasant contact). An interesting canon provides for the 'frequent' loss of the records (*acta*) of transactions in the curia. The notary or his deputy has to make the loss good (107). One can detect a pastoral as well as an administrative aim behind this group of canons.

Bishop Pons' successors continued to attempt to improve the diocesan administration. Bishop Ferrer issued several canons on this subject. He ordered that lawyers practising in ecclesiastical courts were to take an oath not to defend a cause they knew to be bad, and stated that they could not practise until they had been examined, either in a secular or an ecclesiastical court (120). Ferrer also ordered that no salary was to be received by any ecclesiastical official from

<sup>28</sup> See *The Register*, no. 258 (2 April 1346) et alibi.

<sup>29</sup> The first three series begin in 1302 or 1303, the fourth in 1326. Bishop Pons' successors added further series.

the accused in a criminal case, though the expenses incurred by the officials at the accused's request could be repaid (121). And, reinforcing c. 107, Ferrer ordered that all letters issued should be entered in the appropriate registers of the court concerned before they were sent (122). To these prescriptions Ruffacius merely added a general denunciation of perjury in legal cases (129).<sup>30</sup>

It seems legitimate to connect this centralising group of canons with those regulating the conduct of cases concerning wills and marriages. The main volume of business dealt with by the episcopal curia concerned wills. The laity were carefully excluded by Bishop Pons in 1317 from interfering in the distribution of legacies to pious causes. This exclusion also covered clerics apart from those appointed by the bishop and the rector of the testator's parish church (96). In 1354 Ruffacius felt it necessary to expedite the administration of pious bequests (127). He reserved to the curia the administration of legacies 'pro incertis iniuriis' (131). Matrimonial cases were not, he further prescribed, to be handled outside Barcelona itself, except at the bishop's wish (128).

One of the most difficult questions with regard to medieval legislation in general, and conciliar legislation in particular, is whether or not, or to what degree, the legislation was applied in practice. In the case of the canons contained in our compilation one is largely able to answer this question. The episcopal registers which survive, in virtually unbroken series from 1302 onwards, in the Archivo Diocesano (Arxiu Diocesà) of Barcelona, show that these canons were applied, though, necessarily, with exceptions and against inevitable obstacles. The one register of cases coming before the episcopal curia which has been thoroughly examined (*Notule communium* 14, 1345-48) provides us with the evidence we need here.<sup>31</sup> On one occasion, in connection with the need to control the fees charged by episcopal notaries, two canons which were later entered in our compilation are explicitly cited as guiding curial practice.<sup>32</sup> In general the reference to diocesan canons is vague or is lacking altogether but the legislation is certainly present in the minds of the administrators of the diocese, whether they are dealing with such major problems as concubinary clergy, non-residence or usury or with the use of Jewish doctors by Christians, the use of arms by clerics, or the regulation of collectors for pious causes (*questores*) in favour of those working for the cathedral.<sup>33</sup> In the case of some of Ruffacius' canons one can see that the experience of the diocesan administration in earlier years lay behind his attempt to solve problems. One can cite here the canon directed against delays in the

<sup>30</sup> A similar group of canons cannot be found in the Gerona compilation (n. 5 above).

<sup>31</sup> See *The Register*, cited n. 23 above.

<sup>32</sup> *The Register*, no. 551. See the notes on cc. 102, 121 below.

<sup>33</sup> See the notes on the text, under cc. 80, 123, 110, 101, 112, 94.

execution of wills (127), that restricting the trial of matrimonial cases to the city of Barcelona (128), and that dealing with 'incerta iniuria' (131). Further investigation of the episcopal registers will no doubt shed more light on the interrelation in the diocese of Barcelona of legislation and administration.<sup>34</sup>

The diocesan synods of Barcelona were known to Francesc Tarafa i Çavall (c. 1495-1556), the real organiser of the Cathedral Archive of Barcelona and its archivist for many years.<sup>35</sup> Among Tarafa's unpublished works is an episcopology, entitled *De vitis pontificum Barcinonensium*.<sup>36</sup> This is cited by later authors, notably Mateu Aymerich, S.J., in his eighteenth-century episcopology, Jaime Villanueva, O.P., in his invaluable *Viage literario*, written in the early years of the nineteenth century, Sebastián Puig y Puig, canon of Barcelona, in his work published in 1929, and José Sanabre in various works.<sup>37</sup> Far the most accurate account available of these synods is that of Sanabre. He refers specifically to the manuscript in the Arxiu de la Catedral at Barcelona, which contains our compilation (B), and also lists a number of synods not drawn on by Ruffacius.<sup>38</sup> Villanueva would seem to refer directly to our compilation when he remarks that Bishop Miquel de Ricomá, either personally or through his vicar-general (whom Villanueva does not name), 'made many constitutions ... which I have copied, together with the rest of (this) church.' However, the only canon cited by Villanueva here is one prohibiting women (other than queens and their ladies-in-waiting) to sit in the presbytery of the cathedral, so that he appears to refer to a collection of constitutions for the cathedral rather than to diocesan synods.<sup>39</sup> The other references by Villanueva to synods and the canons promulgated there appear to be taken from Tarafa, who seems also to be responsible for some statements repeated by Puig y Puig, and notably for the attribution to Bishop Bernat Oliver of a series of canons which appear in our compilation as due to Ruffacius.<sup>40</sup> Other statements

<sup>34</sup> See the notes on these canons.

<sup>35</sup> The best account known to us of Tarafa is that by José Sanabre, *El Archivo de la Catedral de Barcelona* (Barcelona, 1948), pp. 37-53. Before this work appeared references to Tarafa were based on Felix Torres Amat, *Memorias para ayudar a formar un diccionario crítico de los escritores catalanes* (Barcelona, 1836; rpt. 1973), pp. 613-15.

<sup>36</sup> See n. 15 above.

<sup>37</sup> Matthaeus Aymerich, *Nomina et acta episcoporum barcinonensium* (Barcelona, 1760), e.g., p. 367; Villanueva, *Viage* 18.5 f., 10, 13, etc.; Puig y Puig, *Episcopologio*.

<sup>38</sup> Sanabre, *Los sínodos*, pp. 21 ff., speaks of ms. B. For other references by him to diocesan synods see nn. 15, 21, 22 above.

<sup>39</sup> Villanueva, *Viage* 18.14. The copy made by Villanueva was not used for the appendices of his book. It may exist among his papers in Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia. For Ruffacius' constitutions for the cathedral see above, n. 24.

<sup>40</sup> Villanueva, *ibid.* 18.13, mentions two constitutions as being issued by Bishop Oliver. Puig y Puig, *Episcopologio*, p. 253, together with other constitutions which concern the cathedral, lists



attributed to Tarafa indicate that he is not always reliable as a source.<sup>41</sup>

Puig y Puig cited another manuscript of our compilation (M) for c. 81.<sup>42</sup> This manuscript is also cited by Díaz y Díaz in his invaluable *Index scriptorum* of 1959.<sup>43</sup> In 1979 Eduard Bajet i Royo, in an article on the Dominican Bishop Ferrer d'Abella, published the canons issued by Bishop Ferrer in 1339.<sup>44</sup> Bajet listed four manuscripts which include our M, E and R. The manuscript of the Arxiu de la Catedral, Barcelona which he uses (ms. 217) is not our B. Bajet distinguishes between two recensions of Ferrer's canons, one contained in M, E and R and another, longer recension contained in later folios of R and in Barcelona, Arxiu de la Catedral 217. He does not realise the reason for this difference, which is simply that the 'shorter recension' is identical with Ruffacius' compilation, the existence of which Bajet does not suspect. Ruffacius did not include some of Ferrer's canons and these have now become Bajet's 'second recension'. The canons of the 'first recension' (actually later than Ferrer's original synod) are our canons 115 to 122. They are copied by Bajet from M; E and R, while listed, are not used by him.

### *The Manuscripts of Ruffacius' Compilation*

B = Barcelona, Arxiu de la Catedral s.n. Paper. Saec. xv, first half. 290 × 210 (180 × 152) mm. 78 folios (75bis unnumbered); modern numbering in pencil. Gatherings: 1<sup>12</sup>-6<sup>12</sup>, 7<sup>6</sup>. 32 lines in double columns. Rubrics and paragraph indications in red. The main body of the ms. (fols. 14r-75bisv) is written in one hand, the preliminary matter (fols. 2r-5r) and the final notes in other hands. Binding: saec. xix (parchment). On the spine: 'Constitutiones synodales ecclesie Barchin(onensis), s. XV.'

#### *Contents:*

(1) fols. 2r-4r: Francesc Climent Çapera (bishop of Barcelona 1418-30), *Articuli et monitiones* (in Catalan), to be published by J. N. Hillgarth, 'Articuli et monitiones para los fieles de la diocesis de Barcelona publicados entre 1418 y 1430' (forthcoming in *AST*).

in the following order our cc. 123, 125-130, 132, 135, and attributes them all to Oliver, here following Tarafa, *De vitis* (ms. 122, fol. 63r or the copy of saec. xviii, fol. 60v). In our compilation only c. 123 is attributed to Oliver, the rest to Ruffacius.

<sup>41</sup> Villanueva, *ibid.* 18.5 f., cites Tarafa (ms. 122, fol. 53r and the copy cited, fol. 51v) as attributing two canons to a synod of 1300, whereas in our compilation they appear as issued in 1306 (82 and 85).

<sup>42</sup> Puig y Puig, *Episcopologio*, p. 231 n. 37.

<sup>43</sup> Manuel Cecilio Díaz y Díaz, *Index scriptorum latinorum medii aevi hispanorum* (Madrid, 1960), no. 2091.

<sup>44</sup> Eduard Bajet i Royo, 'Las constituciones sinodales del obispo de Barcelona Ferrer de Abella (1334-1345 [sic])', *Ciencia tomista* 106 (1979) 263-83 (the text of the canons at 279-83). We have not noted the differences between Bajet's use of M and our own.

(2) fol. 5r: A fragment of Joan of Aragon, *Tractatus brevis de articulis fidei*, edited by D. W. Lomax (see n. 25 above), pp. 225 f. *Incipit*: 'Beatus Petrus apostolus'; *desinit*: 'hii tres unum sunt'.

(3) fols. 5v-13v: blank.

(4) fols. 14r-37v: Ruffacius, *Constitutiones sinodales ecclesie Barchinone(nsis)*, the text edited here.

(5) fols. 38r-69v: *Constitutiones provinciales ecclesie Terrachone*. This contains, first (fols. 38r-55v), Joan of Aragon's compilation of 1330, edited by J. M<sup>a</sup>. Pons Guri, 'Constitucions conciliars Tarraconenses', *AST* 48 (1975) 318-62, secondly (fols. 55v-59v), constitutions issued in the second and fourth councils held by Joan of Aragon (1331 and 1334), here undated, edited by J. Tejada y Ramiro, *Colección de canones de la iglesia española*, 6 vols. (Madrid, 1849-59), 3.549-67, thirdly (fols. 59v-65r), constitutions of Arnau Sescomes (1334-46), here dated 1336 and 1339 (compare Tejada, 3.558-63), and, fourthly (fols. 65r-69v), constitutions of Iñigo de Valterra (1380-1407), issued in a council here dated 1390 (compare Tejada, 6.90-95).

(6) fol. 71r: Another fragment from the work of Joan of Aragon cited above (here with the title). *Incipit*: 'Beatus Petrus apostolus'; *desinit*: 'vite eterne premium et eternum supplicium iuxta illud' (ed. Lomax, pp. 225 f.).

(7) fols. 71v-72v: blank.

(8) fols. 73r-74r: A decree (dated 5 March 1395) issued by Ramon de Escales (bishop of Barcelona 1386-98), directed to the canons of the cathedral on clerical dress.

(9) fol. 74v: A formula of absolution.

(10) fol. 75r: The text of the verses on the Sibyl in Catalan. *Incipit*: 'Al yorn del iudici para qui aura fayt cervici'. See Richard B. Donovan, *The Liturgical Drama in Medieval Spain* (Toronto, 1958), pp. 165-67.

(11) fols. 75v-77r: Minor notes on liturgical questions with the dates for Easter to 1439 (incomplete).

M = Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional 89 (*olim* C.60, C.61). Paper. Saec. xiv, second half. ii + 114 + ii folios. 286 × 215 mm. Originally two manuscripts, in different s. xiv hands, the first containing 66 folios, numbered in red Roman numerals (fols. 1-64 in Arabic numbers also), the second (fols. 67-114) in pencilled Arabic numerals, with older red Roman numerals (fols. 1-XLIII).

Second ms.: Written space 185 × 146 mm. Gatherings (fols. 67-114): 1<sup>10</sup>-4<sup>10</sup>, 5<sup>8</sup>. 20-21 lines in double columns. Watermark: a unicorn (nearest to Briquet 15733 [Draguignan, 1353]). Rubrics and paragraph indications in red. Binding: Red morocco leather over boards, saec. xviii. On the spine (near top): 'Castulani Summa', in gold.

#### Contents:

(1) The first ms. contains two works on canon law, the first (fols. 2ra-44rb) the *Summa de penitentia* of Berengarius Fredoli, the second (fols. 44rb-64ra) a *Summa brevis extracta* from the *Summa* of Ramon de Penyafort.

(2) The second ms. (fols. 67ra-110rb), Ruffacius, *Constitutiones sinodales episcopatus Barchinonensis*.

(3) fols. 110rb-113vb, in another later hand, Joan of Aragon, *Tractatus brevis* (ed. Lomax, pp. 225-33), of which there is a fragment in B.<sup>45</sup>

E = El Escorial, Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo ç.II.7. Paper. Saec. xiv. iii + 157 + iii folios. 295 × 215 (223 × 146) mm. Number of lines varies.

*Contents:*

fols. i<sup>r</sup>-xviii<sup>v</sup> (Roman numerals): Ruffacius, *Constitutiones sinodales Barchinonenses*. This is followed, as in B, by the provincial constitutions of Tarragona, and then by Joan of Aragon, *Tractatus brevis* (as in B and M). This is followed by a large number of royal privileges, issued by Jaume I of Aragon (d. 1276) and his successors, to 1339. The manuscript belonged to D. Antonio Agustín (1517-86), archbishop of Tarragona.<sup>46</sup>

R = Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Ripoll 90 (*olim* Estante 2º cajon 2<sup>da</sup>, N<sup>o</sup>. moderno 21, antiguo 118). Paper. Saec. xv. 291 × 210 (210 × 160) mm. ii + 53 + ii folios. 36 long lines (fol. 1r). Old Roman numerals on verso (ii-xxxvi), passing from iv (modern 3v) to xv (4v), then continuing without a break to xxxvi (modern 24v). Rubrics in red (fols. 3v-8v), thereafter in black with red tipped in. Capitals in red throughout. One hand. Binding: parchment (saec. xviii).

*Contents:*

(1) fols. 1r-2r: Constitutions issued by Francesc Climent Çapera (see ms. B above) in a synod held on 9 April 1421.

(2) fol. 2v: Canons issued by the same bishop on 10 May 1413.

(3) fols. 3r-8v: [Ruffacius, *Constitutiones*]. Incomplete because of the loss of folios between the modern fols. 3 and 4; this has caused the loss of canons 8.30 to 101.5. Canons 123.4-125.7 are also missing. Canon 86 is inserted after c. 133.

(4) fols. 9r-12r: Constitutions issued by Ferrer d'Abella (bishop of Barcelona 1334-44) in 1339 and 1341.

(5) fols. 12v-13v: Constitutions issued by Bernat Oliver (bishop 1345-46) in 1345.

(6) fols. 14r-52r: Provincial constitutions issued by Joan of Aragon in 1329, by Arnau Sescomes in 1336 and 1339, by Sancho López d'Ayerbe in 1357, by Pere Clasqueri in 1364 and 1366, and by Iñigo de Valterra in 1391.

(7) fol. 52v: Constitution issued by Pere II of Aragon at Lérida in 1210 against persistent excommunicates.

(8) fol. 53r: blank.

(9) fol. 53v: Confirmation of Pere's constitution by Pope Gregory [ix].<sup>47</sup>

<sup>45</sup> This manuscript is described in the summary *Inventario general de manuscritos de la Biblioteca Nacional 1* (Madrid, 1953), pp. 85 f.

<sup>46</sup> G. Antolín, *Catálogo de los códices latinos de la Real Biblioteca del Escorial 1* (Madrid, 1910), pp. 218-35.

<sup>47</sup> Z. García Villada, in *Bibliotheca patrum latinorum hispaniensis 2* (Vienna, 1915), p. 50, has a very short description of R.

We have examined the two Barcelona manuscripts (B and R) *in situ*. We are indebted to the Keepers of Manuscripts at El Escorial and the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid for additional information as to E and M. The text and the variants of all four manuscripts have been transcribed from photostats.

The best of the four manuscripts are B and M, with M superior to B. We have listed in the critical apparatus all the variants of these two manuscripts and those of R. We have not listed all those of E, which is the work of a careless and erratic scribe, with a perpetual tendency to abbreviate. We do not consider it useful to list such variants from E as the following:

- 2.16 *uolentes*] *uoluntates*
- 4.9 *etiam*] *ecclesiam*
- 24.2 *in ministerio*] *et ministeria*.

Many of the variants of E which we do list might be considered dispensable.

We have rejected the readings of B in 314 cases, those of M in 108. In general B tends to omit or abbreviate formulaic words or phrases, e.g., 6.3-4; 7.3; 8.14, etc. B is also careless, e.g., 9.5; 9.1.2, 3; 10.12; 11.5, 6; 12.3. But on a number of occasions we consider B to be preferable, as in 60.12; 63.4; 79.22; 82.10; 90.41; 95.9; 100.4; 102.10; 106.6; 108.6, 112.2-3; 116.4-5; 119.4; 121.9, 10, 19; 122.4; 125.8-9; 127.5; 132.10; 134.12.

More frequently M can be adjudged right, as in 2.20; 59.11; 100.4; 121.20; 125.21; 126.1, 3, 4; 128.2; 130.1; 132.1-3. M can, however, be wrong, as in 24.4; 32.1; 67.4; 86.7; 95.8.

The relationship of R and E to B and M is hard to establish. R agrees with B against the other manuscripts in ten cases, in one of which (135.1-3) these two mss. clearly preserve the correct reading. R agrees with M in 14 cases. E agrees with B in 49 cases and with M in 48. The unprofessional nature of E's scribe removes much significance from the agreements. R and E agree against BM in 20 cases.

Despite its general inferiority E alone appears to be correct (though it may only be recording an intelligent guess of its parent manuscript) in the following eighteen cases:

- 4.7 *conuertendis*] *conuertendorum* BMR
- 19.2 *cathecuminorum*] *cathecuminum* B      *cethecumini* M
- 41.2 *se om.* BM
- 48.4 *coniuraciones*] *coniurare* BM
- 60.3 *claudat*] *claudant* BM
- 81.22 *peremptorio* BM
- 82.14 *poterint*] *poterunt* BM
- 87.18 *si sic*] *si fit* M      *sic fit* B
- 88.5 *perpeditus*] *perpediti* B      *postpediti* M

- 89.21 *aliquis alius*] *quiuus alicuius* BM  
 90.42 *nostrarum constitucionum*] *nostram constitutionem* BM  
 94.20 *antedicto*] *antedicti* BM  
 103.13 *in om.* BMR  
 111.6-7 *sustinuerint*] *sustinuerit* BM om. R  
 123.16 *prouentibus*] *prouentus* BM om. R  
 127.13 *compleatur*] *compleantur* BMR  
 129.5 *ciuili uel criminali*] *ciuilis uel criminalis* BMR  
 132.8 *uoluerint*] *uoluerit* BMR.

We have preferred a reading of R against the other manuscripts in one case only, 133.13 *aliquem*] *aliquod* BME. On five other occasions we prefer RE against BM:

- 4.3 *mandamus*] *mandantes* BM  
 4.10 *uenient*] *inuenienti* M uenturo B  
 102.16 *transumptis*] *transumptibus* BM  
 115.5 *et*<sup>1</sup>] *ex* BM  
 133.13 *non om.* BM.

We have used the recent editions of the two texts incorporated into Ruffacius' compilation, the *Summa* (S) of Pere d'Albalat and a text from the provincial compilation of Tarragona (*Tarr.*), to correct the readings of the manuscripts on 21 occasions. See 4.3 (bis); 10.5, 6, 14; 11.3; 17.4; 23.4; 27.4; 29.2; 33.4; 35.6; 51.4; 79.5, 7, 13, 23, 27, 29, 41, 42.

On another 27 occasions we have ourselves emended the text of the manuscripts (see 2.10, 11; 3.5; 27.4; 29.2; 32.4; 59.13; 65.3; 89.21; 90.16, 30, 42; 92.4-5; 95.10; 101.6; 106.1, 2; 107.7; 109.5, 11; 116.6; 120.13; 124.17; 125.17; 126.7; 131.11, 12; 132.19). Most of the emendations are very minor. We have not attempted a systematic correction of the syntax of Ruffacius (or of his sources). A few instances of the odd syntax (from a classical point of view) which survive are 24.1 *communicantur*; 27.6 *casu contingente*; 36.7 *que* (a case of vernacular interference?); 61.3 *eos*, possibly referring to clerics with cure of souls; 131.5 *stant hii*, again a possible case of vernacular interference, preferred to the plausible *sciant in* of E.

In all editorial practices (orthography, capitalization, punctuation) we follow the norms set out by the Institute of Medieval Canon Law and used in its *Bulletin*. For instance, we use *e*, not *ae*, *ci*, not *ti*, and omit *h* when the mss. do so (e.g., *crisma*). M has served as our orthographical model wherever possible, and we have also had recourse to B. The chapter numbering is our own, and words enclosed in angled brackets are editorial additions.

The notes on the text incorporate references to the *Corpus juris canonici*. Their use here perhaps needs some explanation. Synodal legislation is of a

particularly restricted kind in that its principal function consists in informing episcopal subjects of the obligations imposed on them by the common law of the Church. In times preceding the establishment of seminaries, synodal constitutions were also intended to provide clerics with the fundamental notions of theology necessary to those proceeding to ordination. The bishop acted as legislator only interstitially, that is, by applying to local conditions the more general principles developed elsewhere, or by promulgating rules for local problems about which there were no specific solutions to be found in more comprehensive legislative materials. These characteristics of synodal legislation have certain consequences which must be kept in mind when one attempts to understand the relationship of this legislation to the common law of the Church. Synodal legislation is not a compendium of more general law nor will each provision in a synodal compilation find its exact precedent in the *Corpus juris canonici*. The purpose of the references to the *Corpus* in the notes on the text is not to provide a list of sources for the synodal constitutions of Barcelona. More interestingly, the references seek to provide material for a comparison between rules intended for general application throughout the Church and the concrete, more limited solutions adopted at a level which was much more concerned with what was possible in the context of a specific diocese.

## CONSPECTUS SIGLORUM

### *Codices*

- B = Barcelona, Arxiu de la Catedral s.n. (saec. xv)  
 E = El Escorial, Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo ç.II.7 (saec. xiv)  
 M = Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional 89 (saec. xiv)  
 R = Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Ripoll 90 (saec. xiv)  
 B<sup>ac</sup> = B ante correcturam, E<sup>ac</sup> = E ante correcturam, etc.  
 B<sup>pc</sup> = B post correcturam, E<sup>pc</sup> = E post correcturam, etc.  
*codd.* = codices  
*add.* = addidit  
*om.* = omisit  
*praem.* = praemittit  
*rep.* = repetiuit  
*tr.* = transposuit

### *Fontes*

- S = *Summa septem sacramentorum* by Pere d'Albalat, ed. P. A. Linehan, *Hispania sacra* 22 (1969) 16-30.  
 Tarr. = *Collectio canonum provinciae Tarraconensis*, ed. Josep M<sup>a</sup>. Pons Guri, *Analecta sacra tarraconensia* (=AST) 47 (1974) 65-128, 48 (1975) 241-363.

*Abbreviationes canonicae*

c.	= canon
C.	= Causa
<i>Clem.</i>	= <i>Clementinae</i>
D.	= Distinctio
De cons.	= De consecratione
<i>gl.</i>	= glossa (ordinaria)
q.	= quaestio
VI	= <i>Liber Sextus</i>
X	= <i>Decretales Gregorii IX</i>

## INCIPIUNT CONSTITUTIONES SINODALES EPISCOPATUS BARCHINONENSIS.

1. Franciscus Ruffacii, decretorum doctor, Tholetanensis et Barchinonensis ecclesiarum canonicus, uicarius in spiritualibus et temporalibus generalis reuerendi patris et domini domini Michaelis diuina prouidentia Barchinonensis  
 5 episcopi in remotis agentis, uenerabilibus et in Christo dilectis uniuersis et singulis clericis tam curatis quam non curatis et aliis quibuscumque in sacris ordinibus constitutis infra ciuitatem et diocesim Barchinonenses commorantibus, salutem in Domino sempiternam.

2. Cum iuxta nobis creditum ab altitudine officium debeamus circa subditorum commodum intendere animarum, et quantum possumus periculis obuiare ac uicia extirpare non inmerito teneamur, et propterea considerauerimus quod multe constitutiones per reuerendos patres dominos quondam  
 5 episcopos Barchinonenses et eorum uicarios, cum assensu et uoluntate uenerabilis capituli ecclesie Barchinone, promulgate fuerunt, quarum aliquae ualde periculose suis subditis existerant et difficiles ad seruandum propter penarum appositiones, aliquae etiam earum, licet multum utiles, per subditos minime seruabantur, nonnullae earum per diuersa uolumina dispersa ab  
 10 hominum memoria erant penitus aliene, ideo, ad laudem et gloriam Jesu Christi et gloriose matris eius et sancte Eulalie Barchinonensis et utilitatem subditorum, eas, de consilio et assensu uenerabilis capituli Barchinone, in unum uolumen, quibusdam ex eis tanquam superfluis resecatis ex toto uel in parte mutatis, multisque detractationibus et mutacionibus factis, prout uidimus expedire, cum

1 1 Rubr. *om.* R episcopatus] ecclesie B episcopatus Barchinonensis] barchinonenses  
 E 2 decretorum *om.* B doctor *om.* E Tholosane B 4 domini<sup>2</sup> *om.* B  
 7 constituti MR 7-8 commorantibus] uel qui pro tempore fuerint *add.* E  
 2 1 debeamus] habeamus R<sup>ac</sup> 3 obuiare] euitare M tenemur B 6 promulgare B  
 7 existerat M 9 per] inter R 10 aliena *codd.* 11 eius] sue *codd.* et<sup>3</sup>] *ad add.* E  
 13 in] ex BE parte] non *add.* M

1 2 For the compiler, Franciscus Ruffacius (or Ruffach), see above, p. 78 n. 1, and for Bishop Miquel de Ricomá, *ibid.* n. 2.

2 Cf. 'Rex pacificus', the constitution promulgating the *Extravagantes* of Gregory IX: De cons. D. 3, *ante* c. 1, *gl. ad* 'Non generaliter'; X 1.33.2, *gl. ad* 'Decretum'.

11 Santa Eulalia, the patroness of Barcelona, whose solemn translation to a new shrine in the cathedral took place in 1339; see Pere III of Catalonia, *Chronicle*, 2 vols., trans. Mary Hillgarth (Toronto, 1980), 1.218 f. and n. 52.



- 15 aliis quibusdam per nos et ipsum capitulum nouiter promulgatis, fecimus collocari. Volentes has et non alias pro constitutionibus sinodalibus haberi et modis omnibus per subditos obseruari, illas tamen, licet aliquid mutauerimus, sub titulis predecessorum nostrorum qui illas ordinarunt fecimus consignari. Per hanc ordinationem constitutionibus que fiunt uel facte fuerunt in  
20 generalibus capitulis ecclesie Barchinonensis non intendimus in aliquo derogare.

3. Primo ad bonum statum ecclesie Barchinonensis, in instructione curatorum et aliorum clericorum dicte diocesis, mandamus constitutiones uenerabilis patris Johannis, bone memorie apostolice sedis legati, inuiolabiliter obseruari editas in concilio Ilerdensi. Item, eius ordinationem circa officium et  
5 alia pro eadem ecclesia debere obseruari.

4. Ad memoriam nichilominus illa reducentes que per dominum Petrum, miseracione diuina Tarrachonensem archiepiscopum, in Tarrachone et Valencie prouincialibus conciliis fuere statuta, districte mandamus quod ad subdiaconatus ordinem nullus promoueatur nisi loqui sciatur latinis uerbis. Illi  
5 tamen qui sunt promoti ad sacros ordines qui nesciunt competenter loqui latinis uerbis, quod adiscant per duos annos continuos, alias quod sint suspensi a fructibus beneficiorum suorum conuertendis in utilitatem beneficiorum suorum. Non beneficiati penam quinquaginta solidorum incurrant et penis

15 facimus E                      18 que MR                      facimus E                      19 fuerunt] fuerint BE  
20 ecclesie om. BRE  
3 1 in] et BR et ad E                      instructionem E                      3 Johannis] Sabinensis add. S                      4 et eius  
ordinatio S                      5 pro] per BMR                      in ES                      eandem BR                      ecclesie B                      debeant S                      debent E  
4 1 reducentes illa capitula tr. et add. S                      1-2 dominum ... archiepiscopum] nos S  
2 Tarrachonensem] Tarrachone R                      2-3 Terrachonam et Valenciam B                      Tarrachone et  
Valencia M                      Tarracona et Valencia RE                      3 conciliis] ecclesiis BME                      ecclesie R  
districte] discrete R                      mandantes BM                      4 acolitatum nullus promoueatur ordinem tr. S  
4-10 Illi ... ante om. S                      6 continuos om. R                      7 conuertendorum BMR                      in] ad E

15 The new constitutions are those at the end of the compilation (cc. 124-135). For the preface in general, see above, p. 79 and n. 4.

3 2 From here ('mandamus') through c. 58 our compilation follows the text of the *Summa septem sacramentorum* of Pere d'Albalat (for whom see n. 8 to the introduction); the text of 1241, edited by Linehan (see above, p. 80 and n. 10), is collated in the critical apparatus under S.

3-4 For Jean d'Abbeville and the Council of Lérida in 1229 see Linehan, *The Spanish Church*, pp. 20-34.

4 X 1.14.14.

4-10 From 'Illi' to the end of the chapter, the text is not taken from the *Summa*. The provision on learning Latin is based on the Council of Lérida, c. 6 (Pons Guri, 'Constitucions', *AST* 47.78), which allows the ignorant to study for three years before suspension.

10 solutis ad predicta etiam teneantur. Qui quidem anni incipiant a festo Natiuitatis Domini proxime uenienti et non ante.

5. Mandamus nichilominus quod circa hereticos inquirendos sint clerici uigiles et intenti et in predicacionibus suis moneant populum ne portent superfluitatem in uestibus, prout iam bone memorie dominus Bernardus episcopus Barchinonensis mandauerat per diocesim Barchinonensem.

6. Item, statuimus quod in celebrandum sinodum omnes clerici conueniant in die in qua fuerit assignata, in qua sinodo cum capis rotundis uel cum superpelliciis ieiuni honeste ueniant prout decet, et in sinodo pacifice audiant que legentur. Et si aliquis habuerit dubium, ab ipso querant postmodum uel eius clericis et eis de questionibus satisfiant, ne tempore sinodi ab episcopo, archidiacono uel clericis eius consilium aliquod requiratur, sed in suis dubitacionibus satisfiat et respondeatur sine murmuracione sinodo celebrata.

7. Item, dicimus quod clerici habentes curam animarum omnes ueniant ad sinodum nisi infirmitate aut alia necessitate canonica fuerint impediti, et tunc mittant suos capellanos ac clericos loco sui. Et in eundo et redeundo a sinodo honeste se habeant et ambulent presbiteri, et honesta hospicia querant in ciuitate et in uia, ne status clericorum uertatur in opprobrium laicorum. Qua die si non uenerint suspendantur et arbitrio domini episcopi puniantur.

9 Natalis E      10 inuenienti M      uenturo B  
 5 2 populum] suum *add.* E      3 superfluitates S      4 episcopus Barchinonensis *om.* R  
 mandauit E      per] pro B  
 6 1 in] ad S      omnes *om.* BR      1-2 conueniant ... cum<sup>1</sup> *om.* S      2 cum<sup>2</sup> *om.*  
 ES      3 ieiunii R      3-4 audiant que legentur *om.* B      4 legantur S      aliqui habuerint S  
 ab ipso querant *om.* B      ipso] episcopo S      5 eis *om.* B      satisfiet B      satisfaciant E  
 nec S      sinodi] aliquid *add.* S      6 archidiacono ... requiratur] uel archidiaconis a clericis  
 exhigatur sed eis S      requiratur] acquiratur E      7 satisfiat et *om.* S      satisfaciant E      sine  
 murmuracione] pacifice sine murmure S  
 7 2 nisi] in *add.* S      aliqua ES      canonica *om.* BR      2-4 et ... habeant *om.* E *per hom.*  
 3 ac *om.* B      in *om.* S      5 uertetur E      uersatur B      in contemptum et opprobrium S  
 6 uenient E      suspendatur B      domini *om.* ES      puniatur B

##### 5 X 5.7.13

3 The bishop Bernardus of our manuscripts is a mistaken resolution of the initial B of the *Summa* (p. 16), resolved by Linehan as 'Berengarius', i.e., Berenguer de Palou, bishop of Barcelona 1212-41 (see Puig y Puig, *Episcopologio*, pp. 183-99), the last bishop before the promulgation of the *Summa* in Barcelona, *sede vacante*, in 1241. Bishop Berenguer was active against heretics (Puig y Puig, *ibid.*, p. 198).

## 8. DE BAPTISMO ET EIVSDEM FORMA.

Item, dicimus quod omnibus sacramentis a clericis et laicis magna exhibeatur reuerencia et hoc ab ipsis sacerdotibus populo predicetur. Et quia baptismus janua est omnium sacramentorum, mandamus quod cum magna celebretur  
 5 cautela, maxime in distinctione uerborum et prolacione in quibus tota uirtus consistit et salus puerorum. Ista enim uerba semper debet proferre sacerdos sine aliqua sincopacione: 'P. uel J., ego te baptizo in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti. Amen', semper nominando puerum uel puellam; et presbiteri moneant quod in necessitate, cum timetur de morte puerorum, possunt pueros baptizare  
 10 ita dicentes: 'P. uel J., ego te baptizo in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti. Amen.' Hoc idem possunt pater et mater cum de uita pueri dubitatur. Et si uixerit puer taliter baptizatus, ad ecclesiam apportetur et ibi cathecuminetur crismate sed non rebaptizetur quia suppleri debet caute quod ex necessitate fuerat pretermissum, nec in aliquo liquore baptizetur nisi in aqua. Et si uerba  
 15 predicta non essent prolata, ut superius dictum est, non dicatur aliquis baptizatus. Et si dubitetur de aliquo utrum esset baptizatus, baptizetur. Sed sacerdos dicat in prolacione uerborum: 'Si es baptizatus, non te rebaptizo; sed si non es baptizatus, ego te baptizo in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti. Amen,' quia non debet fieri iniuria sacramento. Et pro baptismo aliquid non  
 20 requiratur sed si datum fuerit gratis accipiatur. Fontes cum omni diligencia custodiantur et aqua ad plus de octo in octo diebus mutetur ne putrescat. Et caueant sacerdotes ne de aqua sortilegia fiant. Et teneant fontes baptismales sub clauē. Et ultra tres compadres ad leuandum puerum de sacro fonte non admittantur quia matrimonia impediuntur, et illud presbiteri predicent populo,  
 25 quia si maritus leuat puerum de sacro fonte uxor que est in domo est commater et e conuerso. Illud autem non est pretermittendum quando laici in necessitate baptizant pueros; sacerdos debet querere diligenter qualiter laicus dixit uerba. Et

8 c. 8 tr. post c. 9 E 1 Rubr. om. RE forma eiusdem tr. B eius S  
 2 exhibeantur R 4 celebratur S 5 uirtus] sacramenti add. RES 6 consistis B  
 consistat E Ista] Ita R debent B 7 Petre uel Johannes S 8 monent E 10 dicens  
 E Petre, ego S Johannes B 11 possunt facere S dubitetur E 13 et crismetur S  
 baptizetur S 14 fuerit S nec ... aqua om. B 16 dubitaretur S dubiteretur E  
 baptizetur] baptizatur B 17 rebaptizo] baptizo ES 19 fieri] in add. R 20 queratur S  
 fuerit om. R recipiatur S Fontes enim S 21 plures B 22 caueat sacerdos E  
 sortiggia B fiat B 22-23 Et ... clauē om. S 23 eleuandum B lauandum R  
 24 predicet E populo] sosp. B 25 quia] quod B 26 et e conuerso om. B Illud]  
 Idem E quando] quod praem. ES 26-27 in ... laicus om. E per hom. 27 qualiter]  
 quilibet B dixit] dixerit E Et om. S

si inuenerit ut superius dictum est, bene quidem; sin autem, baptizet, uel si mortuus fuerit corpus non tradatur sepulture. Crisma uero et oleum infirmorum et cathecuminum sub fideli custodia teneantur ne possint a maliuolis usurpari. Et quia semper quolibet anno ista sacramenta in sancto die Iouis a solis episcopis benedicuntur, dicimus quod ultra diem illam crisma uetus et oleum penitus refutetur et ponatur in lampade, et in aqua currenti lauentur ampulle et nouum crisma apportetur. Et in uigilia Pasche et Penthecosten in qualibet parrochiali ecclesia generalis baptismus, si baptizandi fuerint pueri, celebretur, et mittantur honeste persone pro crismate.

#### 9. DE CONFIRMACIONE FACTA PER EPISCOPVM.

De crismacione in fronte precipimus que fit ab episcopis, quod sacerdotes moneant populum ad confirmationem quia post baptismum debent suscipere sacramentum, et adulti confirmandi confiteantur, et postea confirmentur, quia in sacramento confirmationis confertur robur et gracia et debilitatur penitus inimicus. Et dicatur laicis ne expectent diu ad confirmandum aduentum episcopi sed ducant pueros ad eum uel uadant ubi adesse audierint prope; et quod possunt mutari nomina in confirmatione. Et est sciendum quod soli episcopi possunt confirmare, consecrare uirgines et ecclesias dedicare, clericos ordinare, cruces uestimenta calices et corporalia benedicere, litteras ordinacionis dare, indulgencias facere secundum canonica instituta.

9.1. Illud autem est sciendum quod sacramenta baptismi et confirmationis nunquam iterantur; etiam si baptizatus et confirmatus faceret se iudeum uel sarracenum et postea uellet reducere ad fidem catholicam, non rebaptizetur quia sufficit contritio in hac parte cum reconciliacione episcopi.

28 ut *om.* B baptizetur ES 29 tradetur E ecclesiastice sepulture S  
 30 teneatur ES c. 8 l. 30 ne *usque ad* c. 101 l. 5 ad hoc *om.* R 30-31 ne ... Et *om.* S  
 31 sancta S 32 uetus *om.* S 34 crisma] et oleum *add.* BE 36 et ... crismate *om.* S  
 9 1 facta per episcopum *om.* S 2 confirmatione que fit in S que] quod S 2-  
 3 sacerdos moneat B 3 quia] quod B debet ME debent] confirmationis *add.* S  
 4 confiteatur E confirmetur ME et quia S 5 confirmationis *om.* E confortatur B  
 continetur S 6 Et *om.* S spectent B 8 possent B possint E nomine B  
 9 possint B et *om.* B  
 9.1 2 etiam] et B confirmatus et baptizatus *tr.* S 3 redire S baptizetur B  
 baptizaretur nec confirmaretur S quia] quod B

9 De cons. D. 5 cc. 1, 6; X 1.15.1; D. 69 c. 4; C. 26 q. 6 c. 2; De cons. D.4 cc. 107, 108; X 5.9

## 10. DE PENITENCIA.

Item, quia penitencia est secunda tabula post naufragium, precipimus quod sacerdotes moneant populum quod si aliquis delinquerit mortaliter, recipiant penitenciam a proprio confessore, uel a Predicatoribus uel Minoribus, quibus  
 5 data est licentia audiendi confessiones, et circa confessionem maximam curam habeant et cautelam, scilicet ut diligenter inquirant peccata usitata sigillatim, inusitata uero non nisi a longe per aliquam circumstanciam sic tamen quod expertis detur materia confitendi. Et sacerdotes cum debent audire confessiones locum sibi eligant in ecclesia conuenientem ut communiter ab omnibus  
 10 uideantur. Extra uero ecclesiam nullus audiat confessionem nisi necessitate magna aut infirmitate. Preterea sacerdos semper in confessione audienda uultum habeat humilem et oculos ad terram ne facies respiciat confitentium, maxime mulierum, causa debite honestatis, eis compaciendo, nec admirentur de commissis quantumcumque turpius sed eis pro posse suadeant pluribus  
 15 modis ut confiteantur integre; aliter enim dicant eis nichil ualere ad uitam eternam. Audita autem confessione semper confessor interroget confitentem si uellet se abstinere ab omni peccato, aliter enim non absoluat nec penitenciam iniungat nec idem confidat. Moneat tamen ut interim agat quidquid boni potest quia nisi proponat confitens decetero non peccare, non est penitencia  
 20 iniungenda. Et in iniungendis penitenciis caueant sacerdotes quod secundum quantitates culpe debet esse quantitas penitencie, alioquin quod minus est requiretur ab eis, quia facilitas uenie incentiuum tribuit delinquendi. Debet enim iniungere ieiunium helemosinam uenias orationes peregrinationes et huiusmodi, et sacerdotes moneant quod ieiunent Aduentum et Quadragesi-  
 25 mam, et dies Veneris et Sabbatorum, et non comedant carnes nisi in infirmitate et statuta ieiunia obseruent et festiuitates colendas colant et decimas et primitias fideliter donent et ad ecclesiam libenter ueniant et iura dominis suis integre soluant, alias grauiter peccarent, ut sic paulatim ad id quod facere debent inducantur.

10 2 quia ... secunda] de penitencia que secunda est B 2-3 quod sacerdotes] sacerdotibus quod E 3 quis delinquerit S recipiat S 4 a<sup>2</sup> om. B 5 confessionem om. codd. maximam om. S 6 et om. codd. 7 uero om. S nisi om. BE aliam B circumstantias aliquas S sic] sit M quod] ut S 8 det B 9 in ecclesia om. B 10 nisi] in add. ES 12 nec S confitentem B 13 honestatis] et patienter audiant que dixerint in spiritu lenitatis add. S ne admirantur E 14 turpibus S per M suadant BME persuadeant et S 17 uelit S se om. S enim] autem S 18 idem] inde S Et moneat enim S boni] si add. B 19 est] ei add. S 20 in om. BE secundum] qualitatem culpe et possibilitatem confitentium eis iniungant quia secundum add. S 21 quantitates] qualitatem S 22 requiritur B Debent S 23 helemosinas E 24 sacerdotes om. S 25 in sabbatis S et<sup>3</sup> om. S 26 colendas] colentes B 27 fideliter om. ES 28 persoluant S aliter S

11. Item, dicimus sacerdotibus quod maiora peccata reseruent maioribus et discrecioribus in confessione, sicut sunt homicidia, sacrilegia, peccata contra naturam, incestus, stupra monialium, uota fracta, iniectioes manuum in parentes atque in clericos et huiusmodi, prouiso tamen quod si peccata mortalia  
5 fuerint publica, transmittantur huiusmodi penitentes penitenciaro episcopi ut die Iouis introducantur secundum quod in ecclesiis cathedralibus dinoscitur obseruari.

12. Item, incendiarios, uerberatores clericorum uel religiosorum, simoniacos et illos qui portant arma sarracenis uel aliquod suffragium contra Christianos eis faciunt, hereticos, predentes, fautores, receptores, defensores eorumdem, fractores ecclesiarum et qui Deum uel sanctos et precipue beatam  
5 Virginem blasfemant uel maledicunt, omnes episcopo transmittantur.

13. Item, parentes qui inueniunt pueros mortuos iuxta se penitenciaro episcopi transmittantur. In dubiis tamen sacerdotes semper consulant episcopum aut uiros sapientes quorum consilio certificati soluant securius aut ligent.

14. Item, in furto, usura, rapina, fraude sibi caueant sacerdotes ne penitenciam iniungant donec prius fiat restitucio quibus debet, quia non dimittitur peccatum nisi restituatur ablatum. Nec sacerdos missas quas iniunxit celebrandas celebret, causa debite honestatis.

15. Item, in confessione sibi caueant sacerdotes ne inquirent nomina personarum cum quibus peccauerint confitentes sed circumstancias tantummodo et qualitates. Et nullus sacerdos ira uel odio uel metu mortis in aliquo audeat reuelare confessionem generaliter uel specialiter, quod si fecerit  
5 deponatur.

11 1 seruent E 2 sunt *om.* S 3 inceste B strupa BME in] contra E  
4 atque in clericos *om.* S prouisio S 5 publica] enormia S episcopi *om.* B ut] in BE  
5-6 ut ... Iouis] et in Die Cineris ab ecclesia expellantur et in Die Sancto Iouis S 6 intro-  
ducatur BE 7 obseruari *om.* B

12 1 uel] et E 3 eis] qui *add.* B predentes] credentes S receptatores S  
4 eorumdem] et eundem E et<sup>2</sup> *om.* S precipue] qui *add.* S

13 1-2 penitenciaro episcopi] omnes episcopo M 3-4 secure soluant uel ligent S

14 1 furto] futuro B rapina] puttus *add.* B punctus *add.* E fraude] ualde S (*sed*  
fraude ST *inter codd. Summae*) 2 donec] nisi S restituerint quibus debent S  
3 remittitur B aliquas S iniunxerit S adiungit B iniungit E

15 1 caueat sacerdos E inquirat E 2 peccauerunt B peccauerit E  
circumstantiam E 3 qualitatem B in aliquo *om.* S 4 releuare S

11 VI 5.10.2 and *gl. ad* 'Reservaretur'

12 X 5.6.6, 12; VI 5.10.2

13 X 5.10.3; X 5.38.12

14 X 5.6.16, *gl. ad* 'Pauperum'

15 X 5.38.12

16. Item, quando sacerdos audit confessionem infirmi, sibi penitentiam innotescat sed non iniungat nisi in peccato restitutionis sed dicat quod cum sanus fuerit ad ipsum reuertatur. Si uero obierit, roget Dominum pro eodem ne sibi paretur laqueus transmigrandi.

17. Item, prouideant sacerdotes quod quilibet parrochianus confiteatur generaliter saltem in anno semel, scilicet in Quadragesima, ita quod non expectent finem Quadragesime, et postea comunicent in festo Pasche. Alioquin procedat in pena secundum formam concilii generalis que talis est: 'uiuens  
5 arcebitur ab introitu ecclesie et moriens carebit ecclesiastica sepultura.' Et hoc ut melius ualeat obseruari precipimus quod rectores ecclesiarum per se audiant confessiones parrochianorum et non per conducticios nisi forte in necessitate, uel sit certus de Predicatoribus uel Minoribus qui eas audiuerint a predictis parrochianis, ne ipsorum parrochianorum fraude uel malicia ecclesie illudatur.  
10 Et ut de parrochianis confitentibus possit esse certus, omnium parrochianorum nomina in uno memoriali conscribat.

### 18. DE EXTREMA VNCTIONE.

- Quia de unctione extrema que datur in extremis laborantibus nichil in ecclesiis obseruabatur, dicimus quod decetero omnibus in egritudine positis tradatur et a sacerdotibus in ecclesiis publice predicetur. Et in sancto die Iouis  
5 quilibet sacerdos parrochialis mittat pro oleo infirmorum, cathecuminum, et crismate sancto tres ampullas et cum omni reuerencia sanctum oleum ad infirmos deferatur et eos ungant sacerdotes cum magno honore et reuerencia et orationum celebritate que ad hoc sunt institute. Et nichil inde penitus exhigatur siue a paupere siue a diuite sed si quid gratis datum fuerit accipiatur. Istud

16 2 non *om.* B 3 Deum BS 4 sibi paretur] pereatur E laqueis transmigranti B  
17 1 prouideat sacerdos S 2 scilicet] semel *add.* M 3 spectent B 4 secundum  
*om.* E formam *om. codd.* 6 ut *om.* M 7 parrochianorum] suorum *add.* S per  
conducticios *om.* E conductiuos B 9 ipsa S fraude uel malicia *om.* M ecclesie *om.* B  
10 confitentibus ... certus *om.* E omnia S 11 conscribatur B constabat S et quia  
clerici parrochiales predicare debent non solum uerbo sed etiam exemplo *add.* E  
18 3 in *om.* B positis] constitutis S 4 traditur B 7 ungit sacerdos ME et  
reuerencia *om.* BES 9 Illud S

16 C. 26 q. 7 c. 1

17 X 5.38.13

18 D. 95 ante c. 3, *gl. ad* 'sed istud'; X 5.40.14

- 10 tamen est notandum quod istud sacramentum tantum prestatur adultis; et sicut penitencia iteratur et illud sacramentum, nec obligat aliquem quin si conualuerit post unctionem accedere debeat ad uxorem.

19. Item, dicimus quod sacerdotes parrochiales omnes librum habeant in quo continetur ordo extreme unctionis, cathecuminum, baptismi et huiusmodi, qui dicitur manualis uel ordinarium ecclesie secundum usum et morem qui obseruatur in ecclesia maiori.

## 20. DE CORPORE ET SANGVINE DOMINI.

Quia Corpus Christi consuevit dari infirmis, dicimus quod cum magna reuerencia deferatur cum lumine et campanella et sacerdos qui portauerit induat superpellicium et stolam et det infirmo. Et si infirmus forte facit uomitum, adoret corpus et non recipiat. Et sacerdotes ammonent populum quod cum uiderint corpus uel audierint campanellam omnes inclinent se uel genua flectent ob reuerenciam Jesu Christi. Nec presbiteri dimittant diacones deferre Corpus Christi infirmis nisi in necessitate cum absens fuerit sacerdos, sed semper sacerdotes deferant cum magna reuerencia et maturitate in calice uel in pixide multum honeste, et dicant septem psalmos penitenciales cum letania pro infirmo in eundo et redeundo et alias orationes secrete. Sic enim debitum soluant pro infirmo.

21. Item, dicimus quod honor maximus exhibeatur altaribus et maxime ubi Corpus Christi reseruatur et missa celebratur. Et in media parte altaris cum summa diligencia et honestate sub clauē si fieri potest Corpus Domini custodiatur.

10-11 sacramentum ... illud *om. E per hom.* 10 sicut] sic B 11 et illud] ita et  
istud S nec] non E qui S 11-12 quin si conualuerit *om. E* 12 debeat *om. B*  
19 1 omnes *om. BE* 2 cathecumini M cathecuminum B catechismi S  
3 manuale et S ordinarium] officiorum *add. S* 4 morem] modum S  
20 1 Christi S 5 adoret] recognoscat S recipiat] det ei et si reuertitur ad ecclesiam  
campanella non pulsetur nisi corpus portaret *add. S* sacerdos monet E moneant B  
7 genuam B flectant S dimittant] permittant S 9 et maturitate *om. E* 10 septem  
*om. S* 11-12 in ... infirmo *om. E per hom.* 11 et redeundo *om. B* 12 soluent B  
21 1 maximus] maior E 2 reseruatur E misse celebrantur E



22. Item, nulli clerico permittatur seruire altari nisi cum superpellicio uel capa rotunda nec aliquis sit ausus bis celebrare missam in die nisi ex magna necessitate et tunc non recipiat aliquid ante secundam missam.

23. Item, nec aliquis presumat missam celebrare nisi primo matutinas canonicas et primam dixerit, aliqua necessitate. Et linteamina altaris et indumenta sacerdotalia sepe abluantur et ob reuerenciam et presentiam Jesu Christi et tocius curie celestis que cum eo presens est quociens missa celebretur.

24. Calices unde infirmi communicantur decenter et mundi custodiantur ut decencius et deuocius communicent infirmi. Ampulle quoque uini in ministerio altaris propter scandalum nitide teneantur et de octo in octo diebus renouent Corpus Christi. Et si fuerit interdictum, sacerdos secrete clausis januis celebret missam sed non in ecclesia interdicta et renouet etiam totum Corpus; quod remanserit cum summa diligencia recipiat.

25. Item, dicimus quod in primo *Memento* de sacra sacerdos habeat memoriam de benefactoribus uiuis, in secundo pro mortuis. Et cum inceperint 'Qui pridie', non statim eleuent manus alte sed ante pectus teneant donec dixerint: 'Hoc est enim corpus meum', et tunc eleuent caute, ita ut possit uideri ab omnibus, quia tunc est ibi Corpus Christi, et predicetur populo quod tunc omnes flectent genua et adorent Corpus. Et licet totum canonem debeant dicere cum diligencia magna et maturitate, ab illo loco, 'Qui pridie' usque ad 'Supra que propicio', cum maiori deuocione et sollicitudine precipimus obseruari quia omnia illa uerba sunt de substantia sacramenti.

22 1 altari om. B 2 sit usque ad c. 23 l. 1 aliquis om. E per hom. ausus om. M  
3 aliquid ... missam] in prima missa post communionem uinum S

23 1 ne B primo] prius S post E 2 dixerit] nisi ex add. ST inter codd. Summae  
3 sepe abluantur om. B semper obluantur E et<sup>1</sup> om. S 4 qui codd. est om. B  
celebratur E

24 1 Calices] etiam add. S communicant S munde S ut] et B 2 decencius et  
om. S uini] et aque add. S 3 propter scandalum nitide] munde et integre habeantur, et una  
ab altera cognoscantur. Item, prohibemus sacerdotibus ne habeant secum prolem ad seruitium  
altaris propter scandalum S remouetur B renouetur ES 4 Christi] ne sui uetustate  
aliquid a Dei deuotione remoueantur add. S 4-6 Et si ... recipiat om. S 4 secreto M  
5 renouetur E etiam] et B 6 summa] magna B

25 2 de] pro S uiuis] et add. B pro] de E 3 eleuet E alte om. B teneat ME  
4 dixerit E eleuet BE 6 flectant S Corpus] Christi add. S debeat E  
7 magna et om. S usque om. E 7-8 ad ... propicio] 'Vnde et memores Domine' S

22 X 3.41.3, 12

23 De cons. D. 5 c. 13; X 3.41.10; X 3.44.2

24 X 3.44.2; X 5.33.25 and gl. ad loc.

25 X 3.41.10

26. Item, dicimus quod uinum rubeum potius quam album ministretur in calice propter aque similitudinem, et purum et bonum et non ineptum ob reuerenciam Jesu Christi.

27. Item, corporalia munda et nitida teneantur. Et si quid de sanguine Domini ceciderit super corporale, recidendum est de corporali et in loco reliquiarum honorifice reseruandum; si super pallas uel super casullas uel uestimentum, abluantur in aqua et recidantur, et partes ille comburentur et cinis in sacrario reponatur. Si uero in terra uel lapide ceciderit, locus radatur et rasura in sacrario reponatur. Et si musca uel aranea casu contingente super calicem ceciderit, si uiua uel mortua, caute extrahatur et comburetur et cinis in sacrario reponatur.

28. Si infirmus recepto corpore uomitum fecerit, in uase aliquo recipiatur, uel si uas habere non poterit et in terra uomitum fecerit, locus radatur et totum in aqua prohiiciatur. Tamen caueat sacerdos cum dat Corpus quod querat utrum infirmus consueuit facere uomitum ut seruetur quod superius dictum est. Et etiam moneat quod si contigerit infirmum uomitum facere in uase recipiatur.

29. Item, dicimus quod Corpus Christi non tradatur istis qui suspenduntur uel debent iusticiari nisi impuniti permittantur usque ad tres dies uel quatuor post susceptionem sacramenti ob scandalum. Sed si adorare uoluerint, adorent ac etiam recognoscant; tradi autem possunt ecclesiastice sepulture si fuerit de principis uoluntate.

30. Missam uero nullus cantet ultra meridiem nisi in uigilia Pasche nec de nocte ante auroram nisi in Natiuitate Domini.

26 2 et<sup>1</sup> om. M ob] ad S 2-3 ab reuerencia E

27 1 teneantur] et ad morem Cistercii fiant decetero ac etiam incidantur add. S teneant E 2 de corporali] ipsum corporale S corporale M locum S 3 reseruandum] reponendum S seruandum E casulla S 4 uestimenta E abluant M abluatur B obluantur E et<sup>1</sup> om. S recindantur B resindantur E recindatur M om. S ille] postea add. S comburantur S 5 ponatur S reponantur B 5-6 Si ... reponatur om. BES (sed exhibent ST inter codd. Summae) 6 casu] enim S 7 uiua] fuerit add. S comburatur S

28 1 Si] autem add. S 2 si om. E 3 caueat] caute B quod om. B 4 consueuerit S seruet S

29 1 istis] illis S 2 nisi] per tres dies add. BME 2-3 nisi ... post] nisi impunitas promittatur usque ad quatuor dies post S 2 impuniti ST inter codd. Summae, om. codd. usque ... quatuor om. E 3 scandalum] laicorum add. S 4 etiam om. S

30 2 ante auroram om. S

27 De cons. D. 1 cc. 40-43

29 Clem. 5.9.1

30 De cons. D. 1 c. 48

## 31. DE MATRIMONIO.

Item, quia matrimonium est apud omnes gentes, dicimus quod cum magna reuerencia et honore celebretur et in facie ecclesie, non risu nec ioco ne contempnatur. Et per octo dies ante uel per tres ad minus si necessitas urgeat, 5 dicat sacerdos in ecclesia tali hora quod parrochiani sint presentes sub pena excommunicacionis quod talis uult talem ducere in uxorem et si sciunt impedimentum consanguinitatis uel adulterii uel affinitatis carnalis uel spiritualis ueniant coram eo et dicant, alias peccarent mortaliter, et non audirentur nisi infra illos dies dixerint que sciunt. Et sacerdotes querant ad 10 hostium ecclesie si est aliquis qui sciat impedimentum, et si dicatur 'Non', desponset eos per uerba de presenti, recipiendo anulum primo in manu uiri et dicat: 'Ego Petrus recipio te Bertam in uxorem et trado me ipsum tibi in legalem uirum.' Et ita ponat anulum in quarto digito mulieris dicendo: 'In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti. Amen.' Eodem modo faciat uxor ut dicitur de marito et 15 sic est matrimonium. Et prohibeat sacerdos ne fiant clandestina matrimonia. Nec dent sibi fidem ad inuicem de contrahendo matrimonio nisi coram sacerdote et coram pluribus hominibus, facta prius denunciacione ut supra dicitur, quia ex hoc multa mala consueuerunt uenire.

32. Item, dicimus sub pena excommunicacionis ne sortilegia fiant nec malificia nec ligaciones que fiunt per maleficas mulieres. Et qui sciunt impedimentum matrimonii dicant sicut est uotum, ordo, consanguinitas, affinitas, disparitas cultus et huiusmodi. Nec in casu dubio sacerdotes audeant 5 perficere matrimonium episcopo inconsulto sed ad eum referant omnium matrimoniorum questiones.

33. Item, dicimus sacerdotibus ne aliquid exigant ante benedictionem nupcialem nec ante sepulturam, siue pro matrimonio celebrando, sed celebratis

31 2 magna *om.* S 3 honore et reuerencia *tr.* S non] in *add.* S 3-4 nec ... contempnatur] uel in loco ne contempnatur S 4 dierum B antea S uel ... urgeat *om.* S 8 et dicant *om.* S aliter S 9 illos] octo *add.* S dies *om.* B 11 in ... uiri] de manu mariti S uiri] tradat *add.* E 12 Bertam] Berengariam E tibi *om.* ES 15 matrimonium] confirmatum *add.* S ut prohibeatur B prohibeant sacerdotes S faciant E 17-18 facta ... dicitur *om.* S 17 ut *om.* B 18 ex] in E euenire M euanire E 32 1 ne] nec M 2 malificia] maleficas B 3-4 ordinem, consanguinitatem, affinitatem, disparem cultum, compaternitatem S 4 dispam cultu B dispasa rem cultum ME Ne ME audeant] habeant B 5 matrimonio S referantur B 5-6 omnium ... questiones] semper omnes matrimonii S

31 X 4.3.4; X 4.1.27; X 4.2.13; X 4.3.3; X 4.18.6

32 X 4.1.27; C. 33 q. 1 c. 4

33 X 5.3.9

nupciis exigant suas laudabiles consuetudines quia post facere possunt consuetudine tollerante.

34. Item, dicimus quod aliquis coniugum non intrent religionem uel recipiant episcopo inconsulto.

35. Item, dicimus sacerdotibus ut cum aliquis confiteatur eis se fidem dedisse alicui mulieri de matrimonio contrahendo et fide data cognouit eam, non det ei licentiam contrahendi cum alia, quia carnalis copula cum illa cui fidem dedit matrimonium consummauit. Nec intersint clandestinis matrimoniis  
5 nisi in multorum presencia facta denunciacione ut supra dicitur. Et sciant sacerdotes et clerici parrochiales quod si circa ista matrimonia pertrahenda negligentes extiterint et denunciaciones, ut dictum est, facere non curauerint uel talibus clandestinis matrimoniis interfuerint, iuxta generale concilium a nobis  
10 quia qui male agit odit lucem.

36. Item, dicimus sacerdotibus ne fiant nupcie ab Aduentu Domini usque ad festum sancti Ilarii, et tunc fiant usque ad dominicam Septuagesime et tunc cessent usque ad dominicam de Quasimodo et tunc fiant usque ad Rogaciones et tunc cessent continue per tres septimanas usque ad dominicam de Trinitate et  
5 tunc celebrent nupcias usque ad dominicam de Aduentu, hoc prouiso, quod prima dominica Aduentus, que inducit prohibitionem, intelligatur prohibita, et festum sancti Ilarii, que inducit permissionem, intelligatur concessa, et sic de aliis.

3 suas ... post] fercula sua, si necesse fuerit, uel mortuarium, quia post licite S post] prius BM om. E 4 tollerante] celebrante S tollerande B consuetudinem tollerantem ME

34 1 quod] ne B intret S 2 recipiatur S

35 1 Item om. S ut] quod M confitetur S ei M 2 contrahendo] cum ea add. S 3 carnalis] copia uel add. E 6 circa om. codd. prohibenda S 7 extiterit B dictum] factum S 8 a nobis om. S 9 suspendantur E aliter S punientur om. B puniantur S

36 1 faciant nuptias S 2 sancti] beati S faciant S 3 et] ex add. S Rogaciones] ad Dominicam de Voce Jocunditatis que precedit festum Ascensionis Domini S 4 et] ex add. S 6 intelligitur E 7 que] quod S intelligatur S

34 X 3.32.1

35 X 4.1.15; X 4.3.3

36 C. 33 q. 4 cc. 8, 10, 11

37. Item, dicimus quod mulieres uotum non faciant nisi cum magna deliberacione animi et cum uirorum assensu et consilio sacerdotum.

### 38. DE ORDINIBVS CLERICORVM.

Item, quia in ordinibus recipiendis multa eueniunt pericula dicimus quod quarta feria quatuor temporum omnes ordinandi archidiaconis transmittantur ut tam de uita quam de moribus quam de sciencia possit fieri scrutinium  
5 diligenter, utrum cantent uel legant uel sint legitimi uel loqui sciant latinis uerbis, sic quod cum diligencia sint examinati et probati die Veneris qualiter in domo Domini debeant conuersari. Et precipimus clericis quod ad ordines et sinodum honeste ueniant tam in uestibus quam in coronis. Nec aliquid dent uel promittant archidiaconis uel eorum clericis uel episcopo uel clericis episcopi ut  
10 ordinentur quia simoniacum esset.

39. Item, quod aliquis non recipiat ordines nisi fuerit nomen eius scriptum in matricula archidiaconorum de consciencia episcoporum quia excommunicati essent.

40. Item, dicimus archidiaconis ne presentent clericos aliorum episcopatum sine litteris propriorum episcoporum, quas tradant episcopo cum sigillo pendente, et nomina omnium clericorum qui fuerint ordinandi tradantur episcopo et apud ipsum in matricula reponantur.

41. Item, dicimus quod persone religiose que habitum receperunt aliorum episcopatum uel nostri non se presentent sine litteris sui maioris.

42. Item, dicimus quod nullus presentetur ad sacrum ordinem nisi sciat loqui latinis uerbis competenter, et ut possint habere doctorum copiam, statutum est quod semper in cathedrali ecclesia detur porcio magistro.

37 2 cum] tunc faciant S

38 2 ueniunt S 3 quatuor *om.* BE temporum *om.* E archidiaconibus S  
transmittantur] se presentent S 4 de<sup>3</sup> *om.* S possint B possit fieri] fiat E 5 legitimi  
sint *tr.* B 6 die Veneris *om.* E 7 dicimus clericis et precipimus S ordines]  
suscipiendos *add.* S et<sup>2</sup>] ad *add.* E 8 aliquis B 9 archidiaconibus S

39 1 eius nomen *tr.* B 2 archidiaconi S consciencia] consensu B

40 1 archidiaconibus S 3 pendenti S

41 1 religiosa B recipiant S 2 se *om.* BM

42 1 presentet S sacrum ordinem] quartum gradum S 2 competenter *om.* S  
copiam] sicut *add.* S 3 quod *om.* S datur B magistris S

38-40 X 1.23.7, *gl. ad* 'Examinentur' and cc. 8, 9; X 1.14.14

41 X 1.14.11; VI 1.9.3

42 X 1.14.14; X 5.5.4

43. Item, dicimus quod nullus sacerdos habeat in domo sua aliqua occasione mulierem nisi sit mater aut soror nisi esset persona de qua nulla possit haberi suspectio.

44. Item, dicimus clericis habentibus ecclesias quod porciones non ponant in ecclesiis episcopo inconsulto.

45. Item, dicimus quod nullus faciat pactum aliquod patronis super facto ecclesiarum antequam episcopo sit presentatus uel etiam post sine consciencia episcopi. Nec admittatur aliquis ad predicandum nisi sit autentica persona uel ab episcopo missa uel licentiata.

#### 46. EXORTACIO CLERICIS ET LAICIS.

Exortentur sepe presbiteri populum ad dicendum Oracionem dominicam, et Credo in Deum, et beate Virginis salutaciones, et quod doceant filios Oracionem dominicam et Credo in Deum et crucis salutaciones et in aliqua parte sermonis aliquando exponant populo fideliter symbolum fidei et eis fideliter de questionibus satisfaciant et eis diligenter inquirant articulos fidei et consulant de questionibus et rationibus sacre scripture pro posse et sciencia sua propter laicos instruendos et hereticos corruptores fidei confundendos.

47. Item, prohibemus uniuersis clericis ludere cum taxillis nec interesse spectaculis uel coreis mulierum, nec intrare tabernas causa potandi uel sine socio intrare domos mulierum suspectarum aut discurrere per uicos et plateas, nec ire cotidie ad mercata cum non subest causa, nec suspensioni latronum nec combustioni etiam aliquorum nec sanguinis effusioni intersint.

48. Item, moneant populum quod illi qui ueniunt ad uigilias ecclesiarum

43 2 esset] aliqua *add.* B

44 1 clericis *om.* M portionarios S 2 in *om.* BE inconsulto] Nec aliquis clericus sit ausus recipere decimas nisi per episcopum *add.* S

45 2 consciencia] consensu BE 4 uel licentiata *om.* M

46 1 Qualiter Christiani orare debent S 2 et *om.* B 3 in] unum *add.* B in Deum *om.* E salutationem ES 4 crucis *om.* S 5-6 fideliter<sup>2</sup> ... eis *om.* S 6 satisfiant M distingant S consultant B 7 et<sup>1</sup>] confirment auctoritatibus et *add.* S 8 et ... confundendos *om.* B hereticos] et *add.* S

47 1 *Hunc titulum ponit Summa:* De uita et honestate clericorum nec] uel S 2 uel<sup>1</sup>] et S nec] uel S 4 nec] uel S subesset S 5 etiam *om.* S aliquorum] hominum *praem.* S effusioni sanguinis *tr.* ME

43 X 3.2.9

44 X 3.5.10

45 X 1.35.2, 8; X 5.7.12, 13

46 De cons. D. 4 c. 56; X 5.7.12

47 X 3.1.15; X 3.50.9

48 X 1.27.2; X 3.1.12; VI 3.23.2; *Clem.* 3.14.1; X 5.35.3

caute et honeste se habeant nec permittant coreas facere in ecclesiis uel in cimiteriis uel cantilenas cantare. Nec in ecclesiis fiant coniurationes aque feruentis uel ferri candentis uel aque calide coniurationes, quia omnia ista  
5 supersticiosa sunt penitus contra Deum.

**49.** Item, quod nullus clericus fideiubeat feneratori nec pro suis uel alienis debitis impignoret uel obliget calicem, uestimenta, uel pallas altaris, uel libros, pannos, uel alia ornamenta ecclesiastica, uel uasa iudeis uel aliis, nisi in casibus licitis et honestis et de licencia episcopi, alioquin sententiam suspensionis se  
5 nouerit incurrisse.

**50.** Item, dicimus sacerdotibus uel habentibus curam quod nullus renunciaret nisi in manus episcopi. Et cum uenerint ad sinodum, perquirant parrochiam et uisitent infirmos, et dent penitencias eisdem exponendo eis qualiter tenentur uenire ad sinodum. Et si interim morerentur sine penitencia non decedant. A  
5 qua sinodo cum uenerint non requisiti uisitent infirmos et faciant quod salutis animarum uiderint expedire.

**51.** Item, quod questores quantumcumque portent litteras domini pape uel archiepiscopi uel aliorum episcoporum non admittantur ad predicationem nisi expressas litteras habuerint ab episcopo diocesano, sed ipsi sacerdotes legant litteras indulgentiarum et exponant populo, quia in predicatione huiusmodi  
5 questorum heresim intelleximus predicari. 'Quomodo enim predicabunt nisi mittantur?'

**52.** Item, dicimus quod fratres Predicatores uel Minores et alii religiosi

2 ecclesia B 2-3 in cimiteriis uel ecclesiis S 3 uel] turpes *add.* S cantilenas]  
facere uel *add.* E 4 calide coniurationes] frigide coniurate S coniurare BM  
5 penitus] et *add.* S

**49** 1 quod *om.* S fideiubeat] iudeo uel *add.* S feneratori *om.* M feneratoribus E  
1-2 nec ... impignoret uel *om.* S 2 uel<sup>1</sup>] aut E *om.* M calicem] uel *add.* ES  
3 pannos ... uasa *om.* S nonnisi M 4 et honestis *om.* BES 4-5 alioquin ... incurrisse  
*om.* S 5 nouerint B

**50** 2 manu S uenerit E perquirat E 3 uisitet E det E penitentiam S  
teneretur E 4 uenire] ire S Et] Vt S decederent S recedant B decedat E  
5 reuenirent S 6 uidebitur S

**51** 1 Item] dicimus *add.* S castores M 3 diocesano *om.* S 4 exponant] in *add.* S  
huiusmodi] huius M horum B eorum E 5 hereses S intellegimus B  
intelligimus E

**52** c. 52 *om.* B 1 uel] et S et alii religiosi *om.* S

**49** X 3.21.1

**50** X 1.9.8

**51** X 5.38.14

**52** *Clem.* 3.7.2

honorifice a clericis recipiantur et eis in necessitatibus subueniantur. Hoc idem populo exponatur.

53. Item, dicimus quod si festum fuerit die lune quod habeat ieiunium precedenti sabbato ieiunetur. Festiuitates autem sancti Francisci, beati Dominici ac sancti Antonii, quos sanctorum catalogo nouimus in ecclesia ascriptos, festiuari precipimus et nouem inde fieri lectiones.

54. Item, dicimus quod clerici pannos listatos non portent nec manicas suticias nec sotulares rostratos et maxime presbiteri.

55. Item, dicimus quod in Quadragesima semper dicantur nouem lectiones pro defunctis, exceptis festiuitatibus nouem lectionum; diebus autem aliis feriatibus tres uel secundum etiam quod habetis de consuetudine. Ad horas beate Virginis non sedeant neque ad *Magnificat*, neque ad *Nunc dimittis* et  
 5 *Benedictus*, *Quicumque uult*, et semper assurgant ad *Gloria Patri*. Et ubi plures clerici fuerint, semper unus leuet psalmos et punctantes sine sincopa legant psalmos et etiam lectiones. In festiuitatibus uero cantent honorifice et decenter. Et semper cantetur 'Gloria in excelsis Deo' in dominicis diebus et festiuitatibus, exceptis diebus dominicis Quadragesime et Aduentus. 'Credo' autem 'in unum  
 10 Deum' nunquam cantetur nisi dominicis diebus et festiuitatibus apostolorum et duplicibus festis; causa tamen reuerencie nostre domine in diebus sabatinis cantari potest.

56. Item, dicimus quod quilibet sacerdos cum audierit obitum sui parrochiani roget Deum pro eo. Et quilibet portet nomen siue nomina clericorum qui decesserint in anno in sua parrochia et confratrum ecclesie sedis Barchinonensis ad sinodum et ibi quilibet absoluat eos. Processiones autem pro  
 5 defunctis fiant semper diebus lune nisi festiuitas occurrerit nouem lectionum.

- 2 eis in] in eorum E subueniatur S  
 53 2 sancti] beati S 3 in ecclesia om. S ascriptas S scriptos E 3-4 scriptos  
 festiuari in ecclesia B  
 54 1 clericos M 2 sutas S (sutitias SV *inter codd. Summae*) surticias E rostratos]  
 rogericos E  
 55 2 autem om. S 3 feriatibus] faciatis *add.* B fiant *add.* E quid M habetis] erit S  
 Ad] et *praem.* S 4 Virginis] Marie *add.* B et] etiam ad E 5 Benedictus] et *add.* S  
 et<sup>1</sup> om. ES ubi plures] ubique E 6 fuerint] plures *add.* E fuerunt B 7 et<sup>1</sup>] ac S  
 8 Et<sup>1</sup> om. B diebus dominicis *tr.* ME festiuis S 10 nisi] in *add.* B 11 in  
 diebus sabatinis om. M in sabbato S  
 56 1 obitum] mortem S 3-4 et ... Barchinonensis om. S 5 die E



57. Item, dicimus quod quilibet sacerdos caute et diligenter inquiret in sua parrochia quis male uiuit. Et si inuenerit eum corrigat monendo eum ter uel quater, et si uero respuerit interdicatur persona ad maiorem penam de consensu episcopi procedendo.

58. Item, dicimus quod quatuor tempora mandent semper ieiunari, quorum ieiunium est primum in Aduentu, secundum in Quadragesima, tertium in festiuitate Penthecostes, quartum in mense septembris, et possunt sciri per hos uersus:

5 Vult crux, lucia, cinis et carismata die

Vt det uota pia, quarta sequens feria.

Et ieiunent cibo quadragesimali. In diebus autem letaniarum possunt comedere caseum et oua excepta Ascensionis uigilia.

#### 59. FORMA EXCOMMUNICACIONIS LATA PER SVMMVM PONTIFICEM.

Quia sententia excommunicationis habet in se salutis medicinam et non mortem, si ille qui excommunicatur non uilipendit eam, ille qui excommunicat debet monstrare quod corrigere uult illum qui excommunicatur et sanare. Vnde  
5 prelatus quando excommunicat illam sententiam scribat: 'Ita uidelicet quia Petrus uel Berta tribus uicibus monitus non uult soluere decimam, ideo ipsum excommunico', et idem faciat de omnibus aliis. Translatum autem illius scripture tradat illi qui excommunicatur si ab eo fuerit requisitum. Ille autem  
10 cum litteris cum sigillo autentico. Si autem prelatus contra fecerit, suspensus est ipso facto per mensem ab ingressu ecclesie et a diuino officio et superior relaxabit cum audierit querelam sine domini grauitate, et condempnabit illum

57 2 uiuat S corrigat eum *tr.* B eum<sup>2</sup> *om.* S 3 et ... respuerit] et nisi resipuerit S  
3-4 consensu ... procedendo] consilio episcopi nichilominus processurus S

58 1 mandentur S 3 festo S 4 scribi S (sciri ST *inter codd. Summae*) scire E  
5 scinis M cinis et] cinisque E et *om.* B die] dia S dicas E 7 ieiunent] in *add.*  
S 8 Ascensionis] Domini *add.* B

59 6 Berta] Bernardus E 11 facto] iure BEM<sup>pc</sup>

58 D. 76, *per totum*. The text of the *Summa* includes the verses and ends with the end of this chapter.

59 X 5.39.48. This is the first chapter in the compilation not to be taken from the *Summa* of Pere d'Albalat. It is attributed to Bishop Arnau de Gurb (1252-84); see above, p. 81 and n. 15. The penalty for the inconsiderate use of excommunication and interdict is the same as in the diocesan synod of 1244 (Villanueva, *Viage* 17.349), whose text is, however, much shorter. See c. 87 below for a reinforced penalty for this offense.

prelatum ad expensas et dampnum quod inde sustinuerit, et imponat aliam penam ipsi prelato ut uideat quod graue est ferre sententiam excommunicacionis sine maturitate. Et quod dictum de sententia suspensionis idem intelligendum est de sententia interdicti. Prelatus uero qui suspensus erit pro eo quod non seruauerit predicta, si ministrauerit in suo officio, sit suspensus et non potest habere remedium dispensacionis sine apostolica sede.

**60. QVOD NVLLVS CLERICVS FACIAT INSTRVMENTA NISI IN ECCLESIA IN QVA FIERI DEBET.**

Item, quod nullus clericus faciat instrumenta nec claudat nisi in ecclesia in qua fieri debent. Et quilibet rector habeat capibreuium in quo omnes note tam testamentorum quam aliorum instrumentorum quorumlibet contractuum scribantur. Et quod semper in quolibet testamento siue instrumento subscribat rector uel claudat. Et quod clerici conducticii non remoueant notas ab ecclesia ubi steterint nec eas aliquatenus secum portent. Et si clerici conducticii uel qui redditus ecclesiarum tenuerint uel emerint aliquas notas receperint que in fine anni redacte non fuerint in publicam formam, remaneant note in ecclesiis et ipsis clericis ab ecclesiarum rectoribus uel eorum loca tenentibus de labore congrue satisfiat. Qui uero contrarium fecerit penam quinquaginta solidorum ipso facto incurrat. Et nichilominus ei qui dampnum ex hoc sustinuerit uel expensas eum facere oportuerit, teneatur expensas refundere et dampnum etiam resarcire. Nec aliquis clericus ante mortem illius cuius testamentum receperit audeat contenta in ipso testamento publicare uel reuelare alicui nec notulas monstrare alicui cuius non intersit. Et postquam receperint notulas in dicto libro infra triduum scribere teneantur. Alias inde per suum episcopum aut eius officialem rigide puniantur.

	13 prelati <i>codd.</i>	15 dictum] est <i>add.</i> E	17 sit] fit M
60	3 claudant BM	4 tam <i>om.</i> M	5 aliorum <i>om.</i> B instrumentorum <i>om.</i> BE
6	subscribatur B	12 congruo ME	satisfaciant E
14	etiam <i>om.</i> B	14-15 etiam resarcire] datum restituere E	quatragesima E
17	dicto] ipso E	18 Alias] quod <i>add.</i> E	13 incurrant ME
			16-17 nec ... alicui <i>om.</i> M

**60** Chapters 60-77 were probably first promulgated by Bishop Bernat Peregrí (1288-1300); see above, p. 81 and n. 15.

**61. QVOD QVILIBET CLERICVS HABEAT CVRAM ANIMARVM AB EPISCOPO.**

Item, quod nullus clericus teneat curam animarum in ciuitate Barchinone et diocesi nisi eam ab episcopo eos constiterit recepissee; quod si facere presumpserit pena debita puniatur.

**62. DE CLERICIS ADVOCATIS.**

Item, quod nullus clericus beneficiatus uel in sacris ordinibus constitutus postulet siue aduocet in foro seculari uel ecclesiastico nisi in casibus a iure permissis. Qui uero contrarium fecerit, penam suspensionis officii et beneficii  
5 usque ad satisfactionem condignam poterit non inmerito formidare; clericus autem quicumque contra ecclesiam a qua beneficium obtinet postulare presumpserit uel procurator extiterit pena canonis absque omni remedio feriat.

**63. DE COLLACIONE SACRAMENTORVM.**

Item, quod in collacionibus sacramentorum ecclesiasticorum nullum pactum penitus opponatur. Post tradita uero sacramenta, consuetudines laudabiles obseruentur prout innuunt canonis sanctiones; qui uero contrarium fecerit,  
5 penam decem solidorum ipso facto incurrat et in helemosinam nostro arbitrio conuertendam pena canonis non mutata.

**64. DE POSSESSIONIBVS ECCLESJARVM.**

Item, quod nullus clericus possessiones ecclesiarum seu quorumlibet ecclesiasticorum beneficiorum sine consensu expresso et auctoritate episcopi

- 61** 1 quilibet] nullus B animarum] nisi *add.* B 2 Barchinone *om.* E  
4 presumpserint B penauerit B  
**62** 4 premissis M 5 poterunt M peruenerit E  
**63** 4 innuunt] minuunt M canones ME sanctiones *om.* B  
**64** 3 ecclesiasticorum] ecclesiarum E

**61** X 3.38.10, 11. See the Council of Tarragona in 1246, c. 2 (Pons Guri, *AST* 47.126). That this regulation was very strictly enforced appears from a document of 24 January 1347 (*The Register*, no. 384).

**62** X 1.37.1, 3. Compare also the Provincial Council of Valencia (1240), c. 1 (Pons Guri, *AST* 47.106), repeated in the compilation of 1330 (*AST* 48.320), and the synods of Barcelona of 1243 and 1244 (Villanueva, *Viage* 17.342, 345).

**63** X 5.3.42. Compare also the Council of Lérida (1229), c. 20 (Pons Guri, *AST* 47.86) and the synod of Barcelona of 1244 (Villanueva, *Viage* 17.347). Sanabre, *Los sínodos*, p. 21, states that one of the canons issued by Bishop Ferrer d'Abella in 1339 (not included in the compilation) was headed: 'Quod per sacramenta Ecclesie nulla cautio exigatur'.

**64** X 3.22.4; X 1.2.7; X 3.10.1, 3, 8, 9; X 3.19.6. See also the synods of Barcelona of 1243-44 (Villanueva, *Viage* 17.343, 347). There are many instances of the enforcement of this prescription in *The Register*, e.g., no. 360 (11 December 1346).

alienet, alias quod contractus ipse nullus sit ipso iure, et prescriptionem aliqua  
 5 longitudine temporis non inducat hiis que iura statuunt super hiis in suo robore duraturis.

#### 65. DE LEGATIS CARITATI SEDIS BARCHINONENSIS RELICTIS.

Item, quod rectores seu alii curam animarum tenentes ea que a decedentibus caritati sedis Barchinonensis relinquuntur colligant et singula libere tradant illis qui pro tempore dictam tenuerint caritatem si penam suspensionis officii et  
 5 beneficii uoluerint euitare.

#### 66. DE TONSVRA CLERICORVM.

Item, quod quilibet uolens gaudere priuilegio clericali tonsuram et coronam deferant congruentem. Nec uestes portent uirgatas uel alias clericali ordini non decentes, alias ab ecclesia nullatenus defendantur, cum indecens sit ei ab  
 5 ecclesia subueniri per quem constat in ecclesia scandalum generari.

#### 67. DE RECEPTIONE LITTERARVM EPISCOPI ET OFFICIALIS.

Item, quod omnes clerici ciuitatis et diocesis Barchinonensium reuerenter recipiant et obseruent litteras domini episcopi et officialis eiusdem, alias suspensionis officii et beneficii se nouerint incursum penam, aliam  
 5 nichilominus formidantes prout episcopo et officiali uisum fuerit si hoc meruerit proceruitas contumacis.

#### 68. DE VIGILIA SANCTE EULALIE ET SANCTI THOME APOSTOLI.

Item, quilibet rectores uel eorum loca tenentes propellant in ecclesiis quod omnes etatis octodecim annorum transcendentis ieiunent uigilias martirii beate Eulalie et sancti Thome.

- |    |                            |                       |                            |                |
|----|----------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------|----------------|
|    | 4 prescripcione B          | 5 statuant E          |                            |                |
| 65 | 3 singulas B               | singulis ME           | 4 pro tempore dictam om. B | 5 noluerint M  |
| 66 | 1 clericali E              | 3 deferat BE          | portet E                   | 4 defendatur E |
| 67 | 4 suspensio M              |                       |                            |                |
| 68 | 2 propellant] proponant BE | 4 et] uigiliam add. M |                            |                |

66 *Clem.* 3.1.2. See also the Council of Lérida, c. 8 (Pons Guri, *AST* 47.80), and the synod of 1244 (Villanueva, *Viage* 17.342).

68 X 3.46.2. For St. Eulalia see above, under c. 2. Her feast was celebrated on 12 February. St. Thomas' appears among the thirty-three feasts prescribed by the Council of Tarragona of 1242, c. 4 (Pons Guri, *AST* 47.110), repeated in the compilation of 1330 (*AST* 48.321 f.).

## 69. DE CATHEDRACIONE SIVE DENARIIS SINODALIBVS.

Item, quod omnes rectores ecclesiarum uel eorum loca tenentes annis singulis cathedracium seu denarios sinodales apportent cum ad sinodum uenient. Et si sinodus consueto tempore non celebretur uel alias modo quolibet  
 5 differatur, predictos sinodales denarios eis quibus debent soluere per fideles mittere nuncios non postponant, alioquin ipso facto in penam duplicem nouerint incurrisse.

## 70. QVOD QVILIBET RECTORES SEV BENEFICIATI PRESENTENT SE CORAM DOMINO EPISCOPO.

Item, quod quicumque rector seu beneficiatus intrauerit ciuitatem aliqua ratione teneatur se presentare domino episcopo ipsa die uel sequenti, et deinde  
 5 omni die semel quibus steterit ibi sub pena decem solidorum, quam ipsos qui contra constitutionem uenerint incurrere uolumus ipso facto.

## 71. QVOD NVLLVS EMAT REDDITVS DVARVM ECCLESIARVM.

Item, quod nullus emat redditus duarum ecclesiarum simul et quod non uendantur laicis solis. Et qui contrafecerit pena arbitraria puniatur.

## 72. CLERICVS QVI EMERIT REDDITVS ALICVIVS ECCLESIE FACIAT RESIDENCIAM IN EADEM.

Item, clericus qui emerit redditus alicuius ecclesie teneatur in eadem personaliter residere, alioquin penam quinquaginta solidorum se nouerit  
 5 incurrisse et alias arbitrarie punientur.

- 69 1 cathedracio M 3 cathedracioni B sinodales om. B 6 nuncios om. B  
 70 1 Quod quilibet] Item quicumque E seu] et B coram om. B 2 episcopo]  
 Barchinonensi add. B 3 quod om. ME ciuitatem] Barchinone add. E<sup>pc</sup> 5 ibi] et hoc  
 add. B qui om. ME  
 71 2 emat] uendat E quod<sup>2</sup> om. ME  
 72 1 Clericus] quod *praem.* E 1-2 faciat ... eadem] teneatur in eadem per personalem  
 residentiam E 3 Item] quod add. E 5 puniatur E

69 X 3.39.7, 13.

70 That this chapter remained in force is shown by *The Register*, no. 259 (27 July 1346), which permits an exception to it.

71 See the Councils of Lérida, cc. 11, 16, and Tarragona (1239), c. 1 (Pons Guri. *AST* 47.81 f., 84, 101), which prohibit pluralism.

## 73. DE CELEBRATIONE MISSARVM.

Item, quod nullus presbiter duas missas in eadem die celebrare presumat nisi in casibus a iure permissis nec accipiat conductionem siue salarium a duobus nec dimittat clericus aliquis habens beneficium missam quam tenetur pro  
5 beneficio celebrare; qui uero contrarium fecerit penam suspensionis ab officio et beneficio poterit non inmerito formidare.

## 74. QVOD CLERICVS EXTRANEVS NON RECIPIATVR SINE LITTERA EPISCOPI.

Item, quod non recipiant aliquem extraneum sine littera nostra si a se uoluerit suspensionis sententiam euitare, hiis que iura statuunt non mutatis.

## 75. QVOD NVLLVS INSTITVATVR IN BENEFICIO NISI PER DOMINVM EPISCOPVM.

Item, quod nullus instituatur in aliquo beneficio quantumcumque minimo nisi per dominum episcopum quia tales non possunt ministrare in eis quia rem tractant alienam, alias a suo beneficio repellatur.

## 76. DE MATRIMONIO CLANDESTINO.

Item, quod clandestina matrimonia contrahentes tanquam excommunicati uidentur et qui presentes ibi sunt, et post absolucionem eorum matrimonium celebrari non potest nisi prius factis denunciacionibus super impedimentis in  
5 ecclesiis quarum sunt parrochiani iuxta canonum sanctiones.

## 77. CLERICVS EXCOMMVNICATVS NON INMISCEAT SE DIVINIS.

Item, quod si sententia excommunicacionis, suspensionis uel interdicti lata est sententia contra aliquem, ubi etiam satisfecerit ex quo ligatus erat, absolutus non est; immo si non obtenta absoluzione inmiscet se diuinis irregularis efficitur  
5 nec potest per aliquem dispensari cum eo nisi per dominum papam.

73 1 De ... missarum *om.* B 3 duabus E

74 1 recipiantur M episcopi] domini *praem.* B 3 sententiam-suspensionis *tr.* B  
hiis que] qui BE

75 2 quod *om.* M 3-4 rem tractant] retractant B

76 3 uidentur B qui] que ME

77 1 inmiscat B 2 quod *om.* ME 3 sententia *om.* B

73 X 3.41.3, 12. See also Tarragona (1242), c. 5, repeated in the compilation of 1330 (Pons Guri, *AST* 47.110, 48.322).

74 X 1.21.4. The same provision was made in the Barcelona synod of 1244 (Villanueva, *Viage* 17.343).

75 X 3.7.3; X 3.38.11, 21. See also the canon cited under c. 61, above.

76 X 4.3.3. See also Lérida, c. 13 (Pons Guri, *AST* 47.83).

77 X 5.27.3; VI 2.14.1

**78.** CVM VENERABILIS PATER DOMINVS JOHANNES SABINENSIS EPISCOPVS IN PARTIBVS ISPANIE LEGACIONIS OFFICIO FVNGERETVR.

Anno Domini millesimo CC<sup>o</sup> LXX<sup>o</sup> VI<sup>o</sup>, Idus Iulii, cum olim uenerabilis pater dominus Johannes Sabinensis episcopus in partibus Ispanie legacionis officio fungeretur et contra clericos concubenarios suspensionis et contra concubinas eorum excommunicationis sententias generaliter promulgasset, ex quibus quidem sententiis licet ad salutem animarum prodite extetissent, quia tamen non salus sed dampna frequenter et pericula sequebantur, dominus papa uolens morbo huiusmodi salubri remedio providere, mandauit per uenerabilem patrem dominum Egidium, bone memorie sanctorum Cosme et Damiani diaconum cardinalem, contra morbum tam pestiferum et dampnosum conueniens remedium adhiberi. Qui cum prelatibus Ispanie tunc in Romana Curia existentibus deliberatione diligenti habita et tractatu commisit et mandauit archiepiscopis et episcopis et aliis prelatibus Ispanie ut predictas suspensionis sententias in penas alias prout sequitur commutarent.

**79.** TENOR COMMISSIONIS DOMINI EGIDII CARDINALIS.

Venerabilibus in Christo patribus archiepiscopis et episcopis et aliis per Ispaniam ecclesiarum prelatibus constitutis Egidius, diuina paciencia sanctorum Cosme et Damiani diaconus cardinalis, salutem in uero salutari. Ad regimen animarum et curam sedes apostolica per sedem summi pontificis instituta, pericula per que commisse sibi anime cadunt grauiter in commissa cura debet sollicita remouere, salubrem animabus ipsius addiciendo medelam. Sane cum recolende memorie uenerabilis in Christo pater dominus Johannes Sabinensis

**78** 2 fungeretur legacionis officio *tr.* B 4 pater] et dominus *add.* E  
6 excommunicationis *om.* M ex] et M 7 animarum *om.* M extissent ME  
11 morbum] predictum *add.* BE 12 adhiberi] prouideri E 13 tractatum B contractu  
E 14 predictas] penas *add.* E 15 in] et BE

**79** 1 domini] episcopi *add.* E cardinalis] super concubinis clericorum *add.* E  
4 salutem] Sabinensis B 5 sedes apostolica ... instituta *Tarr.*] sedis apostolice institutam *codd.*  
6 sibi] uobis E 7 remouere *Tarr.*] te mouere M sollicitatem mouere B sollicitare  
mouere E

**78** X 3.2.4. The original decree of Jean d'Abbeville was promulgated at Lérída in 1229, c. 7 (Pons Guri, *AST* 47.79). For its gradual commutation see above, p. 81 and n. 17.

**79** The text of the decree of Cardinal Gil Torres (Egidius) in the Council of Tarragona of 1253 (Pons Guri, *AST* 48.254 f.) has been collated. See the critical apparatus for the readings adopted (under *Tarr.*). In general, our text is closest to the text of the revision of the councils made in the sixteenth century by Antonio Agustín and which Pons Guri denotes by the siglum 'E'.

- episcopus in partibus Ispanie legacionis officio fungeretur pro reformandis  
 10 moribus et precipue clericorum, qui per uite mundiciam et conuersacionem  
 laudabilem formam in moribus ceteris dare debent, pura consciencia fecit et  
 statuit omnes sacerdotes, diaconos, subdiaconos et omnes beneficiatos qui in  
 domibus suis uel alienis detinere presumerent publice concubinas denunciari  
 suspensos ac concubinas talium excommunicationis sentencie subiacere.  
 15 Verum quia sepe quod prouidetur ad bonum antiqui hostis inuidia procurante  
 tendit ad noxam, predictae sentencie que procurante salute fuerant promulgate,  
 tamen propter irregularitates quas clerici sentenciis eisdem ligati multociens  
 contrahebant, cum propter contagiose pene contagium qua excommunicati per  
 excommunicationem effici sibi communicantes excommunicationis labe  
 20 inficiunt animabus ipsis laqueos eterne mortis parabant, et quam plures  
 sepiissime unius laqueo ligabantur. Huic autem morbo dominus papa  
 salutiferam intendens adhibere medelam nobis uiua uoce mandauit ut contra  
 morbum eundem tam pestiferum tam dampnosum in clerum Ispanie infamiam  
 inducentem conueniens adhibere remedium curaremus ut animarum uitaretur  
 25 periculum, et nichilominus delinquentes canonicam non effugerent ultionem.  
 Nos igitur, cum prelatis et aliis uiris Ispanie discretis apud sedem apostolicam  
 constitutis super hiis deliberacione prehabita et diu de commutatione pene  
 predictae tractatu habito cum eisdem, prospeximus quod cum per uarietatem  
 personarum et etiam regionum pene sint proinde uariande, nec ad instar inperiti  
 30 medici omnium curare oculos uno collirio uideremur, uobis, qui condicionem  
 personarum et locorum uestre prouincie melius scire potestis, eadem auctoritate  
 committimus, districte precipiendo, mandantes quatenus habentes pre oculis  
 solum Deum, cui de animabus uobis commissis reddituri estis in die iudicii  
 rationem, penas clericis et concubinis predictis per sentencias memoratas  
 35 impositas in penas alias quas personarum locorum et temporum circumstantiis  
 prouida circumspectione pensatis earumdem animarum saluti magis expedire  
 uideritis commutetis, eius legati sentencias auctoritate apostolica postmodum  
 relaxantes. Singuli autem uestrum nichilominus circa suos subditos qui ex dictis  
 sentenciis in excommunicationis uel irregularitatis laqueos hactenus inciderunt

13 presumere *codd.* 13-14 denunciari ... concubinas *om.* E *per hom.* 15 sepe]  
 semper E prouidetur] preuiderit E 16 tendit ... procurante *om.* B salutem E  
 fuerant] ferant E 17 eiusdem legati B eiusdem E ligati *om.* E 18 excommunican-  
 tes B 19 communicantes] excommunicantes E excommunicationis] libere uel *add.* E  
 20 laqueo B 21 autem] laqueo *add.* B 22 ut *om.* ME 23 infamie *codd.*  
 24 uitetur M 25 effungerent B 27 commutatione FGE *inter codd.* Tarr.  
 communicacione *codd.* 29 regionum Tarr. religiosorum BM per religiosorum E sunt  
 inde E 31 melius] multum E 33 in] inde B 34 moratas M 37 commutetis]  
 comitetis B 39 hactenus *om.* M



40 per absolucionis et diffinicionis gratiam prout merita personarum exigerint  
eadem auctoritate discrecione preuia prouidere curetis, prouiso ne quod per  
correctionem morum duxeritis ordinandum ad iniquum compendium nullate-  
nus conuertatis. Datum Janue kal. iunii pontificatus domini Innocencii pape  
quarti anno VIII<sup>o</sup>. Anno Domini M<sup>o</sup> CC<sup>o</sup> L<sup>o</sup>.

**80. SUPER COMMVTACIONE PENARVM CONTRA CLERICOS ET CONCVBINAS EORVM  
CIVITATIS ET DIOCESIS BARCHINONENSIVM.**

Cum nos frater Bernardus diuina miseracione episcopus Barchinonensis  
uisitacionis officium exercentes inuenimus quam plures clericos et eorum  
5 concubinas in predictas suspensionis et excommunicationis sentencias inci-  
disse, attendentes quod ex huiusmodi generalibus sentenciis nullus aut rarus  
fructus hactenus prouenit, sed instigante humani generis infestissimo inimico,  
animabus ipsis suspensionis et perditionis laqueus sepissime parabatur dum  
clerici sic ligati ordines reciperent et nichilominus diuina officia celebrantes  
10 irregularitatis uicio subduntur, affectantes insuper ipsarum animarum periculis  
prout nobis diuina ministrauit gratia adhibere salutare remedium, cum non  
inuenerimus predictas suspensionis sentencias et excommunicationis prout  
expedit per aliquem predecessorum nostrorum fuisse in penas alias commuta-  
tas, auctoritate predicta nobis in hac parte tradita prefatas suspensionis et  
15 excommunicationis sentencias in penas inferius positas commutamus. In  
primis statuentes quod si quis clericorum ciuitatis uel diocesis Barchinonensium  
inuenti fuerint decetero detinentes publice concubinas, si beneficia habuerint  
cum cura uel sine cura (cum alios teneantur instruere ac uita et conuersacione  
laudabili suum populum informare), a perceptione fructuum anni illius in quo  
20 reperti fuerint in predictum uicium incidisse, deducto ipsius beneficii seruicio,  
presenti constitucione decernimus esse suspensos. Quos quidem fructus  
ordinacionis nostri arbitrio reseruamus. Si uero ita tenue fuerit beneficium uel

40 diffinicionis] dispensacionis *Tarr.* 41 prouiso ne *Tarr.* prouisione *BM*  
prouisionem *E* quod] quam *E* 42 duxitis *ME* iniquum *Tarr.* initium *codd.*  
80 4 exercentes] exigentes *E* 9 sic ligat] sigillatim *B* 13-14 aliquas commutatis  
*B* 16 quod] ut *ME* 17 publice *om.* *B*

44 The correct date of the document is VIII kal. iulii (24 June) 1251.

80 This decree was issued by Bishop Bernat Peregrí, O.M., apparently in 1289, certainly not in 1279, as our mss. read (below, 1.39). In 1279 the bishop of Barcelona was Arnau de Gurb (1252-84).

13 The synod of Barcelona of 1244 followed Jean d'Abbeville in decreeing suspension against guilty clerics (*Villanueva, Viage* 17.346).

ecclesia quod deducto seruicio debito nichil inuentum fuerit superesse, pena  
 decem morabatinorum decernimus puniendos, penam etiam illorum de  
 25 quorum beneficiis seu ecclesiis facto seruicio debito residuum ad summam  
 decem morabatinorum non suffecerit ad quantitatem huiusmodi pro pena  
 debita reducentes. Si autem beneficium non habuerint sed in sacris fuerint  
 ordinibus constituti, similiter tot morabatinorum penam se nouerint incursuros.  
 Alios si quidem non habentes beneficia in ordinibus minoribus constitutos  
 30 arbitrio nostro decernimus puniendos. Concubinas uero predictorum clerico-  
 rum decem morabatinorum pena decernimus puniendas. Predictis itaque  
 suspensionis et excommunicationis sentenciis in prenomatis penis per nos  
 taliter commutatis easdem sentencias suspensionis et excommunicationis per  
 iamdictum dominum Johannem Sabinensem episcopum quantum ad clericos  
 35 diocesis Barchinonensis et concubinas eorum presenti constitutione auctoritate  
 premissa et ex certa sciencia reuocamus, decernentes predictos clericos et  
 eorum concubinas predictis suspensionis et excommunicationis sentenciis  
 imposterum decetero non ligari. Datum Barchinone anno Domini M<sup>o</sup> CC<sup>o</sup>  
 LXX<sup>o</sup> nono.

**81. CONSTITVCIO FACTA CONTRA NON RESIDENTES IN BENEFICIIS SVIS PER  
 DOMINVM ARCHIDIACONVM BARCHINONENSEM.**

Hugo de Cardona, archidiaconus Barchinonensis ac generalis uicarius  
 reuerendi domini Poncii electi confirmati eiusdem, uenerabilibus et dilectis  
 5 uniuersis et singulis ecclesiarum rectoribus et beneficiatis infra Barchinonensem  
 ciuitatem et diocesim constitutis, salutem in Domino sempiternam. Emisit  
 hactenus sancta mater ecclesia in plerisque locis Barchinonensis episcopatus  
 profunda suspiria cui presunt nonnulli regimini qui pastorum nomina solum  
 obtinent et commissum sibi gregem dominicum deserentes tanquam mercenna-  
 10 rii per loca dispersa et uaria peruagando exquisitis coloribus se frequenter  
 absentant spirituali corpori transitoriumque mansuro commodum anteponunt  
 et minus prudenter attendunt quod Pater eternus suis discipulis declarans ait:  
 'Bonus pastor animam suam ponit pro ouibus suis'. Et quod scriptum alibi

26 pro] quod ME      27-28 ordinibus fuerint *tr.* B      28 tot] quod M *om.* E  
 31 Predictas B      33 et *om.* B      excommunicationis] sententiis B *latas add.* E  
 34 dominum *om.* B      quantum *om.* M      37 sentenciis suspensionis et excommunicationis  
*tr.* B      38 decetero *om.* B  
 81 7 ecclesiam B      11 corporali E      mensura E

81 X 3.4.17. See also Bishop Bernat Oliver's constitution, below c. 123 and the note *ad loc.*  
 13 Cf. Jo 10:11.

- reperitur: Pastorem teneri uultum sui cognoscere pecoris, quod ideo nec explere  
 15 non potest quasi continuo separatus ab eo. Sic quod ob hoc in prefato  
 episcopatu dampna plurima et ecclesie ac clero scandala prodierunt et  
 periclitatur ex hoc multociens populus christianus, nos itaque tam dampnosum  
 tamque dampnabile nolentes sustinere defectum, de consilio assensu et  
 20 uoluntate uenerabilis capituli eiusdem Barchinonensis ecclesie tam pastorum  
 quam gregum omnium animarum saluti providere salubriter cupientes,  
 ortamur in Domino nichilominus et monemus primo secundo tercio et  
 peremptorie uniuersos et singulos rectores et beneficiatos ecclesiarum ciuitatis  
 et diocesis memorate singulariter singulos et uniuersaliter uniuersos quatenus in  
 ecclesiis seu beneficiis quibus presunt usque ad kal. Iunii a presentacione  
 25 presencium eis facta personaliter et continue resideant ac fideliter in eisdem  
 ammodo deseruiant prout onera beneficiorum exigunt continue numerando,  
 alioquin ab ecclesiis et beneficiis ut predicatur quibus presunt post elapsum  
 terminum pretaxatum nouerint se suspensos. Hanc autem suspensionis  
 sentenciam ad canonicos sepedicte ecclesie Barchinonensis extendi nolumus.  
 30 Datum Barchinone XV<sup>o</sup> kal. aprilis anno Domini M<sup>o</sup> CCC<sup>o</sup>.

**82. QVOD CLERICI NON PORTENT DICENDO HORAS IN ECCLESIA PILLEV M NEQVE  
 CAPVICVM IN CAPITE.**

- Debet rectum officium presidentis suos subditos moribus et uirtutibus  
 reformare. Idcirco nos Poncius, Dei gratia Barchinonensis episcopus,  
 5 sacrosanctam sinodum celebrantes XI<sup>o</sup> kal. maii anno Domini M<sup>o</sup> CCC<sup>o</sup> VI<sup>o</sup> in  
 nostra matre ecclesia Barchinone, uolentes nostros subditos in quorum  
 commodis utique prosperamur doctrina morum instruere et uirtutum,  
 constitutiones predecessorum nostrorum et sacrosancti concilii Tarrachonensis  
 circa reformationem et correctionem cleri et tuicionem ecclesiastice libertatis  
 10 editas precipientes in uirtute obediencie districte inuiolabiliter obseruari,

14 reperitur]	recipitur E	Pastor E	15 separato M	quod] que E	prefatu M
17 periclitantur M	18 tamque] tam B	22 peremptorio BM	25 fideliter]		
personaliter E	26 numerandum ME	28 Hanc ... suspensionis om. E	29 extendi		
nolumus om. B					
82 4 reformare]	conformare BE	7 uirtutem B	10 uirtute] sancte add. E		
districte om. ME					

14-15 Cf. Jo 10:14

30 18 March 1300

**82** X 3.1.15. The Council of Tarragona of 1292, c. 1, and another canon issued in 1330 (Pons Guri, *AST* 48.280, 357 f.) deal with dress in choir, but they refer to *capa* and not to the *pillea* and *capucia*. See below, c. 93.

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statuimus quod rectores ecclesiarum et eorum loca tenentes et alii clerici beneficiati nec non beneficiati qui non solum uerbo tenentur populum instruere sed exemplo, quamdiu in locis suorum beneficiorum fuerint celebrent horis competentibus deuote quantum poterint et honeste, induti superpelliciis et sine  
 15 pilleis et capuciis in capitibus sed cum birretis uel almuciis si tenere uoluerint, matutinas et alias horas canonicas in ecclesiis in quibus beneficiati existunt que ad orandum sunt proprie institute et non extra nisi in infirmitate uel alia causa rationabili excusentur.

**83.** QVOD CLERICI IN ECCLESIIS NON TENEANT ALIQVAS RES QVE NON SVNT AD DIVINVM OFFICIVM DEPVTE NISI TEMPORE GVERRE.

Quia decet Domini sanctitudo et decet ut cuius in pace factus est locus eius cultus sit cum debita ueneracione pacificus, statuimus quod rectores  
 5 ecclesiarum non teneant nec teneri permittant in eorum ecclesiis bladum, uinum, carnes, sublectilia, archas uel alia uasa nec aliquas alias res que non sint ad diuinum officium specialiter deputate nisi tempore guerre et quod tunc predicta non possint alibi commode custodiri; et quod usque ad festum sancti  
 10 Iohannis Baptiste abstrahant et abstrahi faciant de dictis ecclesiis si que sint forsitan in eisdem de hiis que per nos in ecclesiis prohibita sunt teneri; et guerra cessante abstrahant uel abstrahi faciant infra mensem, contradictores per censuram ecclesiasticam auctoritate nostra si opus fuerit compellentes. Indecens enim est et contrarium honestati ut ecclesia, que tamquam domus orationis est solummodo diuino cultui deputata, domus laica non Dei basilica uideatur.  
 15 Plerumque insuper propter predicta immunitas ecclesie uiolatur.

#### **84.** DE ORNAMENTIS ECCLESIE.

Item, quia nimis absurdum est in sacris sordes negligere que dedecent etiam in prophanis, mandamus eisdem rectoribus quod dictas ecclesias mundas

11 et<sup>2</sup> *om.* B      14 poterunt BM      15 uel] et M  
 83 1 clerici *om.* ME      3 decet<sup>1</sup>] domum *add.* E      decet<sup>2</sup> *om.* E      6 superlectilia BE  
 8 possunt E      11 uel] et BE      13 contrarium] incongruum E      est *om.* B  
 84 2 Item] Et M      *om.* E

**83** X 3.44.2

**84** X 3.44.2. See also, in general, the Council of Lérida, c. 9 (Pons Guri, *AST* 47.80) and especially that of Tarragona of 1243, c. 7 (*AST* 47.117 f.), which prescribed that hosts should be made by priests, 'in persona propria de pulcra et nitida farina frumenti, et non apponatur ibi sal neque fermentum'. A decree of 1330 (*AST* 48.354 f.) renewed general prescriptions of this kind.

teneant et lampades et alia ornamenta, et hostias in propria persona conficiant  
 5 uel per sacerdotes confici faciant de pulcra et nitida farina sine sale et fermento,  
 alias sciant se per nos cum per uisitacionem uel alio modo de ipsorum  
 negligencia constiterit pro modo negligencie puniendos.

**85. QVOD NVLLVS CLERICVS TRADAT IVDEO MISSALE AD VENDENDVM.**

Item, cum sit multum indecens et absurdum iudeos inimicos fidei christiane  
 de christiana religione aliquid contractare, statuimus quod nullus clericus  
 uendat uel tradat ad uendendum seu aptandum uel aliter iudeo alicui missale  
 5 uel textum sanctorum euangeliorum uel aliquem alium librum in quo sit canon  
 misse uel crucifixum Domini uel imago beate uirginis Matris eius uel aliqua alia  
 ornamenta ecclesie consecrata. Et qui contra fecerit, quinquaginta solidos pro  
 qualibet uice soluat usibus quibus uoluerimus applicandos.

**86. QVOD RECTORES TENEANTVR DENVNCIARE EXCOMMVNICATOS.**

Item, statuimus quod rectores et alii clerici quibus per nos uel officialem  
 nostrum mandatum fuerit aliquem uel aliquos denunciare excommunicatos, in  
 dicta denunciatione prout eis mandatum fuerit non supersedeant neque cessent  
 5 donec aliud receperint uerbo uel litteris per fidelem nuncium in mandatis. Qui  
 uero contra fecerit, penam quinquaginta solidorum usibus quibus nos  
 uoluerimus applicandam se nouerit incurrisse.

**87. QVOD RECTORES POSSVNT EXCOMMVNICARE PRO IVRIBVS ECCLESiarVM SVARVM  
 ET SVSPENDERE ET INTERDICERE.**

Item, statuimus quod quandocumque rectores ecclesiarum uel eorum loca  
 tenentes, qui dicunt sibi de consuetudine competere posse excommunicare,  
 5 suspendere uel interdicere parrochianos suos, pro ipsarum ecclesiarum iuribus  
 defendendis uel quolibet alio modo excommunicare, suspendere uel interdicere  
 uoluerint, moneant nominatim tribus uicibus, quarum quelibet contineat  
 aliquos dies uel unam pro omnibus, illum contra quem procedere uoluerint per

5 uel ... faciant *om.* B    farina et nitida *tr.* B    7 constiterit ... negligencie *om.* E  
 85 1 nullus *om.* B    3 aliquid *om.* B    4 alicui iudeo *tr.* B    5 sanctorum *om.* B  
 6 Matris eius] Marie E    7 fecerit] penam *add.* E    pro *om.* B  
 86 c. 86 *post* c. 133 *tr.* R    2 rectores] ecclesiarum *add.* E    4 denunciatione]  
 excommunicatione R    5 per] uel M    6 pena R    7 applicanda M  
 87 2 et<sup>1</sup> ... interdicere *om.* B    5-6 parrochianos ... interdicere *om.* ME *per hom.*  
 7 quorum B

87 X 3.30.5; X 5.39.48. See also c. 59, above.

modum aliquem de predictis, presentibus aliquibus per quos, si necessarie  
 10 fuerit, possit probari monicio quod satisfaciat de eo de quo dicunt ipsum et  
 ecclesie iniurari. Et si facere noluerit et procedi oporteat contra ipsum, in  
 scripturis sententiam proferant continentem in se causam propter quam sic  
 proceditur contra eum, de qua sententia tenetur dare transumptum excommu-  
 15 nicato, suspenso uel interdicto infra mensem si fuerint requisiti. Et qui contra  
 predicta aliquem excommunicare, suspendere uel interdicere presumpserit,  
 penam centum solidorum incurrat usibus quibus nos uoluerimus applicandam,  
 ultra penam iuris que est: in ipso facto sit suspensus ab ingressu ecclesie et  
 diuinis. Et si sic suspensus diuina officia celebrauerit, sicut prius irregularis  
 efficitur, super quo non potest secum dispensari per alium quam per papam.

# 88. QVOD VENIANT AD SINODVM QVI VENIRE TENENTVR.

Item, statuimus quod quicumque de hiis qui ad sinodum uenire tenentur non  
 uenerint prima die ipsius sinodi, soluat quinque solidos et qui nec prima nec  
 secunda soluat decem solidos, et qui nec prima secunda uel tertia uenerit uiginti  
 5 solidos soluere compellatur nisi fuerit impedimento canonico prepeditus, dictos  
 denarios usibus quibus nos uoluerimus applicandos penis aliarum constitutio-  
 num in suo robore duraturis.

# 89. IN QVO VASE DEBEANT RECIPERE ET DEPORTARE SANCTVM CRISMA.

Item, statuimus quod nullus clericus audeat recipere et deportare sanctum  
 crisma, oleum cathecuminum et oleum infirmorum in uase uitreo, ne propter  
 fragilitatem materie uase de facili rupto, prout alias deuenisse reperimus,  
 5 periculum eueniat sparsionis, sed in uase de argento uel de stagno uel de alio  
 decenti metallo, quodquidem uas purum et nitidum teneatur et annuatim cum  
 nouum crisma et oleum predictum in cena Domini recipiendum fuerit, ueteri

9 necessarium B 10 de<sup>1</sup> ... dicunt] qui dicit E 11 facere] forte E uoluerit BE  
 12 scriptis BE 15 presumpserit B 18 Et si] sed B sic] fit M, *add.* B officia] et  
*add.* B 18-19 sicut ... efficitur *om.* B  
 88 1 ueniat E teneatur E 4 prima *om.* E uel] nec E 5 perpediti B  
 postpediti M 6 penas B  
 89 1 recipere et deportare] tenere E deportare] tenere B 2 et] nec E et deportare  
*om.* B 3 oleum infirmorum et oleum cathecuminum *tr.* B 5 de<sup>2</sup> *om.* B de<sup>3</sup> *om.* BE  
 7 nouo B

88 The Council of Tarragona of 1242, c. 8 (Pons Guri, *AST* 47.111), renewed in 1330 (*AST* 48.323), and several of the diocesan synods of Barcelona issued similar statutes. See Sanabre, *Los sínodos*, pp. 15 f., 20.

89 X 3.44.1, 2

- prius in sacrario concremato seu baptisterio misso, ipsum uas in ipso baptisterio abluatur et cum diligencia purificetur. Et clericus qui ad recipiendum dictum
- 10 crisma et oleum uenerit seu missus fuerit etatem octo decim annorum ad minus habens teneatur apportare superpellicium et indutus superpellicio ipsum crisma et oleum recipiat. Et in redeundo ad ecclesiam sine intermissione apportet. Verum si forte propter loci distanciam uel casu aliquo interueniente contigerit clericum dictum crisma et oleum deportantem in ciuitate uel in uia uel in aliquo
- 15 hospicio hospitari uel moram facere non in laicorum hospicio sed apud ecclesiam propinquiorem, ipsum crisma et oleum deponat uel iuxta se sub clausura teneat diligenter, ne per laicorum manum temerariam uel alias deprehendimus instigante diabolo attemptatum aliquid nepharium attemptetur. Et si contra premissa uel aliquod premissorum aliquis transgressor extiterit, eo
- 20 ipso penam quinquaginta solidorum se nouerit incurrisse uel subiacere. Eandem penam decanus uel aliquis alius pro eo qui dictum nouum crisma et oleum in nostra cathedrali ecclesia statuto tempore traditurus si contra premissa uel aliquod premissorum alicui tradiderit eo ipso se senciatur incursum piis usibus quibus decreuimus applicandam. Et nichilominus si scandalum inde
- 25 contigerit taliter presumptorem castigabimus quod eius pena erit aliis in exemplum.

#### 90. DE MATRIMONIO.

- Cum antequam matrimonia contrahantur in ecclesiis utriusque contrahendum sit per presbiteros publice proponendum competenti termino prefinito ut inter contrahentes qui sciuerint uoluerint et ualuerint legitimum impedimen-
- 5 tum opponant, quia tamen repertum est quod quidam dicto termino abutentes, una et eadem die prefatum edictum seu banna aliter nuncupata ter preponentes, statim ipsos contrahentes (et quod grauius est non in ecclesiis sed in eorum domibus) matrimonialiter coniungere non uerentur. Euenit etiam frequenter quod quidam in propria seu aliena diocesi relicta uxore sua legitima se ad
- 10 nostram diocesim transferentes uxores alias superducunt. Nonnulli etiam

8 baptisterio<sup>1</sup> ... ipso *om.* M misso ... baptisterio<sup>2</sup> *om.* E *per hom.* 11 teneantur B  
 13 Verum ... propter] Quandoque E 14 uel<sup>1</sup>] seu B uel<sup>2</sup> *om.* BE 15 hospitari ...  
 hospicio<sup>2</sup> *om.* E *per hom.* 19-20 eo ipso *om.* M ipsa E 21 decanum *codd.* aliquis  
 alius] quibus alicuius BM qui] quia E 22 tradimus M 25 castigamus M  
 90 1 De matrimonio *om.* B 4 ualuerit M 5 apponat E 6 et] ex B  
 preponens B

importunitate precum propter quam frequencius non concedenda conceduntur nos infestantes, licenciam seu indulgenciam obtinere conantur ut nullo edicto preposito seu bannis premissis contrahentes nedum in ecclesiis sed in eorum domibus ualeant matrimonialiter copulari. Nos igitur animarum periculis et  
 15 scandalis que ex hiis frequenter insurgunt quantum nobis est possibile occurrere cupientes, statuimus ut nullus sacerdos seu quiuus alius cui hoc ex officio competat presumat aliquos matrimonialiter copulare nisi prius edicto seu bannis premissis prepositis in ecclesiis utriusque contrahencium populo presente per tres terminos, quorum quilibet contineat aliquos dies, quibus  
 20 elapsis in ecclesia et non alibi matrimonium celebretur. Verumtamen si tempus nupciarum esset ita breue quod non posset dictos tres terminos continere, dicte moniciones possent fieri presente populo infra tres uel ultimos duos dies ac etiam ultima die simul et contrahere uolentes sic matrimonialiter copulari si necessitas immineret, dummodo fraus aut impedimentum aliquod interuenire  
 25 non apparuerit super ipsis. Inter illos uero qui in alia diocesi domicilium habuerint seu originem contraxerunt post pubertatem se ad nostram diocesim transferentes, nisi diocesanorum seu officialium eorundem ubi domicilium habuerant seu unde originem contraxerunt litteras testimoniales ostenderint, matrimonium penitus interdicator, licencia seu indulgencia a nobis seu officiali  
 30 nostro super aliter matrimoniis contrahendis decetero obtinenda, quam contra premissa seu aliquod premissorum nulli uolumus suffragari, tanquam subrepticiam uires decernimus non habere. Circa sublimes uero et nobiles personas quas conuenit maiori prerogatiua gaudere inter quas propter communem eorum noticiam impedimentum de facili latere non potest, cum  
 35 ratio postulauerit per nos poterit dispensari; cum autem apparuerit probabilis suspicio contra copulam contrahendam, per parrochiam presbiterum contractus interdicator expresse donec a nobis uel officiali nostro consilio requisito super eo quid fieri debeat manifestis constiterit documentis. Si quis uero sacerdos uel quiuus alius contra premissa aliquos copulare presumpserit,  
 40 interfuerit uel ad hoc consilium dederit, penam excommunicationis poterit non inmerito formidare penis aliis canonicis et domini Sabinensis episcopi et nostrarum constitutionum superius contentis in aliquo non mutatis. Illi autem inuidi et maliuoli qui postquam in contrahere desiderantes dispositum fuerit et

13 nondum E	16 cupientes] uolumus E	statuentes BME	21 nupcie E
22 possint B	tres] dies <i>add.</i> B	uel] seu BE	25 diocesi <i>om.</i> B
seu originem contraxerunt <i>om.</i> B	se] seu M	26-28 post ... contraxerunt <i>om.</i> E	<i>per hom.</i>
27 officialem B	30 aliis B	deceteris BME	36 copula contrahenda E
contrahenda B	38 quis <i>om.</i> E	39 alius <i>om.</i> B	41 aliis <i>om.</i> ME
42 nostram constitutionem BM	contentarum <i>codd.</i>	43 desidantes M	depositum B



conuentum, super matrimonio contrahendo inuide et maliciose, prout  
 45 excogitatum esse reperimus, ipsos contrahentes a recto proposito deuiauerint et  
 maliciosum impedimentum scienter obiecerint, eandem sententiam eo ipso se  
 nouerint incursuros. A qua sententia non absoluantur donec dampnum passis  
 ad arbitrium iudicis satisfecerint competenter. Et hoc salubre statutum in  
 50 ecclesiis nostre diocesis per eorum rectores seu eorum loca tenentes sub uirtute  
 sancte obediencie et animarum suarum periculo frequenter maxime in  
 precipuis festiuitatibus coram populo precipimus publicari.

**91.** QVOD QVILIBET BENEFICIATVS EX SIMPLICI ETIAM BENEFICIO RESIDENCIAM  
 FACIAT PERSONALEM.

Et quia inuenimus nonnullos clericos beneficiatos in ciuitate et diocesi nobis  
 commissis a suis beneficiis simplicibus nulla petita licencia uel obtenta pro sue  
 5 uoluntatis libito absentare et sic dimittunt beneficia ipsa frequenter absque  
 idoneo seruitore, et ideo laborant quodammodo cum ecclesiarum rectoribus ut  
 est dictum, statuimus quod quilibet beneficiatus ex simplici etiam beneficio in  
 suo beneficio residenciam faciat personalem ac per se ipsos et non per alios  
 substitutos debitum seruicium faciant in eisdem. Nec audeant se ad seruicium  
 10 alterius beneficii simplicis uel curati se transferre uel etiam obligare a proximo  
 festo sancti Johannis Baptiste in antea nisi super hoc dispensacionem legitimam  
 hiis uel eorum obtinere contigerit uel licenciam specialem, alias beneficiis suis  
 sciant se priuandos. In hoc casu non intelligimus canonicos nostros neque  
 clericos in nostro seruicio constitutos.

**92.** DE BENEFICIATIS QVI ALLEGANT TENVITATEM REDDITVVM SVORVM BENEFI-  
 CIORVM.

Item, cum nonnullos clericos de ipsis beneficiatis inueniamus beneficia ipsa  
 simplicia in suis debitis obsequiis, tam propter tenuitatem reddituum quam

44 matrimonie B	inuido B	45 excogitum B	46 eo ipso] ipso facto E
47 A sententia qua tr. B	48 ad] et E	statutum salubriter E	51 precipuis om. ME
91 2 faciat om. M	3 Et] Item E	diocesi] Barchinonensibus add. E	4 suo ME
6 quodammodo] simili modo add. B		7-8 in suo beneficio om. ME	10 se om. ME
11 super] per M	12 eorum] eos M	eis E	13-14 In ... constitutos om. ME
92 1 De] beneficii uel add. E	3 inuenimus E	4-5 tam ... tam] cum ... cum BE	
cum ... tum M			

91 X 3.4.6, 8, 10, 11

92 X 3.4.6

- 5 allegant tam propter astuciam eorum seu negligenciam grauiter defraudare, pretendentes ad sui excusacionem quod redditus non sufficiunt ad faciendum continuum seruicium in eisdem uel quod sic consuetum fieri seruicium in beneficiis ipsis, uolumus et ordinamus ac etiam statuimus quod omnes taliter beneficiati teneantur se presentare coram nobis uel officiali nostro cum titulis  
 10 suis si quos habent et instrumentis dotalicis et institutione ipsorum beneficiorum hinc ad annum et facere fidem plenariam de facultatibus beneficiorum huiusmodi ac de statu et ordinacione ipsorum beneficiorum. Et qui talia beneficia decetero obtinebunt tenentur illud idem facere infra mensem a tempore prouisionis sue continue computando, alias ex tunc iuribus que in  
 15 eisdem habent uel habebunt nouerint se priuandos et ipsa beneficia sic uacancia absque alia ipsorum requisicione aliis libere conferenda.

**93. QVOD OMNES PRESBITERI TENEANTVR HORIS COMPETENTIBVS CELEBRARE DEVOTE ET HONESTE.**

- Item, cum iuxta constitutionem nostram sinodalem que incipit, 'Debet rectum officium presidentis', etc. ecclesiarum rectores et eorum loca tenentes et  
 5 alii clerici beneficiati qui non solum tenentur uerbo populum instruere sed exemplo teneantur horis competentibus celebrare deuote quantum poterunt et honeste, induti superpelliciis et sine pilleis et capuciis in capitibus sed cum birretis uel almuciis si tenere uoluerint, matutinas et alias horas canonicas in ecclesiis in quibus beneficiati existunt non extra dicere teneantur. Quidam ducti  
 10 nimia superbia, desidia uel negligencia non curantes predicta seruare, matutinis non celebratis per eos in ecclesiis, dicendo horas canonicas cum capuciis et pilleis ac sine superpelliciis, portando etiam frequenter calepodia in pedibus in ecclesia existentes, se laicos plus quam clericos exhibentes. Propter quod nedum predicta nostra frangitur et uilipenditur constitutio, que ad laudem Dei est  
 15 totaliter ordinata, uerumetiam graue scandalum per eorum inhonestam conuersacionem generatur in populo dum clerici in ecclesiis sic indeuote

5 eorum astuciam *tr.* ME defraudantur B 6 ad<sup>2</sup>] a M 7 sic] sit M 8 et  
*om.* E ac] et E 10 et institutione] institutionum E 11-12 hinc ... beneficiorum<sup>1</sup> *om.*  
*E per hom.* 13 qui] quia M teneantur E 14 computandum M computanda E  
*iura BME* in] ex E 15 uel habebunt *om.* E  
**93** 2 deuote et honeste] missam E 5-6 sed exemplo populum instruere *tr.* M  
 6 poterint E 7 et sine pilleis *om.* B capitibus] non tenere *add.* B 9 quibus] horas  
 canonicas *add.* B 12 calepodia E 14 est *om.* E 15 ordinatur E per] pro E  
 inhonestam] inhonore E 16 in<sup>1</sup> *om.* ME

existant, et quia dignum est tales procelli pena debita qui negligunt Deo in ecclesia sancta sua deuocione qua conuenit deservire, statuimus et ordinamus ut qui decetero in predictis uel aliquo predictorum reperti fuerint delinquentes, ut qui predictam constitutionem fideliter non seruauerint dicendo horas canonicas cum honestate debita prout decet, in penam quinque solidorum pro unaquaque uice ipso facto se nouerint incidisse, cuius quidem pene medietatem operi ecclesie Barchinone et reliquam medietatem officialibus et decanis nostris qui hec exequcioni mandauerint et mandare teneantur absque fide remissionis et uenie uolumus applicari.

#### 94. QVOD RECTORES SINT DILIGENTES DE FABRICA SEDIS BARCHINONE.

Cum deuoti filii et subiecti teneantur sue matri ecclesie, sub cuius potestate a Domino sua beneficia obtinere noscuntur, in sua necessitate eidem prestare de persona et bonis suis in quantum cum Deo poterunt consilium et iuuamen, et inueniamus quod ecclesiarum rectores in ciuitate et diocesi Barchinonensibus constituti ad impendendum consilium et iuuamen sue matri ecclesie Barchinonensi super fabrica eiusdem ecclesie et incepta renouacione et reedificacione eiusdem, operi non modicum sumptuoso, sunt desides et quam plurimum negligentes, licet ad predicta fuerint multociens moniti ac etiam excitati, cupientes nos eosdem ad hoc per compunctionem debitam excitare, uolumus et ordinamus quod quilibet rector teneatur unum uel duos de parrochianis suis eligere, quos magis ad hoc fideles et idoneos esse nouerit, quandocumque populus in ecclesia congregatus, colligat elemosinas ad opus dicte fabrice cum bacino et collectas tradat eidem rectori confestim, per eundem rectorem in locum tutum esse seruandas et mittendas per eum fideliter procuratoribus

17 existent E	20 ut] et BE	non seruauerint fideliter tr. B	21 honeste M
23 operi ... medietatem om. M	et <sup>1</sup> om. E	officialibus] ospitalibus B	
94 3 sua <sup>1</sup> ] suo E	obtinere om. ME	sua <sup>2</sup> ] qua E	4 et <sup>1</sup> ] de add. E in om. BE
poterint E	consilium et iuuamen om. E	8 opere B	sumptuose E 10 ad] ob B
compunctionem] compositionem B	coniunctionem E	12 quos] quod E	esse nouerit]
se nouerint E	13 congregatus] et add. B		

94 X 5.38.14, 15. Pons de Gualba continued the new Gothic cathedral which had been merely begun by his predecessor. The High Altar was consecrated in 1337. Throughout the fourteenth century, the *questores operis sedis* were favoured against their rivals. See, e.g., the documents in *The Register*, nos. 393, 423 (3 September 1346, 27 March 1347) and cc. 95, 126 below. Bishop Pons was involved in considerable struggles with his people in his attempts to finance the building (see Puig y Puig, *Episcopologio*, pp. 232-37).

operis antedicti quolibet anno in festo dominice Natiuitatis et Resurrectionis. Et teneantur diebus omnibus dominicis et festiuis et alias quandocumque populus fuerit in ecclesia ut predicatur congregatus, necnon et in testamentis et confessionibus parrochianorum eosdem admonere et inducere ad benefaciendum operi antedicto, exponendo eis indulgencias et missas et alias remuneraciones quas benefactores dicti operis consequuntur porrigendo manus in subsidium operis memorati. Et quod per se uel per alios fidedignos huiusmodi elemosinas et legata fideliter colligant seu colligi faciant, et quicquid exinde collegerunt mittant cum albarano suo quantitatem huiusmodi continente per fidelem nuncium procuratoribus antedictis quolibet anno in terminis supradictis. Et hoc teneantur ecclesiarum rectores sub uirtute sancte obediencie per eos iam prefata fideliter attendere et complere et posse suum facere in eisdem, sub pena uiginti solidorum presentis monete quam ipso facto incurrant si sub hoc negligentes fuerint aut remissi dicto operi applicanda, qui etiam possint ad hoc alias compelli per officialem et decanos predictos.

**95.** QVOD OMNES PRESBITERI DE DIOCESI NOSTRA CELEBRENT VEL CELEBRARI FACIANT QVATVOR MISSAS INFRA ANNVM PRO BENEFACITORIBVS OPERIS SEDIS BARCHINONE.

Quoniam iuxta sanctorum patrum ordinationes ad salutem et remedium animarum omnium fidelium et maxime subditorum nostrorum, ad quorum regimen diuina gracia disponente assumpti sumus et labore teneamur, et potissime illorum illarumque qui et que benefactores et confratres nostri esse uolunt et uoluerint in constitutionem operis nostri cathedralis ecclesie quod patimur euidentem defectum, habito respectu ad multitudinem populi iugiter per Dei gratiam excrescentis in ciuitate Barchinone, et ad perficiendum dictum opus adiutores et adiutrices existunt et erunt, ex quibus cultus diuinus liberius et deuocius celebrabitur in sede Barchinone et populus inibi confluens ad audiendum diuina officia copiosius et latius recipi poterit diuina gracia ministrante; sicque considerantes quod illis in officio caritatis primo tenentur obnoxii a quibus nos cognoscimus beneficia recepisce ac uolentibus omnibus confratribus et benefactoribus nostris spiritualem retributionem facere ut

16 operis *om.* B    17 alias *om.* B    18 in<sup>1</sup> ... predicatur *om.* B    20 antedicti BM  
22 quod *om.* E    24 quantitatem] suam *add.* E    continentem BME    26 hoc] hec E  
26-27 per ... attendere *om.* B    28 incurrat M    29 aut *om.* M    uel E    30 alias  
*om.* M

**95** 1 nostra] Barchinonensi B    8 uoluerint] uoluerunt M    constitutionem] siue *add.*  
M    quod] que BE    9 euidentem] deberi *add.* ME    10 excrescentes M    exercentis B  
exercentes E    dictum *om.* B    11 et<sup>3</sup>] deuotus uel *add.* E

tenemur, ut ex suis beneficiis consolacionem aliquam consequantur secundum apostolum dicentem, 'sicut consolacionum socii', etc., qui circa diuinum opus uigiles sunt et de suis facultatibus contribuunt: idcirco nos Poncius, diuina  
 20 miseracione Barchinonensis episcopus, una cum uenerabili capitulo nostro fecimus et prouidere ordinamus ut tam in sede quam in omnibus et singulis ecclesiis parrochialibus et capellis ciuitatis et diocesis Barchinonensium omnes presbiteri cuiuscumque condicionis aut status existant celebrent uel celebrari faciant duodecim missas in anno quolibet primo die Veneris cuiuslibet mensis  
 25 anni pro defunctis fidelibus et specialiter pro nostris confratribus et benefactoribus dicti operis, qui ex hoc seculo transierunt et pro uiuis etiam. Et si dicta die Veneris uenerit feriata, subsequenti die non feriata compleatur officium supradictum. Intelligatur tamen quod si aliquis per negligenciam uel impedimentum aliquod dictas missas omiserit quod illas alio die et alio mense  
 30 possit et teneatur emendare. Et predicta omnia in uirtute sancte obediencie et sub pena excommunicacionis precipimus inuiolabiliter obseruari ab omnibus predictis et singulis. Et si quem super predictis decetero inobedientem inuenerimus aut in aliquo negligenciam, ipsius inobedienciam et negligenciam taliter puniemus quod ipsius pena transire poterit presumptoribus in exemplum.

96. ANNO DOMINI MILLESIMO CCC<sup>o</sup> XVII<sup>o</sup>, DIE MERCVRII POST DOMINICAM DE QVASIMODO, QVOD INTITVLATVR IDVS APRILIS, REVERENDVS IN CHRISTO PATER DOMINVS PONCIVS, DEI GRACIA EPISCOPVS BARCHINONENSIS, CELEBRAUIT SINODVM IN ECCLESIA BARCHINONENSI. SENTENCIA EXCOMMVNICATIONIS LATA CONTRA CLERICOS ET  
 5 LAICOS NON SERVANTES CONSTITVCIIONEM LATAM.

Cum non licet laico de spiritualibus a quoquam relictis in sua ultima uoluntate in ecclesia aliquid disponere seu ordinare, statuimus ac perpetuo ordinamus ut nullus laicus, quantumcumque potestatem asserat se habere a persona defuncta, in anniuersariis distribuendis, missarum celebrationibus

18 sicut] sancti E	consolacionem BE	21 facimus E	prouide M	ut] et B
22 ecclesiis om. B	23 aut] ac B	24 prima B	25 specialiter] spiritualiter B	
27 Veneris] in die add. M	32 quem] et add. M	in et add. E	33 ipsius ...	
negligenciam om. E	34 poterit] ceteris add. ME			
96 1 XVII <sup>o</sup> ] XVIII <sup>o</sup> BE	2 quod] que M	quia E	pater] et add. E	5 latam]
sequentem E	6 liceat laicis ME	in] si B	7 ecclesiis BE	

95 18 Cf. 2 Cor 1:7.

96 By our calendar, this synod was held on 13 April 1317. The previous day the bishop had convoked the Cathedral Chapter of Barcelona and issued a series of constitutions for the church (in Martène and Durand, *Thesaurus* 4.610-17).

- 10 disponendis, capellaniis annualibus, trentennariis seu cuiuslibet aliis specialibus  
obsequiis pro defunctis in ecclesiis faciendis in ciuitate et diocesi Barchinonen-  
sibus aliquid ordinare seu disponere ualeat, nec aliquis presbiter se ad horum  
seruicium aliquatenus immiscere sine expresso assensu nostro uel rectorum  
ecclesiarum de quorum parrochiis assumpta fuerunt corpora defunctorum qui  
15 pro animabus suis spiritualia legata huiusmodi dimiserint. Qui uero contrarium  
fecerit, cum multa exinde scandala oriantur et dampna plurima suscitentur,  
excommunicationis sententiam ipso facto se nouerit incurrisse. Volumus  
tamen et intendimus quod presens constitutio incipiat currere ab instanti festo  
Johannis Baptiste in antea et non ante ut interim publicari ualeat et omnibus  
20 esse nota.

**97. QVOD CLERICI NON PORTENT IN MANICIS BOTONOS DE AVRO VEL DE ARGENTO.**

- Item, quod omnes rectores et clerici beneficiati abstineant se decetero ne  
portent in manicis uel quibuslibet uestibus suis nodulos aut botonos, fibularia  
uel aliqua alia ornamenta de auro aut de argento seu de aliquo alio metallo, ne  
5 uideantur mercatores seu laici inhonesto habitu incedentes, alias punirentur  
iuxta constitutionem super hoc editam contra tales.

**98. QVOD ALIQUIS RECTOR NON RECIPIAT ALIENVM PARROCHIANVM AD ECCLE-  
SIASTICA SACRAMENTA.**

- Item, caueant ecclesiarum rectores ne ad aliqua ecclesiastica sacramenta  
recipiant alienos parrochianos nisi hoc facerent in articulo mortis uel de licencia  
5 proprii sacerdotis nec parterias ad missam cum multis inueniamus super hoc  
quam plurimum negligentes. Et si quis contrarium fecerit punietur iuxta  
formam constitutionis super hoc editam contra tales.

10 cuiuslibet] quibuslibet E specialibus] pocialibus B spiritualibus E 11 et]  
uel B 12 ualet E 13 rectore B 14 quorum] quo B parrochianis E fuerint E  
15 dimiserunt B 16 fecerint E suscitantur] sustineantur E 17 nouerint E  
18 stanti B festo] beati *add.* E 19 et<sup>2</sup>] ab *add.* E  
97 2 se *om.* ME 3 uestibus *om.* M nodulos B 5 seu ... incedentes *om.* B  
punientur E  
98 c. 98 *om.* E<sup>ac</sup> 1-2 sacramenta ecclesiastica *tr.* B 4 alienos] aliquos B 6 Et  
*om.* E

97 X 3.1.15. See also c. 134, below, and references *ad loc.*

98 X 3.29.2. See also the Council of Tarragona of 1292, c. 5, renewed in 1330 (Pons Guri, *AST* 48.283, 337) and the synod of Barcelona of 1243 (Villanueva, *Viage* 17.343).

99. ANNO DOMINI MILLESIMO CCC<sup>o</sup> XVIII<sup>o</sup>, KAL. MADII, REVERENDVS PATER ET DOMINVS DOMINVS PONCIVS, DEI GRACIA BARCHINONENSIS EPISCOPVS SVPRADICTVS, CELEBRAVIT SINODVM IN ECCLESIA BARCHINONE ET EDIDIT CONSTITVCTIONEM SEQVENTEM: QVOD CAPIDE NON VENDANTVR AD PROPHANOS VSVS.

- 5 Quia nonnulli ecclesiarum rectores aut uices eorum gerentes albas, que capide uulgariter appellantur, contra sacrorum canonum instituta temere immittentes uendere personis secularibus necnon et eorum aliqui in prophanos usus et illicitos conuertere non formidant, quod ualde indecens esse noscitur et indignum, cum ea que Deo dedicata sunt ad prophanos usus redire non liceat,  
 10 et capide predictae in sacramento baptismi sacro crismate et oleo benedicto liniuntur ad alios usus nisi in superpelliciis et cortinis et aliis ornamentis ecclesiarum et uestimentis conuerti non debeant, nos Poncius, diuina miseracione Barchinonensis episcopus, in presenti sinodo existentes, prefatis abusibus et animarum periculis obuiare uolentes, ordinamus et perpetuo  
 15 statuimus ut nullus decetero cuiuscumque status, condicionis aut sexus existant de capidis predictis aliquid nisi in uestimentis et ornamentis ecclesiarum conuertere presumat. Qui uero contrarium fecerit pro unaquaque uice penam uiginti solidorum monete Barchinone ipso facto se nouerit incurrisse quam siquidem penam in fabricam ecclesie sedis Barchinonensis duximus assignan-  
 20 dam. Dignum est enim ut quos Dei timor a malo non reuocat, temporalis saltim pena coerceat a peccatis.

100. QVOD MEDICI NON RECIPIANT PACIENTEM AD CVRAM DONEC SIT CONFESSVS.

- Cum nos Poncius, Dei gracia Barchinonensis episcopus, intelleximus nonnullos medicos in ciuitate et diocesi Barchinonensibus degentes circa  
 5 animarum salutem eorum quos sua cura suscipiunt fore desides et quam plurimum negligentes, non attendentes quod infirmitas corporalis nonnum-

99 2 dominus<sup>2</sup> *om.* M supradictus *om.* B 3 sinodum *post* Barchinone *tr.* B  
 6 contra *om.* M instituta] scita M ita E 7 alicui ME 8 esse *om.* B et<sup>2</sup> *om.* ME  
 12 et uestimentis ecclesiarum *tr.* BE 15 cuiuscumque status] statutus cuiuscumque E  
 20 ut quos] quod BE 21 coerceat] reuertatur E  
 100 4 quos] quod BE suscipiunt] recipiant E suscipit M

99 De cons. D. I cc. 39, 41, 42

1 The modern date is 1 May 1318.

6, 10 'capida' appears in Du Cange as a kind of vase, but this meaning is clearly inapplicable here, where it is a 'vulgar' name for an alb. See c. 114 below. In l. 10 a 'que' is obviously to be understood after *predictae*.

100 X 5.38.13. The Barcelona synod of 1243 (Villanueva, *Viage* 17.343) is also concerned with this question and orders priests to forbid doctors to treat the sick until they have confessed their sins.

quam ex peccato proueniat, dicente Domino languido quem sanauerat, 'Vade et amplius noli peccare ne deterius tibi contingat', uolentes animarum saluti in hac parte quantum cum Deo possumus prouidere, monemus semel secundo tercio et peremptorie in hiis scriptis generaliter omnes medicos tam phisicos quam  
 10 chirurgicos cuiuscumque status aut condicionis existant eisue districte iniungimus et mandamus ut antequam patientem aliquem sub sua cura recipiant ad suscipiendam penitenciam de commissis et ad ordinandum de bonis suis moneant et inducant et ab hac hora in antea neminem sub sua cura recipiant patientem et sub periculosa precipue infirmitate laborantem nisi prius  
 15 sacerdoti suo integre confessus fuerit et corpus Christi digne receperit prout decet ut inuocato prius medico anime corporales medici curam suscipiant salubrius patientis.

### 101. DE MEDICIS IUDEIS.

Item, monemus semel secundo et tercio et peremptorie in hiis scriptis generaliter omnes parrochianos nostros ciuitatis Barchinone cuiuscumque similiter status aut condicionis existant eisue districtius inhibemus quod in  
 5 eorum infirmitatibus cure non se subiciant iudeorum nisi ad hoc uocato medico alio associaretur medicus christianus ne fraudis loco in anime uel corporis periculum adesse uel interuenire ualeat Deo propicio in hac parte. Quod si quisquam medicorum uel parrochianorum uestrorum, expreto presenti mandato nostro, contrarium fecerit, in premissis et ex tunc predicta monicione  
 10 premissa excommunicationis sentenciam quam in eosdem ferimus in hiis scriptis se nouerint subiaccere. Et hanc sentenciam uolumus et mandamus statim per ecclesiarum nostrarum rectores et annuatim suis plebibus in festis precipue sollempnibus intimari et sollepniter publicari. Lata fuit hec sententia, lecta et publicata ante portas ecclesie Barchinone die uidelicet Ramispalmarum populo

8 secundo] ac *add.* M et *add.* E 10 cisurgios M cerurgios E aut] uel B  
 13 in antea ... cura *om.* ME 16 ut] et B suscipiant *om.* B recipiant E  
 101 4 aut] uel B 5-6 uocato medico alio *om.* B 6 associetur B assosieretur R  
 fraude *codd.* in *om.* E anime uel corporis] manu uel corpus B uel *om.* E 8 spreto  
 MR supradicto E 9-10 et ... premissa *om.* B 12 et *om.* R 13 lecta *om.* B  
 14 portam R

6-7 Jo 5:14

101 The same canon of 1243, cited under c. 100, tells the clergy to warn their parishioners not to call in Jewish doctors. By the fourteenth century, licenses were being issued to individual Jewish doctors in Barcelona to practice in association with a Christian colleague. Some Jewish doctors were in the royal household. See *The Register*, nos. 336, 554 (6 November 1346, 24 September 1347).



- 15 ciuitatis ut moris ad benedictionem ramorum congregato intitulata II<sup>o</sup> nonas aprilis et die Iouis Cene Domini sequenti, anno Domini millesimo CCC<sup>o</sup> undecimo.

**102. QVOD OFFICIALES EPISCOPI RECIPIANT DE SCRIPTVRIS MODERATVM SALARIVM.**

- Ex frequenti clamore tam clericorum quam laicorum ad nos Poncium, Dei gracia Barchinonensem episcopum, peruenit quod officiales nostri nimium exasperant gentes ac notarii tam nostri palatii quam officialatus nostri
- 5 Barchinone et alii scriptores decani nostri Penitentium et decani Vallensis et substituti ab eis immoderatum salarium de scripturis extorquent. Vnde nos, huic morbo occurrere cupientes, statuimus, mandamus et perpetuo ordinamus quod notarii curie officialatus nostri per se uel per alium non recipiant pro salario scripturarum actorum communium pro quolibet folio siue carta papirii
- 10 in quo sint saltem XX linee in utraque pagina dicti folii scripte absque aliqua diminucione et fraude in utraque parte ultra IIII<sup>or</sup> denarios. De transumpto uero siue translato ab utraque parte unum denarium tantum et non ultra. De magnis foliis recipiant secundum quantitatem minorum foliorum. De litteris uero citacionis, excommunicacionis, denunciacionis et aliis non recipiant ultra VI
- 15 denarios uel secundum quod est fieri consuetum temporibus retroactis. Hoc idem statuimus perpetuo de actis et transumptis que ducuntur et deducuntur in palacio nostro Barchinone per quoscumque iudices uel successores nostros assignatos uel assignandos.

**103. QVOD NOTARIVS CVRIE OFFICIALIS TENEAT IDONEOS SVBSTITVTOS.**

Item, quia per clamorem frequentem in nostri officialis curia litigancium sepe audiuius ac didiscimus manifeste quod processus et littere citacionis qui fiunt

15 moris] est *add.* E intitulo R II<sup>o</sup>] pridie E 16 Domini sequenti *om.* B  
 sequentis E 17 undecimo] uicesimo E  
**102** 2 nos *om.* E 3 nimium *om.* B 4 notarios R palatii ... nostri *om.* B  
 5 Vallesi R 7 uolentes E statuimus] et *add.* R mandamus *om.* B 9 actorum *om.*  
 M 10 aliqua *om.* MRE 11 et ... parte *om.* M utramque partem RE ultra *om.* R  
 IIII<sup>or</sup>] tres E 14 non *om.* R 16 transumptibus BM deducuntur] ducentur RE  
**103** 1 notari E teneant E 2 quia *om.* RE 3 ac] aut B et E manifeste] plus  
*add.* E qui] que E

**102** This canon is cited (26 October 1347) in a curial document (*The Register*, no. 551). It is much more detailed than the earlier prescriptions of Tarragona, 1242, c. 6, renewed in 1330 (Pons Guri, *AST* 47.111, 48.322 f.), which merely state that episcopal jurisdiction should be free, except for notarial charges.

**103** Protests as to the failure to appear of opposing parties and the consequent *fatiga* (expense) are common in the episcopal registers; see, e.g., *The Register*, no. 317 (3 October 1346).

in prelibata curia propter absenciam notarii eiusdem curie et copiam  
 5 substitutorum ipsius sepiissime plus debito retardantur, uolumus, statuimus ac  
 etiam ordinamus quod ipse notarius tales et tot teneat et habeat in sepedicta  
 curia scriptores substitutos iuratos ut litigantes quem habere uoluerint habeant  
 absque mora. Et si contigerit decetero culpa uel mora dictorum scriptorum in  
 aliqua causa die prefixa seu assignata per officialem seu alium iudicem  
 10 delegatum non posse procedi, soluat ipse notarius curie qui in culpa fuerit non  
 scribendo uel transumptum dictis litigantibus non tradendo immediate partibus  
 quas leserit pro predictis faticam diei illius qua ut premittitur propter eius  
 culpam processus fuerit retardatus, quas si faticas eadem die non soluerit in  
 sentenciam ipso facto incidat infrascriptam nulla ei in hoc parcium remissione  
 15 liberalitate seu gracia ualitura.

#### 104. QVOD NOTARIVS CVRIE OFFICIALIS TENEAT SIGILLVM.

Item, uolumus, statuimus ac perpetuo ordinamus ut notarius dicte curie  
 officialatus, quamdiu curia tenebitur per officialem predictum uel eius uices  
 gerentem pro eo, quia sigillum dicte curie tenet et tenere hactenus consuevit,  
 5 personaliter in ipsa curia maneat ut processus et littere per eum diligencius et  
 melius ordinentur. Sed si contingat eundem notarium horis predictis a dicta  
 curia absentari propter negocia propria uel etiam aliena, possit hoc facere ab  
 ipso officiali primo petita licencia et obtenta, et eo casu in posse illius officialis  
 relinquat sigillum antedictum, quamdiu eum absentem manere contigerit nec  
 10 ulli substituto predictum sigillum committat et si contra fecerit penam infra-  
 scriptam ipsum notarium incurrisse uolumus ipso facto.

#### 105. QVOD SAGIO OFFICIALIS RECIPIAT CONGRVVM SALARIVM.

Item, ut sagio siue nuncius curie officialatus Barchinone non recipiat pro  
 unaquaque citacione, nunciacione seu mandato etiam de matrimoniis

6 teneant et habeant BE      7 ut] et R      quem] que R      quod E      10 possit R  
 in culpa] culpam B      12 pro] in B      13 quas] quod E      eandem diem E      soluerint E  
 in om. BMR      14 incidunt E      in] ex M

104 1 notari E      teneant E      sigillos E      4 consueuerunt E      5 ut] ac B  
 6 contingerit E      9 relinquunt E      quamdiu] quam M      9-10 sigillum ... predictum om. R  
 per hom.      10 ullo B      11 incurrere E

105 2 Barchinone om. E      3 nunciacione om. B      etiam] et RE

105 The *sagio*, or sworn messenger of the curia, often appears in the *Communia* registers; see, e.g., *The Register*, no. 409 (8 March 1347).

celebrandis absque bannis siue monicionibus ultra duos denarios monete  
5 Barchinone.

#### 106. DE SALARIO CARCELLARII NOSTRI PALACII.

Item, carcellarius nostri palacii non recipiat pro custodia nisi dumtaxat duos  
denarios pro qualibet persona ab illis qui in tauega seu carcere tenebuntur. Si  
uero dictos captos ferratos uel inclusos in aliqua domo nostri palacii uel alias  
5 extra tauegam custodiat, quia tunc maiorem diligenciam oportebit eum habere,  
habeat pro suo salario qualibet die XII denarios, moderamine tamen habito  
circa personas pauperes et indigentes ad arbitrium nostri uel officialis nostri ut  
iamque superius continetur.

#### 107. DE ACTIS SI PERDVNTVR.

Item, quia frequenter contigit quod acta causarum que ducuntur in palacio  
nostro et in curia officialatus nostri Barchinone siue sint acta communia siue  
translata partium perduntur, in quo non sunt scriptores sine culpa, uolumus et  
5 perpetuo ordinamus quod si acta communia uel translata perduntur infra  
annum a tempore mote litis siue in palacio nostro siue in curia officialatus  
nostri siue causa terminata fuerit siue non, teneatur tam notarius noster siue  
substitutus ab eo quam notarius officialatus nostri Barchinone siue substitutus  
ab eo acta siue translata predicta suis propriis sumptibus scribere et perquirere  
10 et parti que perdiderit ea in palacio nostro siue in curia officialatus nostri tradere  
sine aliquo salario, cum iustum sit ut quis puniatur in quo deliquit. Si uero ultra  
annum predicta fuerint siue acta communia siue translata in palacio nostro siue  
in curia officialatus nostri uel dilata fuerit repeticio eorumdem ex negligencia

4 monicionibus] nunciacionibus E

106 1 cancellarii *codd.* 2 carcellarius *codd.* 3 dumtaxat *post* denarios *rep.* M  
qui] que E tauega E 5 tauegnam E 6 suo *om.* MRE

107 1 perdantur B 2 contingit M 5 perdantur B 7 siue<sup>1</sup> ... siue<sup>3</sup> *om.* M  
tam] tamen BRE noster] curie E 8 substitutus<sup>1</sup>] subditus B Barchinone *om.* R  
9 sumptibus] et expensis *add.* R 11 ut *om.* B delinquit RE

**106** The oath of fealty and reception of office taken by the *carcellarius* or episcopal jailer is to be found in *The Register*, nos. 41, 42 (20 and 22 December 1345); see also no. 179 (15 May 1346).

**107** A case when episcopal acts were lost appears in *The Register*, no. 234 (30 June 1346). See also c. 122, below.

partium et requirantur notarii predicti siue subditi ab eis, liceat eisdem notariis  
 15 cum moderato salario acta uel transumpta huiusmodi perquirere et rescribere si  
 necessarium fuerit, et super dicto moderato salario stetur ad cognitionem nostri  
 officialis cuius conscienciam super predictis intendimus onerare, nam in hoc  
 casu non uidentur partes esse sine culpa in eo quod tantum distulerunt repetere  
 acta sua.

#### 108. DE NOTARIIS ET EORVM SVBDITIS.

Hec que diximus et statuimus de notariis et eorum subditis supradictis  
 statuimus et ordinamus perpetuo de notariis seu scriptoribus uel eorum subditis  
 aliorum officialium nostrorum et specialiter decani Penitencium et decani  
 5 Vallensis et aliorum similium si qui fuerint pro tempore.

#### SENTENTIA LATA.

Predicta uero omnia et singula statuimus, mandamus et perpetuo ordinamus  
 firma esse et illibata sub pena excommunicationis quam in predictos et singulos  
 predictorum ferimus si contra premissa uel aliquid premissorum fecerint et  
 10 nichilominus perdant officium ipso facto.

109. CONSTITVCIONES SINODALES DOMINI PONCII EPISCOPI BARCHINONENSIS  
 EDITE III<sup>o</sup> IDVS DECEMBRIS, ANNO DOMINI M<sup>o</sup> CCC<sup>o</sup> XIX<sup>o</sup>. QVOD CLERICI NON COM-  
 PAREANT CORAM IVDICE SECVLARI.

Dedit quidem in offensam Domini et eneruacionem, scandalum et  
 5 preiudicium tocius ordinis clericalis ut clerici ad publica siue secularia iudicia  
 suo relicto pontifice pertrahantur; proinde statuimus quod idem clerici tonsurati  
 seu in sacris ordinibus constituti per secularem iudicem rei originaliter moniti  
 uel citati coram eodem non compareant nec etiam coniugati super criminibus

14 notariis] monet M      18 uidetur B      distulere R  
 108 2 Hec] Vel R      dicimus R      3 statuimus] constituimus R      5 si om. B  
 6 sententia lata om. MRE<sup>ac</sup>      8 predictos] predictis R      predictis et singulis ME  
 9 ferimus] facimus E  
 109 1-3 om. E<sup>ac</sup>      2 edite om. MR      4 quidam R      5 clericalis] eclesialis E      ut]  
 et BE      a codd.      iudicio E      7 in om. B

109 X 2.1.8. The Provincial Councils of Tarragona denounce lay persons who hail clerics to secular courts. See, e.g., Valencia (1240), c. 4, Tarragona (1274), c. 7, (1292), c. 2, and the compilation of 1330 (Pons Guri, *AST* 47.107, 48.270, 286 f., 352, 361).

2 The modern date is 11 December 1319.

ciuilliter intentatis nisi ad allegandum priuilegium clericale uel racione feudi uel  
 10 casu debito alio cuius cognicio ad ipsum secularem iudicem pertineret. Qui uero  
 contrarium presumpserit attemptare, si coniugati uel tonsurati extiterint unius,  
 si in sacris ordinibus constituti duorum pro qualibet uice morabatorum  
 penam se nouerint incurrisse.

#### 110. DE VSVRIS.

Vsuram uoraginem que animas deuorat et facultates exaurit compescere  
 cupientes, presenti constitutione ducimus statuendum quod clerici pecuniam  
 fenebrem non exerceant nec faciant exerceri nec ad exercendum dent  
 5 consilium, auxilium uel fauorem. Qui autem contrarium attemptauerit, ipsam  
 pecuniam fenebrem ipso facto amittat et nichilominus incurrat uiginti  
 morabatorum penam, penis statutis in iure contra tales in suo robore  
 duraturis, quas quidem penas per nos decernimus iustis usibus applicandas.

#### 111. QVOD CLERICI CITATI COMPAREANT IN PRIMA CITATIONE.

Inobediencie indurateque malicie clericorum occurrere cupientes, statuimus  
 ut clerici per nos citati iudicis officio uel per officialem nostrum in prima  
 citatione prout conuenit debeant comparere. Si autem absque legitimo  
 5 impedimento contempserint comparere unius, si uero in secunda citatione  
 idem fecerint duorum, si autem excommunicationis sententiam diu sustinue-  
 rint quinque, si in eadem aggrauata excommunicationis sententia permanserint  
 decem morabatorum penam se nouerint incurrisse, statutis contra tales in iure  
 editis in suo robore ualituris. Supplicant clerici quod predicta constitutio  
 10 reducatur ad ius commune.

9 clericalem ME      11 presumpserit] fecerit R<sup>ac</sup>      existerint M      unum *codd.*  
 13 nouerit R  
 110 3 presenti] presertim B      ducimus] dicimus E      4 nec<sup>1</sup> ... exerceri *om.* M      nec<sup>2</sup>  
 ne R      7 in<sup>1</sup>] post R      8 iustis] nostris E  
 111 1 citati *om.* B      2 indirecteque E      3 ut] quod R      per<sup>1</sup> *om.* M      per<sup>2</sup> *om.* RE  
 4 prout ... debeant *om.* B      4-5 Si ... comparere *om.* E *per hom.*      5 contempserit B  
 unum MR      6-7 diu ... sententia *om.* R      sustinuerit BM      7 eandem E      sententiam E  
 permanserit B

110 X 5.19.1, 3, 7. For prosecution of usury in 1347 see *The Register*, nos. 368, 394 (3 and 31 January), et alibi.

## 112. QVOD CLERICI NON PORTENT ARMA.

Cum clerici maxime in sacris ordinibus constituti non materialibus sed spiritualibus armis debeant premuniri, cum orationes et lacrimae esse arma debent clericorum, statuimus quod infra ciuitatem Barchinone clerici arma non  
 5 portent publice, nisi cum nostra licencia habita uel obtenta uel ueniendo ad matutinas, nec in sacris ordinibus constituti extra ipsam ballistam, telum, lanceam, archum cum sagittis, nec deploides siue spalleres 'grosses' publice et patenter, nec infra dictam etiam ciuitatem debeant deportare nisi ex causa rationabili puta uenacione licita et honesta uel alia quam nobis si tempus  
 10 paciatur habeant intimare. Qui uero contrarium fecerit, armis que portauerit sit priuatus, et nichilominus penam duorum morabatinorum incurrat.

## 113. QVOD QVILIBET CATHOLICVS CHRISTIANVS SEMEL IN ANNO TENEATVR CONFITERI SVO PROPRIO SACERDOTI.

Cum iuxta sacrorum canonum instituta quilibet catholicus christianus semel in anno ad minus debeat et tenetur confiteri suo proprio sacerdote, nobisque  
 5 Poncio, Dei gracia Barchinonensi episcopo, fidedignis relatibus sit deductum quod in ciuitate et diocesi nobis commissis nonnulli de parrochianis sue salutis immemores nedum per annum, immo per longiora tempora, differunt ad suum rectorem seu parrochialem recurrere pro eorum peccatis et sceleribus detegendis: nos predictis tanquam perniciosis exemplo obuiare salubriter  
 10 cupientes, ideo statuimus quod quilibet parrochianus teneatur suo proprio rectori uel alii sacerdote idoneo, seculari uel religioso, de ipsius rectoris licencia anno quolibet confiteri nisi eum iusta causa et rationabilis excusaret quam ipsi rectori uel parrochiali exprimere teneatur, ipsique rectores et parrochiales

112 2-3 sed spiritualibus *om.* MRE 3-4 debeant arma RE 6 ipsi R  
 7 spatleres R esperalleres E 8 etiam] esse R

113 1 catholicus *om.* E 3 instituta *om.* B 4 teneatur R 5 Dei] diuina B  
 Barchinonensi episcopo *om.* B fidedignorum B 6 nobis commissis] Barchinonensibus  
 terminis E 12 et causa *tr.* MR 13 uel] per *add.* R

112 X 3.1.2. The need for this prohibition appears in the cases where clerics are cited as using arms, e.g., *The Register*, no. 326 (9 October 1346), which deals with wounds inflicted by a priest in Barcelona on a layman. Cases of wounds and murders for which tonsured clerics were responsible are more common (e.g., no. 253, 24 July 1346). See also Lérida, c. 8 (Pons Guri, *AST* 47.80).

113 This canon follows the general legislation of Lateran iv, c. 21 (X 5.38.12), echoed by Lérida, c. 10 (*AST* 47.81).

conscribere nomina confitencium eorumdem. Illis autem qui confiteri  
 15 neglexerint et medio tempore decesserint cum deuent a tramite catholice  
 ueritatis uolumus et precipimus sepulturam ecclesiasticam denegari et predicta  
 per rectores et parrochiales suis plebibus uolumus per duos uel per tres dies  
 dominicos publice in ecclesia annis singulis publicari et ad communem  
 omnium notitiam deducantur.

#### 114. QVOD NVLLVS LAICVS TENEAT CAPIDAS.

Item, cum pluribus parrochiis dicte diocesis sit temere ordinatum quod laici  
 ecclesiarum sacristias regunt et redditus recipiunt earumdem, albas siue capidas  
 recipiunt et conseruant, quas uendunt et distrahunt et in aliis humanis usibus  
 5 conuertere non formidant quamquam sint crismate linite, statuimus et perpetuo  
 ordinamus quod decetero nullus laicus ipsas albas seu capidas tenere audeat seu  
 tractare sed solum rector parrochialis propter crismatis dignitatem. Si autem de  
 rectore parrochiali quod ipsas albas distrahat, licet sit per alias constitutiones  
 prohibitum, uerisimiliter presumatur, taliter precipimus hiis prouideri, quod  
 10 fiat una caxia cum duabus clauibus in qua albe huiusmodi reponantur et quod  
 unam clauem teneat rector et aliam qui tenuerit sacristiam ipsius caxie teneat,  
 quas albas uendi prohibemus sed quod in superpelliciis et aliis usibus et  
 paramentis ecclesie conuertantur. Et predicta sub pena excommunicationis  
 teneri uolumus et obseruari.

115. CONSTITVCIONES SINODALES DOMINI FRATRIS FERRARII, EPISCOPI BARCHINO-  
 NENSIS, VI<sup>o</sup> IDVS APRILIS, ANNO DOMINI MILLESIMO CCC<sup>o</sup> TRICESIMO NONO.

Ad perpetuam rei memoriam. Quoniam nulla iuris communis uel specialis  
 sanctio quantumcumque perpenso digesta consilio ad humane nature  
 5 uarietatem et maxinationes eius inopinabiles sufficit, cum et ab adolescentia

17 per<sup>3</sup> om. B      19 reducantur R  
 114 c. 114 om. E      3 eorumdem B      5 linite] sed add. R      8 distrahit B  
 10 deponantur B      12 prohibeamus B      sed om. B      14 seruari MR  
 115 1 domini om. RE      3 specialis] uarietatem et maximationes eius inopinabilis add.  
 Rac      4 perpensa B      consilia B      5 et] ex BM      ab om. BE

114 De cons. D. 1 cc. 39, 40, 42. See also c. 99 above.

115 Cf. *Clem.* prol.

2 The modern date is 8 April 1339.

uiri procliuis ad malum sensualitas humana declinet per quod morum subuersio in clero et populo frequenter obrepit, necessaria est superioris auctoritas, ut per constitutionis oportunum suffragium quasi per cultoris prouidi sarculum extirpet uicia, uirtutes inserat, corrigat excessus moresque  
 10 reformet. Quapropter nos frater Ferrarius, diuina miseracione Barchinonensis episcopus, in nostra sinodo Barchinonensi ecclesia congregata, constitutiones facimus subsequentes.

**116. QVOD ECCLESIE PARROCHIALES NON DEBENT PER LAICOS ADMINISTRARI.**

Statuimus enim quod constitutio olim edita in prouinciali ecclesia consilio Tarrachone, cuius tenor talis est, 'Cum ecclesie parrochiales per laicos administrari non debeant, statuimus quod laicis nullo modo attribuentur sed per  
 5 clericos et uiros ecclesiasticos ecclesie gubernentur secundum canonicas sanctiones', etc., obseruetur iuxta sui continenciam et tenorem. Et quia in uisitacionibus ecclesiarum nostre diocesis reperimus ipsam male seruari, ordinamus quod qui contra ipsam constitutionem fecerit et etiam qui ecclesias aut redditus ecclesie sue dictis personis laicis sine consensu nostro expresse  
 10 arrendauerit uel attributauerit eo ipso ultra penam aliam de iure debitam incurrat penam uiginti solidorum, qui in ornamentis ecclesie eiusdem conuertantur. Et nichilominus contractus contra hanc constitutionem habito ipso iure sit nullus.

**117. QVOD CORPVS CHRISTI REVERENTER TENEATVR.**

Item, quod quilibet rector et uicarius seu alius regens ecclesiam parrochialem custodiat diligenter et teneat reuerenter et in pannis mundis corpus

6 morum]	modum R	7 subuersatio E	superior E	8 constitutiones E
11 in om. E	12 fecimus RE	c. 111 rep. E post c. 115		
116 2 Statuimus]	quod ecclesie add. B	ecclesia om. E	4-5 administrari ... clericos	
om. MRE	5 ecclesie om. E	6 etc.] et codd.	obseruentur RE	8 quod om. R
contra om. B	9 expresse nostro tr. B	10 uel] ue add. R	eo] et B	12 habitos B
117 1 teneantur E	2 quod om. R	regentem MR		

**116** X 3.30.17. The canon cited is found unchanged in Tarragona (1243), c. 8, repeated in 1330 (Pons Guri, *AST* 47.118, 48.323 f.).

**117** X 3.44.1



sacratissimum Domini nostri Jesu Christi. Et qui aliter tenuerit ultra aliam  
 5 penam a iure debitam penam uiginti solidorum incurrat, qui in ornamentis  
 ecclesie ipsius cui prefuerit expendantur. Item, ne in templo Dei ministrantes  
 mercimonia exercent illicita.

# 118. QVOD TRACTATVS DOMINI PATRIARCHE ALEXANDRINI HABEATVR.

Item, quod quilibet sacerdos seu presbiter cui sit uel non sit cura animarum  
 commissa habeat infra annum et teneatur habere et scire tractatum quem  
 dominus Johannes, bone memorie patriarcha Alexandrinus et administrator  
 5 ecclesie Tarrachonensis, composuit super articulis fidei, decem preceptis et  
 sacramentis ecclesie, que sunt fundamenta ecclesiastice discipline. Et qui  
 negligens in hiis repertus fuerit ultra penam iuris penam centum solidorum  
 incurrat, in ornamentis ecclesie cuius rector uel administrator fuerit  
 conuertendam.

# 119. QVOD SECVNDE NVPCIE NON BENEDICANTVR.

Item, quod aliquis rector uel regens curam in nostra diocesi benedictionem,  
 quam tantum in uirginum seu primo nubencium secundum ordinationem  
 ecclesie dari debet et dici, non det nec dicat contra ordinationem ecclesie in  
 5 nupciis uiduarum uel secundo nubencium, in quibus tamen alia dici possunt  
 per rectores uel presbiteros, ea que sunt per ecclesias ordinata. Et qui contra  
 fecerit ultra penam iuris penam uiginti solidorum incurrat, in opus dicte nostre  
 ecclesie conuertendam.

# 120. VT ADVOCATI IVRENT QVOD LEGALITER DVCANT CAVSAS.

Item, dispendiosam prolongacionem litium, quam interdum ex aduocatorum  
 et iudicum ac litigantium calumpniis docet experientia prouenire, restringere

4 sanctissimum B    tenuerint E    5 a] sic de E    6 ipsius ecclesie *tr.* BR  
 118 1 habeant B    teneantur E    2 seu *om.* B    3 habeant E    teneantur E  
 5 articulos E    7 negligentes B    reperti fuerint B    9 conuertendum R  
 119 1 non benedicantur] celebrentur B    2 curam] ecclesiam E    in ... diocesi *om.* E  
 3 quam] que MR    4 dari ... ecclesie *om.* MRE    5 tamen] tantum E    6 contra]  
 contrarium R

118 See above, p. 83 n. 25.

119 X 4.21.1, 3

120 X 2.26.13

- quantum pro subditorum nostre curie salute et commode nobis liceat cupientes,  
 5 statuimus quod aduocati utentes officio aduocacionis in curiis ecclesiasticis  
 nostre diocesis, antequam in ipsis curiis ad aduocacionis officium admittantur,  
 iurent super sancta Dei quatuor euangelia in posse officialis uel decani ipsius  
 curie presidentis quod legaliter et omni calumpnia et maliciis postpositis  
 prestabunt patrocinium clientulis suis et illis quibus patrocinium seu consilium  
 10 prestabunt, et quod non iuuent seu defendant aliquem in mala causa, et quam  
 non bonam crediderint deserant statim cum eam desperatam uideant uel  
 iniustam. Iurent etiam quod in causis quibus fuerint delegati uel alio iudicio  
 ecclesiastico non admittant scienter posiciones < et > excepciones impertinen-  
 tes, et quod in suis processibus et sentenciis diffugia, malicias et iniusticias  
 15 quantum in eis fuerit euitabunt, statuantes etiam quod nullus ad aduocacionis  
 officium admittatur in curia officialatus nostri Barchinone nec cause  
 committantur alicui nisi examinatus fuerit et approbatus in nostra curia uel  
 curia seculari. In hoc autem canonicos et prelatos ecclesie et diocesis nostre non  
 intendimus comprehendere.

#### 121. QVOD PRO CAUSA CRIMINALI NICHIL RECIPIATVR.

- Item, statuimus quod pro causa criminali uel in qua per inquisitionem pro  
 crimine, delicto uel culpa ex officio uel ad partis nostre uel procuratoris nostri  
 instanciam procedatur nullum salarium, munus, mutuum uel seruicium per  
 5 officialem, decanos seu quoscumque alios commissarios, procuratores nostros  
 ad lites, scriptores et sagiones curiarum ipsarum uel alios qui in dicta  
 inquisitione uel ductione ex anunciatione aut de decisione cause huius astiterint  
 exigatur per uim nec recipiatur etiam gratis oblatum a criminoso uel ab eo  
 contra quem fit inquisicio uel causa erit huiusmodi uel alio eius nomine uel  
 10 actione in dante ex hoc, siue criminosus ipse contra quem inquisicio erit facta  
 uel fiet siue condemnandus fuerit siue etiam absoluendus, cum tales cause  
 absque sportulis et absque expensis criminorum seu delatorum ipsorum  
 cognosci debeant et etiam terminari tam in casu quo officialis, decanus seu alius

4 cure MR nobis] *apraem.* E 5-6 aduocacionis ... officium *om.* E *per hom.*  
 6 in *rep.* R ad *om.* B 12-15 etiam ... statuantes *om.* E *per hom.* 13 et *om. codd.*  
 excepciones *om.* B 14 et iniusticias *om.* B 16-17 causa comitatur etiam alicui B  
 17 approbatus] fuerit *add.* B 18 ecclesie ... nostre] ecclesie nostre diocesis B  
 121 2 pro quod *tr.* R 2-3 per ... ad *om.* M 6 litem B et *om.* R 7 uel ...  
 anunciatione *om.* R ex ... decisione *om.* M de *om.* R astiterint] extiterint R  
 steterint E<sup>ac</sup> asisterint E<sup>pc</sup> 9 alio] aliquo MRE 10 actione] occasione MRE in *om.*  
 E ex] et MRE 10-11 criminosus ... siue<sup>l</sup> *om.* E *per hom.*

121 This canon was cited on 26 October 1347 in a curial document (see c. 102 above).

commissarius uel procurator noster instet pro cognitione et determinacione  
 15 eiusdem quam etiam in casu quo per huiusmodi cognitionem et decisionem  
 institerit criminosus. Intelligimus tamen quod si criminosus uoluerit pro sua  
 defensione testes producere uel eo instante habet procedi ad aliqua pro quibus  
 officialis, decanus, iudex seu commissarius et scriptor habuerint extra suum  
 domicilium, possint pro eorum labore recipere temperate quodque scriptor  
 20 causarum huius pro originali processu et translato dando et ipsi criminoso  
 recipiat prout est ab antiquo fieri consuetum.

## 122. QVOD LITTERE REGISTRENTVR.

Item, fraudis et falsitatis periculum euitare uolentes, statuimus quod nulla  
 littera iusticie, gracie uel alia tradatur pro sigillando tenenti nostra sigilla nec  
 sigilletur per officialem aut decanos nostros uel scriptores tenentes sigilla  
 5 officiorum nostrorum uel tanquam sigillata tradatur donec per notarios uel  
 scriptores uel iuratos eorum in libris curiarum ipsarum in quibus littera ipsa  
 fuerit expedienda fuerit fideliter registrata, et qui contra fecerit eo ipso officio  
 nouerit se priuatum.

123. INFRASCRITAS CONSTITVCIONES FECIT SEV CONDIDIT REVERENDVS IN  
 CHRISTO PATER DOMINVS FRATER BERNARDVS, DIVINA PROVIDENCIA BARCHINONENSIS  
 EPISCOPVS, IN PRIMA SINODO QVAM CELEBRAUIT IN ECCLESIA BARCHINONENSI DIE  
 VENERIS XIII<sup>o</sup> KAL. SEPTEMBRIS ANNO DOMINI MILLESIMO CCC<sup>o</sup> XL<sup>o</sup> QVINTO. RVBRICA  
 5 QVOD RECTORES ET BENEFICIATI IN SVIS ECCLESIIS ET BENEFICIIS RESIDENCIAM FACIANT  
 VT TENENTVR.

Inter cunctas sollicitudines cure pastoralis que presidentis eiusdem animum  
 pulsant debet illa esse precipua que directionem in agendis et profectum

14-15 pro ... quo *om.* E 14 terminacione MR 15 de cognitione et decisione  
 MR 17 instanter habiit MR 19 possit MRE laborare R 20 et<sup>2</sup> *om.* BRE

122 2 Item] ne *add.* R uolentes *om.* B 4 sigilletur] sigillentur MRE aut] per *add.*  
 E tenentes] nostra *add.* E 5-8 (officiorum ... priuatum *om.* R

123 1-6 *om.* E 3-4 die ueneris *om.* R 4 Rubrica ... c. 125 l. 7 (ho(n)estatem) *om.* R  
 5 beneficiatos M ecclesiis suis *tr.* B 7 eidem ME 8 debent BE esse illa *tr.* B

122 See the note on c. 107 above.

123 X 3.4.6, 7, 8. The only reference to non-residence in a provincial council of Tarragona  
 appears to be in a general denunciation in the first council held by Joan de Aragón in 1330 (Pons  
 Guri, *AST* 48.354). For Barcelona see the synod of 1244 (Villanueva, *Viage* 17.346), which  
 threatens deprivation; see also cc. 81, 91-92 above. In 1347, the then vicars of Bishop Ricomá  
 carried on a campaign against non-residence (*The Register*, no. 392, et alibi).

4 The modern date is 19 August 1345. See the letter proroguing this synod from 16  
 August in Sanabre, *Los sínodos*, p. 22 n. 1.

- conspicit subditorum. Hinc est quod nos frater Bernardus, permissione diuina  
 10 episcopus Barchinonensis, die Veneris XIII<sup>o</sup> kal. septembris anno Domini  
 millesimo CCC<sup>o</sup> quadragesimo quinto, in presenti prima sinodo per nos  
 conuocata ac etiam in nostra Barchinonensi ecclesia nunc congregata cui  
 fauente Domino presidemus, considerantes quod multis per ambiciosam  
 importunitatem ipsorum petencium tam nos quam nonnulli predecessores  
 15 nostri indulcimus et licencias concessimus de percipiendis fructibus et  
 prouentibus suorum beneficiorum quamuis in eisdem nullatenus residerent,  
 quodque eciam residenciam ad quam de iure alias sunt astricti in ipsis beneficiis  
 facere minime tenerentur, ex quo cultus diuinus minuitur et plerumque  
 officium propter quod datur beneficium obmittitur, uagandi insolercie oriuntur,  
 20 et quod periculosius est animarum cura negligitur necnon dissolucionis materia  
 preparatur, nos igitur, uolentes emendare preterita et in quantum poterimus  
 aduersus futura cauere, omnes huiusmodi indulgencias seu licencias per nos uel  
 uicarium nostrum aut predecessores nostros taliter concessas hoc sinodali  
 statuto penitus reuocamus, mandantes nichilominus uniuersis et singulis  
 25 ecclesiarum rectoribus necnon ceteris beneficiatis, qui ex institutione,  
 fundacione, statuto uel alias teneantur in suis beneficiis continue residere,  
 quatenus a die presenti usque ad festum sancti Michaelis proxime instantis ad  
 eorum ecclesias et beneficia omnino redeant et ex tunc continue, prout de iure  
 et constitutione prouincialis consilii Tarrachone necnon aliqua sinodo uel  
 30 capitulo Barchinone, resideant in suis ecclesiis et beneficiis ac ipsis deseruiant  
 per se ipsos si quiuis ipsorum suam ecclesiam uel suum beneficium retinere  
 intendat, alias ex tunc ad prouidendum aliis qui ibidem debitum seruicium  
 impenderent et continue residerent de huiusmodi ecclesiis et beneficiis sic  
 desertis procederemus, prout et in quantum de iure et ratione possemus et est a  
 35 sacris canonibus diffinitum. Per premissa autem indulgencias seu dispensacio-  
 nes aut gracias aliquibus concessas, quas nobis etiam uolumus exhiberi,  
 studiorum causa uel ex aliqua causa uera, iusta et necessaria non intendimus  
 reuocare. Presens autem statutum ad canonicos nostre ecclesie uel qui in nostris  
 seruiciis sunt assistentes ex causa uolumus non extendi.

	9 permissione]	miseracione B	promissione E	10 Barchinonensis episcopus <i>tr.</i>
B	14 inoportunitatem E	15 indulcimus]	et indultum E	16 prouentus BM
19 officium]	beneficium B	20 quod <i>om.</i> B	materie B	21 in <i>om.</i> B
E	25 institutione]	instituto B	26 teneatur M	27 proxime]
29 prouinciali E	30 resideant]	redeant E	33 inpendentur E	resident BE
34 quantum]	pro modo E	35 canonis B	38 in <i>om.</i> BE	39 non]
				esse B

124. HAS CONSTITVCIONES FECIT ET ORDINAVIT HONORABILIS VIR FRANCISCVS RVFFACH, DECRETORVM DOCTOR, VICARIVS GENERALIS REVERENDISSIMI IN CHRISTO PATRIS DOMINI MICHAELIS, DIVINA PROVIDENCIA BARCHINONENSIS EPISCOPI, IN SINODO QVAM CELEBRAVIT IN ECCLESIA BARCHINONENSI DIE VENERIS VIII<sup>o</sup> IDVS IVNII 5 ANNO A NATIVITATE DOMINI M<sup>o</sup> CCC<sup>o</sup> LIII<sup>o</sup>. QVOD NVLLVS RECTOR CVRATVS VEL VICARIVS PERPETVVS A SVA ECCLESIA SE ABSENTANS POSSIT VT CONDVCTICIVS CAPELLANIAM CELEBRARE, VT INFRA.

Prouida deliberacione statutum fuit per reuerendum dominum fratrem Ferrarium Barchinonensem episcopum, quod nos etiam innouamus, quod 10 nullus rector curatus uel uicarius perpetuus nostre diocesis etiam de nostra uel nostrorum successorum licencia a sua ecclesia se absentans possit imposterum ut conducticius in nostra ecclesia uel aliis huius ciuitatis annualem uel trentennariam uel aliam similem celebrare capellaniam, quod si fecerit eo ipso 15 sit excommunicacionis sententia innodatus, a qua nequaquam possit absolui nisi quod nomine huiusmodi laboris siue seruicii receperit restituerit in opus nostre ecclesie conuertendum. Ceterum, cum fidedignorum relacione intelleximus, ab antiquo talis fuisse inter canonicos consuetudo laudabilis ut quilibet canonicus ecclesie Barchinonensis possit in suo seruicio habere unum rectorem uel beneficiatum diocesis Barchinonensis, ideo nos Franciscus Ruffacii 20 predictus statuimus imperpetuum ad memoriam sempiternam et presentis constitutionis tenore concedimus quod quilibet Barchinone canonicus, non habita uel petita licencia episcopi, tenere et habere possit in suo seruicio unum dumtaxat rectorem uel uicarium perpetuum uel beneficiatum in suo seruicio siue domo et ille ad residenciam personalem in sua ecclesia uel beneficio 25 minime teneatur quamdiu in seruicio fuerit canonici dicte sedis, sed capellaniam in sede possit uel ciuitate seruire, predicta constitutione in aliquo non obstante, prouiso tamen omnino quod in ecclesiis talium uel beneficiis

124 1-5 Has ... LIII<sup>o</sup> om. M 2 Rufaci E 3 patris] et domini add. E 5-7 Quod ... ut infra om. BE 12 ciuitatis] uel add. E 13 aliam] similium uel add. E si] cum E 15 huius labori B siue] huius E 16 Certum E 16-17 intelligimus E 17 talem ME tale B 23 uel uicarium perpetuum om. B 26 seruire] seruare E predicta om. B

124 X 3.4

4-5 The modern date is 8 July 1354. See above, p. 82 n. 24.

9 The reference to Bishop Ferrer d'Abella's constitution is to one not included in our compilation. It is cited by Puig y Puig, *Episcopologio*, p. 244.

debita seruicia fiant per idoneum substitutum. Non tamen intendimus quod dicti canonici dictos rectores aut curatos possint assumere ut in eorum ecclesiis  
 30 curam teneant animarum uel seruiant continue ullomodo. Nec etiam intendimus quod illos possint assumere qui iam se cum aliis conduxerunt donec tempus conductionis fuerit omnino finitum. Predictam autem licenciam concedimus fraude omnino cessante, mandantes ipsis canonicis et rectoribus et curatis et beneficiatis quod non dent aliquid uel ipsi canonici non recipiant  
 35 aliquid in fraudem ut precio dato uel recepto se possint a suis ecclesiis uel beneficiis absentare aliquo colore quesito quod non fieri precipimus sub pena excommunicationis.

**125. QVOD NVLLVS CLERICVS NEGOCIACIONIBVS SE IMMISCEAT VEL TABERNAS HABEAT.**

Quoniam, ut aiunt sacre scripture, qui unum granum uel alias res uno tempore comparant et abscondunt ut alio tempore, non mutata specie, carius  
 5 uendant iniusto lucro intendunt et qui abscondit blada in populo maledicetur, et multi clerici, quod dolentes referimus, considerantes illicita lucra captare potius quam honestatem clericorum et ecclesie conseruare, negociacionibus intendere non uerentur. Propter quam decrescit populi indeuocio et pluries scandalum in ecclesia generatur. Ideo nos, Franciscus Ruffacii predictus, de consilio et  
 10 assensu uenerabilis capituli ordinamus et precipimus quod nullus decetero clericus beneficiatus uel in sacris ordinibus constitutus sit ausus aliquas res emere per se uel per alium ut alio tempore, non mutata specie, carius uendat uel etiam uinum uel bladum causa negociandi uel lucro comparare nisi solum pro

28 faciant B	31 conduxerint E	32 tempus] opus E	32-33 finitum ...
omnino <i>om.</i> E <i>per hom.</i>	34-35 uel ... aliquid <i>om.</i> B	35 fraude BE	recepto <i>om.</i> B
<b>125</b> 1 misseat M	ministrat E	uel] nec BE	2 habeat] teneat E
gramen E	4 ut alio tempore <i>om.</i> B	8 quam] que B	3 granum]
<i>om.</i> R	8-9 in ecclesia <i>om.</i> MRE	11 constitutis B	decreuit MR docuerit B et
<i>om.</i> R	ut] uel R	mutate R	12 per <sup>1</sup> ... alium <i>om.</i> B per <sup>2</sup>
	uendant B		

**125** X 5.19.1; X 3.1.2, 15, 16. The Barcelona synod of 1244 (Villanueva, *Viage* 17.346) suspends all beneficed clergy and prohibits the entry of all non-beneficed to church if they engage in trade. As usual, this synod follows the constitutions of Jean d'Abbeville (see Lérída, c. 8; *AST* 47.79).

3-5 Cf. Pr 11:26.

se et familie sue sustentacione, nec tabernam publice teneat nisi de uino quod  
 15 habet de uineis uel redditibus suis. Alias contrarium faciens ipso facto pro  
 qualibet uice penam quinquaginta solidorum se nouerit incurrisse, de qua  
 terciam partem <det> denunciante, aliam officiali uel decano execucionem  
 facienti; reliqua operi sedis Barchinone sine spe uenie adquiratur. Per hanc  
 autem empcionem uel uendicionem reddituum ecclesiarum non intendimus  
 20 interdicere ullomodo, immo arrendatoribus ipsorum fructuum licitum sit dictos  
 fructus tenere et habere uel distrahere pro libito uoluntatis.

**126.** QVOD NOTARII DOMINI EPISCOPI ET ETIAM ILLI QVIBVS FACTA FVERIT  
 COLLATIO DE ALIQVO BENEFICIO ECCLESIASTICO HABEANT NOTIFICARE OPERARIIS  
 FABRICE SEDIS BARCHINONE COLLACIONES FACTAS DE TALI ECCLESIA VEL BENEFICIO SVB  
 PENA IN PRESENTI CONSTITVZIONE CONTENTA.

5 Quia contingit pluries quod collaciones, permutaciones ecclesiarum et  
 aliorum beneficiorum nostre diocesis adeo per operarios fabrice ecclesie  
 Barchinone ignorantur quod ipsa fabrica annuali percepcione ad eam pertinente  
 omnimodo defraudatur, de assensu et consilio uenerabilis capituli statuimus  
 quod cum contigerit collaciones ratione quacumque fieri alicuius ecclesie seu  
 10 beneficii per dominum episcopum uel eius uicarios, quod notarii domini  
 episcopi et etiam illi quibus facta fuerit collacio habeant notificare dictis  
 operariis collaciones factas esse de tali ecclesia uel beneficio infra quindecim  
 dies a tempore collacionis facte continue computandos sub pena excommunica-  
 tionis et etiam sexaginta solidorum, in quam nisi fecerint ipso facto eos  
 15 decernimus incurrisse.

#### 127. DE TESTAMENTIS.

Quia nonnulli, prout experientia nos docuit, tam religiosi quam clerici  
 seculares et laici pecuniam et alia bona que per manus ex testamentis

14 sustentacione] consolacione E    nec] uel E    15 habeat E    16 pena B  
 om. E    21 et habere om. BRE  
**126** 1 fuerit] est BRE    2 de ... ecclesiastico om. M    3 fabrice ... Barchinone om. M  
 sedis om. RE    tali om. BRE    3-4 sub ... contenta om. BRE    7 pertinentem BMRE  
 8 omnino RE    uenerabilis om. B    14 fecerit B

**126** See c. 94 above.

**127** X 3.26.3, 17, 19. Delays in executing wills often appear in the *Communia* registers; see *The Register*, e.g., no. 570 (10 December 1347).

decedencium debent in usus pios expendi non dubitant aliis usibus applicare uel  
 5 apud ipsos ipsa retinere, ideo cum sit per nos ex iniuncto nobis officio  
 prouidendum ut secundum defunctorum uoluntatem uniuersa procedant,  
 maxime in omnibus piis uoluntatibus, de consilio et assensu uenerabilis capituli  
 Barchinone statuimus et ordinamus quod exequutores predicti ultimarum  
 uoluntatum infra annum exequantur et ad effectum perducant testatorum  
 10 uoluntatem. Post uero annum teneantur domino episcopo reddere rationem,  
 quod si forte ulterius distulerint eo ipso sit eis exequcio interdicta tam diu donec  
 coram prefato domino episcopo uel eius uicario proposuerint iustas causas ut  
 sic relictum pium defuncti propositum compleatur dictorum exequutorum  
 negligencia non obstante.

**128.** QVOD NVLLVS EXTRA CIVITATEM BARCHINONE POSSIT AUDIRE VEL DIFFINIRE  
 CAVSAS MATRIMONIALES NISI EI PER DOMINVM EPISCOPVM DEMANDETVR.

Item, ordinamus quod nullus extra ciuitatem Barchinone possit causas  
 matrimoniales audire uel diffinire nisi ei per dominum episcopum uel eius  
 5 uicarium specialiter demandetur. Per hoc autem recepcionem testium uel alium  
 articulum dicte cause extra dictum locum si oportuerit non intendimus  
 prohibere.

**129.** QVOD NVLLVS CONTRA PROXIMVM IN IVDICIVM FALSVM DICAT TESTIMONIUM.

Item, ut animarum periculum euitetur, statuendo precipimus in uirtute  
 sancte obediencie uniuersis Christi fidelibus in diocesi Barchinonensi constitutis  
 quod nullus contra proximum in iudicio falsum dicat testimonium uel per  
 5 iudicem cum iuramento ut testis in quacumque causa ciuili uel criminali fuerit  
 interrogatus ueritatem celet uel falsitatem scienter immisceat. Quod si quis

5 ex *om.* R nobis *om.* MRE 6 defunctorum *om.* B procedant] excedant B  
 9 testamentorum B testamentum E testatorem R 12 prefato *om.* M  
 proposuerunt R 12-13 ut sic] uel E 13 compleantur BMR

**128** 1 Barchinone *om.* RE uel diffinire *om.* BR 2 nisi ... demandetur *om.* BRE  
 4 ei] enim E 5 demandentur RE

**129** 1 proximum] suum *add.* E iudicio R in ... testimonium] falsum dicat in iudicio  
 testimonium E<sup>pc</sup> testimonium dicat *tr.* B 2 ut] quod B 5 ciuilis ... criminalis BMR  
 6 celet] silet E

**128** X 5.31.12; VI 1.3.11; VI 1.16.7. On 19 September 1346, after some vacillation, the  
 episcopal curia reserved definitive sentences in matrimonial causes to the episcopal vicars (*The*  
*Register*, no. 302).

**129** X 2.21.1-3, 6, 8-11



contrarium fecerit, sit ipso facto excommunicatus et a nullo absolui possit de dicto sacramento uel peccato nisi a domino episcopo uel eius uicario prius licencia petita et obtenta.

**130.** QVOD NVLLVS DECETERO SACERDOS CELEBRET PRIMAM MISSAM DONEC IN CANONE MISSE FVERIT EXAMINATVS.

Item, ordinamus et statuimus quod nullus decetero presbiter celebret primam missam donec per dominum episcopum uel eius uicarium in canone misse  
5 fuerit examinatus, quod si fecerit penam centum solidorum se nouerit incurrisse.

**131.** QVOD NVLLVS CLERICVS DE INCERTIS AVDEAT MINISTRARE.

Item, ordinamus et statuimus quod nullus clericus uel religiosus confessio-  
nem audiens nec etiam decani nostre diocesis Barchinonensis legata uel  
recognita per ipsos confitentes in uita uel in morte pro incertis iniuriis  
5 persoluendis uel etiam pro certis quando non stant hii quibus est facienda  
restitutio retinere penes se ualeat aut aliis erogare uel quomodolibet distribuere  
sine speciali licencia petita et obtenta a domino episcopo uel eius uicario seu  
officiali, etiam si ad id accederet uoluntas ipsius testatoris aut etiam ipsius  
confitentis, cum hic casus domino episcopo sit a iure reseruatus et etiam  
10 reseruamus. In contrarium faciens sit excommunicatus nisi infra mensem  
restituerit prefato domino episcopo uel eius uicario seu officiali quod sit per  
eum indebite distributum.

**132.** QVOD QVILIBET POSSINT SE AVDIRE AD INVICEM ET ABSOLVERE DE OMNIBVS PECCATIS ET CVLPIS QVE ET QVAS SE AD INVICEM IN FORO PENITENTIE DVXERINT DETEGENDAS NISI ESSENT TALIA PROPTER QVE SEDES APOSTOLICA ESSET MERITO CONSVLENDAS.

Item, animarum periculis subditorum obuiare quantum possumus salutari  
5 remedio cupientes, omnibus canonicis et beneficiatis seu conducticiis ecclesie

**130** 1 decetero *om.* BRE sacerdos] presbiter BR clericus E 3 celebret *om.* R  
5 nouerit se *tr.* E

**131** 1 Quod ... ministrare *om.* MR 5 stant hii] sciant in E 7 uel] seu B  
8 ipsius<sup>1</sup> ... etiam *om.* B 11 quod *om. codd.* 12 distributa *codd.*

**132** 1-3 Quod presbiteri ad inuicem se absoluant BR Quod presbiteri possent se confiteri  
ad inuicem et absolui in episcopatu Barchinone E 4 subditum R 5 remediis B

**130** X 1.14.14, 15. Compare c. 4 above (from the *Summa*). Is this a relaxation or a reinforcement of previous standards?

**131** See the case in *The Register*, no. 548 (29 October 1347).

**132** VI 5.10.2. This is an extension of previous partial remissions (e.g., *The Register*, no. 296, 11 September 1346).

- Barchinonensis necnon rectoribus, ebdomedariis, uicariis perpetuis ac beneficiatis, conducticiis et aliis clericis presbiteris infra ciuitatem et diocesim Barchinonenses constitutis presentibus et futuris confitendi cui uoluerint ex canonicis, presbiteris seu beneficiatis seu aliis presbiteris idoneis predictae sedis ac ciuitatis
- 10 et diocesis predictorum quibuscumque, predicto uenerabili capitulo approbante, licenciam auctoritate officii quo utimur concedimus per constitutionem presentem, concedentes eisdem et eorum cuilibet quod possint se ad inuicem audire et absolvere de omnibus peccatis et culpis que et quas se ad inuicem in foro penitentie duxerint detegendas nisi talia essent propter que esset sedes
- 15 apostolica merito consulenda, etiam si de reseruatis casibus dicto domino episcopo existant, exceptis homicidiis, sacrilegiis, nisi essent furta in ecclesia facta, que tamen non excedant summam quinque solidorum et tunc satisfactione premissa, et exceptis etiam quibuscumque maiorum excommunicationum sentenciis, comittentibus stuprum cum moniali, incendiariis,
- 20 simoniacis, portantibus arma sarracenis uel aliquod suffragium contra christianos, hereticis cum fautoribus, receptatoribus et defensoribus eorundem, turpiter Deum uel sanctos blasfemantibus et falsum testimonium in iudicio proferentibus. Sed ne (quod absit) propter huiusmodi gratiam reddantur proclui ad illicita imposterum committenda, uolumus quod si ex confidentia
- 25 presentis licencie aliquod peccatum commiserint cuius absolutio ante hanc nostram constitutionem erat de casibus reseruatis, quod ad illud presens constitutio seu licencia minime se extendat, sed talis casus domino episcopo uel eius uicario reseruatur prout iam erat reseruatus.

### 133. DE LVDO TAXILLORVM ET ALEARVM.

Dolentes referimus quod nonnulli clerici beneficiati et in sacris ordinibus constituti, cum deberent attendere circa ea que spiritualia esse noscuntur et que

8 uoluerit BMR      9 seu<sup>1</sup> ... presbiteris om. M      seu<sup>2</sup>] uel RE      idoneis] conducticiis E      10 et om. R      quibuscumque predicto om. MRE      11 utimur] fungimur E      13 audire ... ad inuicem om. E      peccatis om. R      14 integendas B      derogantes E  
 15 etiam] et R      16 exceptis] exemptis E      18 exceptis] exemptis E  
 19 continentibus B      strupum codd.      20 portantibus arma sarracenis om. B      20-  
 21 uel ... hereticis] christianorum horrende heresiam E      21 factoribus B      receptoribus BE  
 et defensoribus om. R      23 ferentibus B      24 confidentia] considerancia E      26 illud] aliud ME  
 27 extendant B      28 reseruatur E  
 133 1 ludo ... alearum] ludendo E      taxillorum et alearum om. BR      2 Dolentes] Volentes R      3 circa om. E

133 X 3.1.15, *gl. ad 'Ad aleas'*. See also c. 47 above (from the *Summa*) and the synod of 1244 (Villanueva, *Viage* 17.345). There the penalty for clerical gamblers of any description is suspension from their benefice.

- ad salutem sunt fidelium statuta, illis dimissis, ludis taxillorum intendere non  
 5 uerentur ex quibus multe insolercie oriuntur, rixe et discordie generantur,  
 inuidia ac auaricia cum proximi pecunia concupiscitur confouentur et, quod  
 amarissimum est, in sanctorum blasfemia, prout experientia nos docuit, pluries  
 turpiter os insipientium aperitur in animarum ipsorum dampnationem et  
 scandalum populorum. Vnde nos, huic morbo pestifero cupientes congruam  
 10 imponere medicinam, de consensu et uoluntate uenerabilis capituli statuimus et  
 ordinamus ut nullus in sacris ordinibus constitutus uel beneficiatus decetero in  
 ciuitate uel diocesi Barchinonensibus audeat ludere per se uel per alium ad  
 aliquem ludum taxillorum nisi ad ludum alearum in quo non currant inter  
 ambas partes nisi IIII<sup>or</sup> denarii in quolibet ludo siue uice nec publice nec alibi  
 15 quam in domibus canonicorum seu presbiterorum uel in sacris constitutorum,  
 quod si fecerit excommunicationis sententiam incurrat ipso facto, cuius  
 absolucionem domino episcopo et eius officialibus tenore presencium  
 reseruamus, reuocantes tamen omnes alias litteras uel constituciones super hoc  
 editas cuiuscumque tenoris existant. Intelligimus tamen quod in itinere  
 20 constituti possint in domibus ubi hospitabuntur uel ubi comederint illa die seu  
 erunt etiam comesturi, etiam si non sit illud hospicium clericorum, causa  
 recreacionis ludere iuxta formam predictam, quibuscumque statutis in  
 contrarium editis non obstantibus ullo modo.

#### 134. DE HONESTATE VESTIVM.

- Item, cum honestas uestis honestatem denotet mentis, ideo de consensu dicti  
 uenerabilis capituli precipimus et ordinamus prout iam antea tam a iure quam  
 ab olim episcopis Barchinonensibus quam etiam per prouinciale concilium  
 5 fuerat statutum ut omnes clerici beneficiati aut in sacris ordinibus constituti  
 cuiuscumque condicionis existant portent uestes suo ordini congruentes  
 largasque atque latas uestemque superiorem clausam deferant nec tabardum a  
 capite usque ad pedes fissum cum botonis ullatenus portent nec portent goletes  
 siue aligots in manicis supertunicalis sed manicas rotundas nec gulam ipsius

6 pecuniam MRE confouentur] confruentur B conferentur E 11 uel  
 beneficiatus om. B 13 aliquod BME taxillorum ....ludum om. E non om. BM  
 14 denarios BE nec alibi om. M 15 seu om. B 16 incurrant E 21 etiam<sup>1</sup> om. B  
 hospicium om. R c. 98 rep. E post c. 133  
 134 1 De uestibus honestis E uestium om. B 2 honestatem] honestam B  
 8 fissum] cisum R 8-9 goletas siue aligots E

134 X 3.1.15. See also the provincial councils of Lérida, c. 8, and Tarragona (1274), c. 3 (Pons Guri, *AST* 47.80, 48.268), and, above, cc. 54 (from the *Summa*), 66, 97.

- 10 manice ultra quatuor digitos pendeat, cucullas etiam capuciorum amplas et breues competenter deferant ut sic in habitu a laicis discernantur. Alias ipso facto uestes tales amittant per episcopum pauperibus erogandas et alias ad arbitrium ipsius episcopi uel eius officialis rigide puniantur. Hanc constitutionem ipsos ad predicta artare uolumus a festo Natiuitatis Domini proxime in  
15 antea et non ante ut tales uestes habentibus parcatur laboribus et expensis.

**135.** QVOD OMNES RECTORES ET CVRATI HABEANT TAM CONSTITVCIONES SINO-DALES QVAM PROVINCIALES HINC AD VNVM ANNVM, DIE VENERIS VIII<sup>O</sup> IDVS MADI, ANNO DOMINI M<sup>O</sup> CCC<sup>O</sup> QVINQVAGESIMO QVARTO.

- Experiencia rerum que est magistra efficax nos docuit quod rectores et alii  
5 curati diocesis Barchinonensis in habendis constitutionibus sunt ac fuerunt quam plurimi negligentes adeo quod nedum non seruabant illas, immo quod grauius est penitus ignorabant. Et licet iam pluries fuerint in non habentes penales constitutiones per predecessores nostros promulgate, nullus tamen fructus fuit inde finaliter subsequutus. Vnde nos uolentes prouidere ut hec nostra  
10 ordinacio decetero non possit ut olim a subditis ignorari, de consilio et assensu uenerabilis capituli Barchinone precipimus omnibus et singulis rectoribus, uicariis et ebdomedariis quatinus has nostras constitutiones necnon et constitutiones prouincie Tarrachone integraliter fieri faciant et habeant hinc ad unum annum a die publicacionis in antea computandum et ex tunc in eorum  
15 ecclesiis illas continue teneant, sub pena centum solidorum quam contrarium facientes incurrant ipso facto, cuius medietas operi ecclesie Barchinone, tertia

10 pondeat R    pendat E    10-11 etiam ... breues *om.* B    11 competenter *post* deferant *rep.* R    a *om.* RE    12 ad *om.* MRE    14 ipsos ad predicta *om.* B    Natalis E  
15 expensis] Quod fuit actum viii<sup>o</sup> idus iunii, anno Domini m<sup>o</sup> ccc<sup>o</sup> l<sup>o</sup> quarto *add.* E

**135** 1-3 Quod omnes rectores habeant constitutiones tam prouinciales quam sinodales M Quod omnes qui curam animarum tenuerunt habeant ac teneant constitutiones et usus [coram] se in ecclesiis ubi residentiam fecerint E    1 et curati *om.* R    2 madii iunii R    4 rerum *om.* R    6 quod<sup>2</sup> quam R    7 habendis R    8 penales *om.* R    per] in R    promulgatas E    12 et<sup>2</sup> *om.* R    13 Teracone E

**135** The last canon in our compilation orders the clergy to obtain the provincial and diocesan legislation by 8 May 1355 (ten months from the date of promulgation of Ruffacius' canons; see c. 124 above). The Council of Tarragona of 1274, c. 5 (repeated in the compilation of 1330 [Pons Guri, *AST* 48.269, 332]) orders all rectors and vicars to possess copies of the provincial constitutions. The synod of Barcelona of 1243 (Villanueva, *Viage* 17.341) tells the parish clergy to copy and study the constitutions of Jean d'Abbeville. The order is repeated in 1244 (*ibid.*, p. 349), on pain of suspension from office. It seems that Bishop Pons de Gualba issued a similar constitution for Barcelona (Sanabre, *Los sínodos*, p. 18); it is not in our compilation.

uero denunciatori et alia tertia reuerendo domino Barchinonensi episcopo  
 adquiratur in usus quos uoluerit conuertenda, et attendant diligenter ut  
 20 constitutiones que mandantur publicari per certos anni terminos suis  
 parrochianis punctatim publicent atque legant, prout in ipsis constitutionibus  
 prouincialibus uel sinodalibus inuenerint ordinatum, necnon constitutiones  
 sinodales ubi excommunicationis sententia contra laicos promulgatur. Alias  
 sentient se eorum negligencia si negligentes fuerint arbitrarie rigide puniendos.  
 Dignum est enim ut quos amor Dei circa suos parrochianos non facit esse  
 25 sollicitos temporalis pena saltem illos ad uigilandum super eos faciat promtiores.

22 sententiam R      23 sentient] scienter R      25 faciat] siue reddat *add.* E  
 promtiores] Non sunt plures neque pauciores. Expliciunt constitutiones sinodales *add.* E

21-22 There are many canons threatening excommunication of laymen among the  
 constitutions of Tarragona, especially against 'invasores' of churches. One can cite, among those  
 included in the compilation of 1330, Tarragona (1244) cc. 3, 4, (1266) cc. 2-5, (1274) c. 4, (1283)  
 c. 1, (1294) c. 3, (1324); see Pons Guri, *AST* 48.324 f., 330 f., 334, 341, 351 f. See also the  
 Barcelona synod of 1244 (Villanueva, *Viage* 17.348 f.).

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# BOETHIUS' THEOLOGICAL TRACTS AND EARLY BYZANTINE SCHOLASTICISM\*

*Brian E. Daley, S. J.*

ONE of the great enigmas in the life and work of Boethius has always been his Christianity. Along with works on music and arithmetic and dialectic, translations (with commentary) of the logical works of Aristotle and Porphyry, and, of course, his masterpiece of poetry and philosophical meditation, the *Consolation of Philosophy*, Boethius' literary remains include five technical and self-consciously orthodox treatises on Christian theology.<sup>1</sup> Nineteenth-century

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The following abbreviations are used without explanation in the notes :

ACO = E. Schwartz and J. Straub, eds., *Acta conciliorum œcumenicorum*, 4 vols. (Berlin-Leipzig, 1914-40)

CAG = *Commentaria in Aristotelem graeca*

CCG = *Corpus christianorum, Series graeca*

CCL = *Corpus christianorum, Series latina*

CSEL = *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum*

CSCO = *Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium*

Mansi = G. D. Mansi, ed., *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, 31 vols. (Florence, 1759-98)

MGH AA = *Monumenta Germaniae historica Auctores antiquissimi*

PG = J. P. Migne, ed., *Patrologia graeca*

PL = J. P. Migne, ed., *Patrologia latina*

PLRE 2 = J. R. Martindale, *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, vol. 2: A. D. 395-527 (Cambridge, 1980)

PLS = A. Hammann, ed., *Patrologiae latinae supplementum*, 5 vols. (Paris, 1958-74)

PO = *Patrologia orientalis*

SC = *Sources chrétiennes*.

<sup>1</sup> The only critical text of Boethius' theological tracts is the now rare Teubner edition of Rudolf Peiper (*Anicii Manlii Severini Boethii Philosophiae consolationis libri quinque* [Leipzig, 1871], hereafter cited as Peiper, *Consolatio*). Other recent publications of the text are those of E. Rapisarda. 2nd edition (Catania, 1961) with an Italian translation, and A. Locher (Leipzig, 1976),

doubts about the authenticity of the tracts were laid to rest in 1877 by Hermann Usener's publication of a summary fragment from Cassiodorus' work on his literary relatives, the *Ordo generis Cassiodorum*. This document, usually referred to by Usener's title *Anecdota Holderi*, assures us that Boethius, the orator and poet and learned dialectician, also 'scripsit librum de sancta trinitate et capita quaedam dogmatica et librum contra Nestorium'.<sup>2</sup> Such documentation, however, has only deepened the enigma. For the *Consolation*, written in prison, supposedly, while Boethius was waiting to be executed and so taken by most modern readers as a kind of testament, makes no explicit reference to the 'consolation' of Christian faith at all, and could have been written in its entirety by any devout and learned sixth-century Neoplatonist. Indeed, Boethius hints tantalizingly there at a number of Platonic theories so much at variance with what is thought to have been the predominant Christian teaching of his time – the idea of a world-soul, for instance,<sup>3</sup> of the everlasting existence of the material world,<sup>4</sup> of intelligent intermediaries between God and the world who work our fate,<sup>5</sup> or of an original contemplative union of human souls with God,

which I have not been able to consult. The new Italian translation by Luca Obertello (*Severino Boezio. La consolazione della filosofia. Gli opuscoli teologici* [Milan, 1979]) is extremely useful, especially because of its excellent introduction and notes and its annotated bibliography. The most accessible edition for English-speaking readers is still that of H. F. Stewart and E. K. Rand in the Loeb Classical Library, based on the Latin text of Peiper, but revised by Rand and revised recently again by S. J. Tester (Cambridge, Mass., 1973). This edition also includes an accurate English translation and will be the basis of our references to the *Opuscula sacra*.

<sup>2</sup> H. Usener, *Anecdota Holderi. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte Roms in ostgotischer Zeit* (Bonn, 1877; rpt. Hildesheim-New York, 1969), p. 4. The most recent edition of the fragment is that of Å. J. Fridh, *Magni Aurelii Cassiodori Variarum libri XII* (CCL 96; Turnhout, 1973), pp. v ff., hereafter cited as *Variae*.

<sup>3</sup> *Cons.* 3, met. 9.13-17 (ed. L. Bieler [CCL 94; Turnhout, 1957], p. 52):

Tu triplicis mediam naturae cuncta mouentem  
conectens animam per consona membra resolvuis;  
quae cum secta duos motum glomeravit in orbes,  
in semet reditura meat mentemque profundam  
circuit et simili conuertit imagine caelum.

These lines are from the famous hymn to God as creator of the universe. Like most poetic passages in the *Consolatio*, it seems to depend heavily on Neoplatonic sources, especially Proclus' commentary on the *Timaeus*. See F. Klingner, *De Boethii Consolatione philosophiae* (Berlin, 1921), pp. 38-67. Obertello, however, now argues that Boethius is drawing mainly on the *Timaeus* itself, 'senza apparente mediazione di fonti intermedie' (*La consolazione*, p. 416; cf. pp. 407-16).

<sup>4</sup> *Cons.* 5, pr. 6.1-14 (Bieler, pp. 100 ff., ll. 1-50). Citing both Aristotle (l. 17) and Plato (ll. 28-32) without demurrer as sources for this opinion, Boethius here distinguishes between the world's 'endless life' (ll. 31 ff.) or *perpetuitas* (l. 50), its temporal continuity without beginning or end, and the *aeternitas* of God, which is life without extension in a timeless present: 'interminabilis uitae tota simul et perfecta possessio' (ll. 8 ff.). Time, for Boethius, is simply the moving image of a motionless eternity (ll. 36-50). On the Neoplatonic roots of these reflections, see Obertello, *ibid.*, pp. 417-24.

<sup>5</sup> *Cons.* 4, pr. 6.13 (Bieler, p. 80.44-52).

before their 'fall' into matter<sup>6</sup> – that many later readers have been tempted to echo in stronger terms the phrase of the anonymous ninth-century commentator of St. Gall, 'Hic magis philosophice quam catholice loquitur.'<sup>7</sup> So it has become something of a commonplace over the last hundred years to assert that Boethius' Christian faith, however cleverly set forth in the theological tracts, had never run very deep,<sup>8</sup> or else to assume that he 'lapsed' at the end of his life, perhaps after a dramatic crisis of disenchantment.<sup>9</sup>

The enigma of Boethius' Christianity is closely connected with the enigma of his death.<sup>10</sup> He was highly esteemed by the Ostrogothic king Theoderic, apparently, for his prodigious learning, had been made consul without companion in 510, and at some later time was appointed *magister officiorum*.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>6</sup> *ibid.* 5, pr. 2.8 and met. 3.8-31 (Bieler, p. 90.14-17 and pp. 94 f., ll. 8-31). Boethius here sketches out a doctrine of partial 'reminiscence' of once-known eternal truth as the explanation of the incarnate mind's desire for truth and its sense of a wider reality. See his description of the origin and return of 'lesser souls' in *Cons.* 3, met. 9.18-21 (Bieler, p. 52.18-21).

<sup>7</sup> This comment, preserved in Saint Gall, Stiftsbibliothek 845 (s. ix), refers to the idea of divine intermediaries suggested in *Cons.* 4, pr. 6 (n. 5 above); cf. P. Courcelle, 'Étude critique sur les commentaires de la *Consolation* de Boèce (ix<sup>e</sup>-xv<sup>e</sup> siècles)', *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge* 12 (1939) 56. Cf. the famous observation of the tenth-century commentator Bovo of Corvey, that one finds 'quaedam Catholicae fidei contraria' in passages of the *Consolatio* (PL 64.1239D 2 ff.).

<sup>8</sup> So Usener, *Anecdota Holderi*, pp. 50 ff. and 54 ff.; M. Cappuyns, 'Boèce', *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques* 9 (1937) 359 ff. with a useful review of other opinions on this subject (359).

<sup>9</sup> So A. Momigliano, 'Cassiodorus and Italian Culture of His Time', *Proceedings of the British Academy* 41 (1955) 212 (rpt. in his *Studies in Historiography* [London, 1966], pp. 181-210); P. Merlan, 'Ammonius Hermiae, Zacharias Scholasticus and Boethius', *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 9 (1968) 202 ff. Even less convincing is the attempt of E. Rapisarda (*La crisi spirituale di Boezio* [Catania, 1947]) to assert, on the most impressionistic grounds, that the *Consolatio* represents a conversion from the rationalistic religion of the theological tracts to a Christianity of the heart. Rapisarda completely ignores the reality of literary genres.

<sup>10</sup> On the date and circumstances of Boethius' death, see especially W. C. Bark, 'Theoderic vs. Boethius: Vindication and Apology', *American Historical Review* 49 (1944) 410-26 and 'The Legend of Boethius's Martyrdom', *Speculum* 21 (1946) 312-17; H. R. Patch, 'The Beginnings of the Legend of Boethius', *Speculum* 22 (1947) 443-45; C. H. Coster, 'Procopius and Boethius, I', *Speculum* 23 (1948) 284-87 (rpt. in his *Late Roman Studies* [Cambridge, Mass., 1968], pp. 46-53) and 'The Fall of Boethius: His Character', *Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves* 1952 (= *Mélanges H. Grégoire* 4), pp. 45-81 (= *Late Roman Studies*, pp. 54-103); and now C. E. Morton, 'Marius of Avenches, the *Excerpta Valesiana*, and the Death of Boethius', *Traditio* 38 (1982) 107-36. Luca Obertello has recently defended the more traditional date of early 525 for Boethius' death: 'La morte di Boezio e la verità storica' in *Atti del Congresso internazionale di studi boeziani* (Pavia, 5-8 ottobre 1980), ed. L. Obertello (Rome, 1981), pp. 59-70. John Matthews' article, 'Anicius Manlius Severinus Boethius', in M. Gibson, ed., *Boethius. His Life, Thought and Influence* (Oxford, 1981), pp. 15-43, skillfully sets the death of Boethius against the background of aristocratic and senatorial politics in the late Roman Empire.

<sup>11</sup> So *Excerpta Valesiana* 85 (ed. V. Gardthausen, *Ammiani Marcellini Rerum gestarum libri qui supersunt* [Leipzig, 1875], p. 302); cf. *Cons.* 1, pr. 4 (Bieler, pp. 6-11) and 3, pr. 4 (*ibid.*, pp. 42-44) for Boethius' own rather vague references to the offices he has held. For the date of



He saw his two young sons, Boethius and Symmachus, also elevated to the consulship in 522, and delivered the official panegyric of Theoderic on that occasion.<sup>12</sup> Yet only a few years later, certainly no later than the autumn of 525,<sup>13</sup> Boethius was arrested on charges of sorcery and treasonable conspiracy against Theoderic. After imprisonment and torture he was put to death, probably in the following summer, along with Q. Aurelius Memmius Symmachus, his noble and devout father-in-law. The reasons for Boethius' sudden fall from favor remain unclear. Remarks about his enemies in the *Consolation*<sup>14</sup> suggest simple political infighting played a large part, and Theoderic's behavior in the last years of his life shows signs of growing paranoia.<sup>15</sup> But there is a good deal of circumstantial evidence, too, that Boethius was part of a group of Catholic Roman aristocrats who had long been interested in improving the strained relations between the Eastern and Western Churches.<sup>16</sup> It seems likely, in fact, that the newly-elected pope, John I, whom

his elevation to be *magister officiorum* see Usener, *Anecdota Holderi*, p. 44 n. 5; for a description of the duties of this office, see the 'formula' in Cassiodorus, *Variae* 6.6 (pp. 231 ff.). The fullest and most nuanced account of Boethius' career is now H. Chadwick, *Boethius. The Consolations of Music, Logic, Theology and Philosophy* (Oxford, 1981). See also E. Demougeot, 'La carrière politique de Boèce' in *Atti del Congresso ... (Pavia)*, pp. 97-108.

<sup>12</sup> *Cons.* 2, pr. 3.8 (Bieler, p. 22.22-30). Cassiodorus testifies in the *Anecdota Holderi* that Boethius 'regem Theodoricum in senatu pro consulatu filiorum luculenta oratione laudavit' (Usener, p. 4).

<sup>13</sup> See Coster, 'The Fall of Boethius' and Morton, 'Marius of Avenches', both of whom argue plausibly that the more traditional dating of Boethius' arrest to 523 and of his death to 524 or 525, based on the *Excerpta Valesiana* and the chronicle of Marius of Avenches, is less credible than the sequence of events found in Procopius' *Gothic Wars* and in the *Liber pontificalis*, which would place his arrest probably in the autumn of 525 and his death shortly before Theoderic's own in August 526. Matthews, 'Anicius Manlius Severinus Boethius', 15 ff., prefers the earlier date suggested by the *Excerpta*, while Chadwick, *Boethius*, pp. 54 ff., remains undecided.

<sup>14</sup> *Cons.* 1, pr. 4.9-36 (Bieler, pp. 7-10, ll. 25-115); cf. *Excerpta Valesiana* 85; Procopius, *Historia bellorum* ('Υπὲρ τῶν πολέμων λόγος πρῶτος') (ed. H. B. Dewing, *Procopius, with an English Translation*, 7 vols. [Cambridge, Mass., 1914-61], 3.12).

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Morton, 'Marius of Avenches', 134 ff. One Carolingian life of Boethius describes the situation more strongly still: 'Theodoricus rex gothorum cum per tirannidem rem publicam inuasisset et omnes consules nobilesque romanorum alios occidisset alios in exilium misisset, hic (= Boethius) ... R.[em] P[ublicam] ad libertatem reuocare uolebat' (Peiper, *Consolatio*, p. xxxii. ll. 13-18). Boethius himself says that he was suspected of having hoped for 'libertatem Romanam' (*Cons.* 1, pr. 4.26 [Bieler, p. 9.76 ff.]).

<sup>16</sup> The best discussion of the possible membership of this 'circle' is still that of V. Schurr, *Die Trinitätslehre des Boethius im Lichte der 'skythischen Kontroversen'* (Forschungen zur christlichen Literatur und Dogmengeschichte 18.1; Paderborn 1935), pp. 198-203.

The politics of the so-called 'Laurentian schism', twenty years before Boethius' death, may provide some necessary clues for understanding pro-Eastern political and ecclesiastical sympathies among Roman aristocrats in the last years of Theoderic's reign. Chadwick gives a lively and detailed account of it (*Boethius*, pp. 29-46) which boldly identifies the backers of Laurentius as pro-Byzantine aristocrats. This is also the position of J. Moorhead, 'The Laurentian Schism: East and West in the Roman Church', *Church History* 47 (1978) 125-36. For a

Theoderic had just sent to Constantinople in the autumn of 525 in the hope of persuading the Emperor Justin to ease his repressive measures against Arians, may have been a member of that Boethian circle.<sup>17</sup> If that is so, the failure of the

prosopographical analysis of the social groups involved in that dispute, see P. A. B. Llewellyn, 'The Roman Church during the Laurentian Schism: Priests and Senators', *Church History* 45 (1976) 417-27 and 'The Roman Clergy during the Laurentian Schism (498-506): A Preliminary Analysis', *Ancient Society* 8 (1977) 245-75; also Schurr, *Die Trinitätslehre des Boethius*, pp. 113-16; L. Cracco Ruggini, 'Nobilità romana e potere nell'età di Boezio', *Atti del Congresso ... (Pavia)*, pp. 73-96. A fragment in an eighth-century Verona manuscript, cited by F. Bianchini in his notes to the *Historia de vitis romanorum pontificum* (= *Liber pontificalis* [PL 128.445b19-446a3]), remarks that the 'clerus ... et senatus electior' in Rome during the schism sided with Laurentius. The author of this passage clearly also sympathizes with the efforts of the previous pope, Anastasius I, and the senator Festus (cos. 472) to heal the 'Acacian schism' with the Eastern Church in the negotiations of 497-98 (ibid., 445a4-9). This suggests that pro-Eastern and pro-Laurentian sympathies were at least sometimes identified; Festus, in fact, was one of the heads of the Laurentian party, according to the *Liber pontificalis* 77 ff. (ed. L. Duchesne, *Le Liber pontificalis. Texte, introduction et commentaire*, 2 vols. [Paris, 1886-92], 1.260, II. 13-20) and Theodorus Lector, *Ecclesiastica historia* 2.17 (PG 86/1.192a17-193a1). On the other hand, a letter of Avitus of Vienne (*Ep.* 34, ed. R. Peiper [MGH AA 6.2; Berlin, 1883], pp. 64 f.) addressed to 'Fausto et Symmacho, senatoribus urbis' in 501 expresses clear sympathy for Pope Symmachus' cause and urges the addressees to continue to support 'Symmacho, clienti vestro' (ibid., p. 65.12). If the addressees here are indeed Anicius Acilius Acinatus Faustus ('Faustus Albus', cos. 483) and Q. Aurelius Memmius Symmachus, Boethius' father-in-law, the implication seems to be that the philosopher's family connections were with the Symmachian party in 501; see Schurr, ibid., pp. 144 ff. and n. 32. Still, Schurr's analysis of the members of Boethius' 'circle' at the time of his death suggests his sympathies had drifted eastwards by then; see below, pp. 188 ff. and nn. 124-128; also Bark, 'Theoderic vs. Boethius' (cited above, n. 10). Chadwick (*Boethius*, pp. 9 and 40 ff.) prefers to think that Symmachus and Boethius had always belonged to the Laurentian party.

<sup>17</sup> *Excerpta Valesiana* 88 f.; Marcellinus Comes, *Chronicon* (ed. T. Mommsen, *Chronica minora* [MGH AA 11/2.102]); *Liber pontificalis* 87 ff. (Duchesne, pp. 275 f.). That Pope John I was the same man, at a later stage of his career, as the 'Johannes Diaconus' to whom Boethius dedicated Tracts 2, 3, and 5 has never been demonstrated, but it has been assumed at least since the time of Scotus Eriugena (*In Boethii opuscula tractatus* 2, ed. E. K. Rand, *Johannes Scottus* [Munich, 1906], p. 47.19 ff.): cf. the Carolingian *Vitae Boeti* 6 (ed. Peiper, *Consolatio*, p. xxxv.8-11) and Peter Abelard, *Theologia christiana* 1.5 (PL 178.1165b4 f.); for a summary of the evidence see L. Obertello, *Severino Boezio*, 2 vols. (Genoa, 1974), 1.282 f., n. 125.

It is tempting to identify the same pope with the 'Johannes Diaconus' who composed the *Epistula ad Senarium* on baptism (ed. A. Wilmart, *Analecta reginensia. Extraits des manuscrits latins de la reine Christine conservés au Vatican* [Studi e testi 59; Vatican City, 1933], pp. 170-79; PL 59.399-408), since Senarius is known to have been involved in official negotiations with the Eastern Church: see below, n. 126. John may also be the deacon by that name who brought a letter from the 'Scythian monks' in Rome to Fulgentius of Ruspe and the other African bishops exiled in Sardinia in the spring or summer of 520 (Fulgentius, *Ep.* 17.1 [CCL 91A, p. 563.9 f.]; cf. Schurr, *Die Trinitätslehre des Boethius*, pp. 160 n. 190 and 209 n. 333). The Roman deacon Caelius Joannes, who renounced his adherence to the Laurentian party and asked for reconciliation with Pope Symmachus in a *libellus* of 18 September 506 (A. Thiel, *Epistolae romanorum pontificum genuinae ...* 1 [Braunsberg, 1868], p. 697; hereafter cited as *Epist. pont.*), could conceivably also be the same man, as could the Roman deacon John who attended synods held by Symmachus on 1 March 499 (ibid., pp. 644, 654) and 6 November 502 (ibid., p. 684). If

pope's mission and the continuance of Justin and Justinian on their policy of enforcing orthodox religious uniformity throughout the Empire may well have been the final straw that broke the old Arian king's patience with this senatorial group, and that led to the execution of Symmachus and Boethius. In any case, Boethius has been honored since at least Carolingian times in northern Italy as a Christian martyr.<sup>18</sup>

For biographical as well as literary and philosophical reasons, then, the riddle of the depth and orientation of Boethius' Christianity remains important. I do not propose to solve it completely here, when so many others have failed. But I do think it helps us towards a solution to look more carefully at his theological writings, not just by themselves but in the context of the kind of theology being done in the first two decades of the sixth century, especially in the Greek-speaking East. The main point I want to make is simply that Boethius' theological work 'fits', far better than many modern students have supposed: fits organically into his own life and program of work, into his intellectual profile, precisely because it fits into a general pattern of philosophical and theological thinking that was just then beginning to emerge among Greek Christian writers, especially in Alexandria and Palestine. As a result, I believe Boethius deserves to be taken more seriously than he often is as a Christian thinker, and possibly even as an ecclesiastical politician.

## I

### EARLY BYZANTINE SCHOLASTICISM

Harnack referred to Leontius of Byzantium, Boethius' younger contemporary, as 'the first scholastic'.<sup>19</sup> More frequently, historians have applied that same epithet to Boethius himself.<sup>20</sup> In fact, it should be applied much more

it could be established that these references are all to the same person, we would have the beginnings of a most interesting biography, such as Chadwick (*Boethius*, pp. 26-29) attempts. The evidence, however, may simply show how common the name John was among sixth-century Roman deacons.

<sup>18</sup> Ado of Vienne (d. 875), *Chronicon* (PL 123.107c4 ff.): 'Quo tempore Symmachum atque Boethium consulares viros pro catholica pietate idem Theodericus occidit'; similarly Abelard, *Theologia christiana* 1.5 (PL 178.1165b12-15); Dante, *Paradiso* 10.124-129. Cf. Cappuyns, 'Boèce', 357 f. (cited above, n. 8) for a full review of the evidence; also *Acta sanctorum*, 23 October 3b-c; Bark, 'The Legend of Boethius's Martyrdom' (cited above, n. 10).

<sup>19</sup> *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, 3 vols. (Freiburg, 1888; 5th edition, Tübingen, 1931), 2/ 1.406; English translation of the 3rd German edition by N. Buchanan, *History of Dogma*, 7 vols. (Boston, 1898; rpt. New York, 1961), 4.232; M. Grabmann, *Geschichte der scholastischen Methode* (Freiburg, 1909), p. 163.

<sup>20</sup> For instance, H. F. Stewart and E. K. Rand in the introduction to their edition of the *Tractates and Consolatio*, p. x; R. Carton, 'Le christianisme et l'augustinisme de Boèce', *Revue de*

widely, to the representatives of a whole style of Christian reflection and controversy that seems to have begun in the Greek East in the mid-fifth century and to have crystallized into fashion late in the reign of the Emperor Anastasius I (491-518). The context for this new kind of theology was Christian debate about the reception of the Christology formulated at the Council of Chalcedon. The dominant external influence on its growth, however, seems to have been the 'school philosophy' of the late fifth and sixth centuries, notably the Neoplatonic Aristotelianism taught at Alexandria by Ammonius, son of Hermias, and his disciples.<sup>21</sup>

Ammonius was the official, publicly-paid professor of philosophy at Alexandria from about 480 until sometime in the third decade of the sixth century. He came, typically, from a distinguished family of Egyptian philosophers, and had studied at Athens with Proclus. Like every Greek philosopher of the time, he saw his philosophical task as one of clarifying and handing on a tradition, rather than striking out on new intellectual paths. His basic scheme of the universe (his conception of God, of time and history, of human psychology and human fulfillment) was generally Neoplatonic, part of the great tradition that regarded the works of Plato as a kind of scripture but that drew its systematic interpretation of Plato from Porphyry, Iamblichus and (most recently) Proclus. So both Ammonius and his successor Olympiodorus occasionally lectured on Plato's dialogues.<sup>22</sup> But the distinctive feature of Ammonius' academic work, and indeed of the whole Alexandrian school during the century after his death, was its specialization in the philosophy of Aristotle. Practically all their public teaching seems to have consisted in commenting on the works of Aristotle, above all on his logical works (and on

*philosophie* N.S. 1 (1930) 576 f.; G. Weinberger, introduction to the Peiper-Schepss-Weinberger edition of the *Consolatio* (CSEL 67; Vienna-Leipzig, 1934), p. vii n. 5: 'Boethius primus Scholasticorum dicitur'. If one only uses 'scholasticism' to refer to the Latin medieval phenomenon, the epithet is justified by the enormous influence Boethius' writings had on Western philosophy and theology in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

<sup>21</sup> The best general survey of the teachings and personal histories of the Alexandrian commentators on Aristotle is L. G. Westerink's introduction to his edition of the *Anonymous Prolegomena to Platonic Philosophy* (Amsterdam, 1962), pp. x-xxv. Cf. also A. C. Lloyd, 'Athenian and Alexandrian Neoplatonism' in A. H. Armstrong, ed., *The Cambridge History of Later Greek and Early Medieval Philosophy* (London-Cambridge, 1967), pp. 302-22. Still useful, too, is K. Praechter, 'Richtungen und Schulen im Neuplatonismus' in *Genethliakon der Graeca Halensis für Carl Robert* (Berlin, 1910), pp. 103-56, especially pp. 146-56 (= *Kleine Schriften* [Hildesheim-New York, 1973], pp. 165-216, especially pp. 206-16).

<sup>22</sup> We know, at least, that Ammonius lectured on the *Gorgias* and wrote a treatise on *Phaedo* 69D, defending Plato from the accusation of scepticism; see Westerink, *ibid.*, p. xi and Photius, *Bibliotheca* 181 (ed. R. Henry, *Photius. Bibliothèque*, 8 vols. [Paris, 1959-77], 2.192, ll. 8 f.). On his professional preference for Aristotle, cf. Damascius' remark in the *Vita Isidori*, summarized by Photius, *Bibl.* 242.79 (Henry, 6.25; = *Vitae Isidori reliquiae*, ed. C. Zintzen [Hildesheim, 1967], p. 110.2).

Porphry's widely-used *Eisagoge* or introduction to them). This gave Alexandrian school philosophy in the sixth century a decided slant towards technical, scientific questions – towards discussions of the elements and the heavenly bodies, the mechanisms of sensation and knowing, and the rules of argument – and away from the more strictly religious, even mystical speculations about God and human destiny that one finds in the works of Athenian philosophers like Proclus. As Saffrey suggested some thirty years ago,<sup>23</sup> this bent towards Aristotle may well have been the reason the philosophical school of Alexandria survived, both under the strongly Christian local and imperial governments of the sixth century and under their Muslim successors: such interests would have seemed relatively harmless to rulers zealous for religious orthodoxy. Damascius, Ammonius' philosophical rival at Athens, even speaks contemptuously of a 'deal' the Alexandrian professor struck with the local Christian bishop, which allowed him to continue teaching.<sup>24</sup> If this is true, it may have included some agreement on the subject matter of the courses Ammonius gave. In any case, Christians seem to have felt comfortable enough attending his lectures and did so, apparently, in substantial numbers.<sup>25</sup> While there is no hard evidence that Ammonius ever became a Christian himself, his successors in the last third of the sixth century may well have been Christians, and his editor and star pupil, John Philoponus, was an articulate and committed monophysite.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>23</sup> H.-D. Saffrey, 'Le chrétien Jean Philopon et la survivance de l'école d'Alexandrie au vi<sup>e</sup> siècle', *Revue des études grecques* 67 (1954) 396-410. In a fragment of his treatise *On the Appearance of Philosophy*, al-Farabi asserts that after the philosophical school at Athens was closed, the bishops advised the emperor that at Alexandria 'there should be instruction in the books of logic up to the categorical figures and that there be no instruction in what comes after that. The reason for this is that they were of the opinion that in this (latter part of logic) there was harm for Christianity, but that in what they admitted for instruction there was something helpful toward the victory of their religion' (N. Rescher, 'Al-Farabi on Logical Tradition', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 24 [1963] 129). For further literature on this fragment, see E. L. Fortin, *Dissidence et philosophie au moyen âge* (Montreal, 1981), pp. 33 f.

<sup>24</sup> So Photius, *Bibl.* 242.292 (Henry, 6.53; = Damascius, *Frag.* 316, ed. Zintzen, p. 251.12 ff.).

<sup>25</sup> For the presence of many Christians in the philosophical schools of Alexandria and their occasional conflicts there, see Zachary of Mytilene, *Life of Severus* (ed. M.-A. Kugener [PO 2.1; Paris, 1907], especially pp. 23-27). Zachary's dialogue, the *Ammonius*, suggests genuine tolerance of Christians and openness to dialogue on the part of the professor.

<sup>26</sup> Olympiodorus, Ammonius' successor, was probably not a Christian (see Westerink, *Anonymous Prolegomena*, pp. xv-xx). It is usually assumed that Elias and David, who followed him, were Christians, because of their names, though they may also conceivably have been Jewish. Stephanus, who was called from the chair at Alexandria to be 'universal teacher' at Constantinople in 610, is the first of these philosophers to refer to Christian doctrine as normative in his works (see Westerink, *ibid.*, p. xxv). On Philoponus' Christianity, see Saffrey, 'Le chrétien Jean Philopon' and T. Herrmann, 'Johannes Philoponus als Monophysit', *Zeitschrift für neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 29 (1930) 209-64; also the works cited below, n. 130.

It ought not to surprise us, then, that a new style of doing theology grew up at about this time among Christians within the cultural sphere of Alexandria – a sphere that reached at least as far as Gaza and both provinces of Palestine – which reflected both the dialectical method and the scientific conceptuality of this Neoplatonic approach to Aristotle. More important for us is the fact that the new Christian scholasticism (if we may follow Harnack in using the term) was to become the dominant, though certainly not the exclusive, style in which theology was written in the sixth and seventh centuries, throughout the Greek-speaking world and even, to a lesser extent, in the Latin West.

One early form in which this new 'scholastic' style of theology is perceptible is the apologetic dialogue. Two good examples of the form survive from early sixth-century Gaza: Aeneas of Gaza's *Theophrastus*<sup>27</sup> and his younger colleague Zachary of Mytilene's *Ammonius*.<sup>28</sup> Both works set out to refute, by purely logical argument, what their Christian authors saw as the more objectionably pagan doctrines of contemporary Alexandrian philosophy: reincarnation, the denial of a physical resurrection, and especially the eternity of the material world. Zachary's dialogue in particular reflects the exuberant confidence of post-Chalcedonian Christian thinkers in the purely philosophical soundness of their positions. Thus his young Christian interlocutor, near the beginning of the work, takes on the great Ammonius himself, during one of his lectures on Aristotle's *Physics*. The young man hotly insists to the professor that Christianity is not, as he may suppose, based merely on blind faith, but rests on demonstration as well. It is, he says, 'the only religion which is adorned and graced with both right faith and genuine reasoning and proofs, from argument and from the facts themselves...'.<sup>29</sup>

Useful as school philosophy may have been for this final blossoming of ancient Christian apologetics, it was even more important in shaping debate *within* the Christian body over orthodox doctrine. The focal point of its influence, as I have said, was the debate over the unity and distinction of humanity and divinity in Christ that followed the Chalcedonian definition. The origins of this new approach to intramural controversy are obscure. Although the dispute between the Eunomian party and the defenders of the Nicene formula in the 360s and 370s was often centered on the definition of terms<sup>30</sup> and was occasionally couched in theses and syllogisms,<sup>31</sup> it remained, for the

<sup>27</sup> Ed. M. E. Colonna (Naples, 1958); PG 85.872-1004.

<sup>28</sup> Ed. M. Minniti Colonna (Naples, 1973); PG 85.1012-1144.

<sup>29</sup> *ibid.*, ll. 150 ff.; PG 85.1036A7-11.

<sup>30</sup> See, for instance, Eunomius, *Apology* (PG 30.835-68); Basil of Caesarea, *Contra Eunomium* 1-3 (PG 29.497-669); Gregory of Nyssa, *Opera*, vol. 1: *Contra Eunomium* (ed. W. Jaeger [Leiden, 1960], pp. 22-225).

<sup>31</sup> For example, Aetius of Antioch, *Syntagmation* (edited with a translation and commentary

most part, within the literary and methodological bounds of old-fashioned theological debate, in which exegesis, analysis of terms, *ad hominem* attacks, and exhortation were mingled in the same lengthy tracts. Cyril's two voluminous treatises against Arianism, the *Thesaurus de Trinitate*<sup>32</sup> and the seven books of *Dialogi de Trinitate*,<sup>33</sup> both written probably between 423 and 425, show a new, highly systematic method of handling theological questions and are perhaps the earliest Christian works composed in a completely academic, dialectical style which still exist. Cyril's dialogues, *De Incarnatione Unigeniti*<sup>34</sup> and *Quod unus sit Christus*,<sup>35</sup> and his *Scholia de Incarnatione Unigeniti*,<sup>36</sup> carried this method over into the Christological debate of the 430s, and met a response on a similar plane of analytical and logical technique in Theodoret of Cyrrhus' *Eranistes*,<sup>37</sup> composed about 447.

The debate that immediately followed Chalcedon, and the thirty-six years of bitter controversy between East and West, Chalcedonians and monophysites and seekers after compromise, which followed the issuance of the *Henotikon* or imperial formula of union in 482, produced surprisingly few theological works that have come down to us. In the Latin West, Pope Gelasius' tract *De duabus naturis in Christo*, presumably from the 480s or early 490s, is the only extant witness to a Latin taste for controversial theology in this period.<sup>38</sup> From the monophysite East, the Alexandrian patriarch Timothy Aelurus' *Refutations of the Council of Chalcedon*<sup>39</sup> and Philoxenus of Mabbug's Syriac tracts against the

by L. R. Wickham, 'The Syntagmation of Aetius the Anomean', *Journal of Theological Studies* N.S. 19 [1968] 532-68; pseudo-Basil, *Contra Eunomium* 4 (PG 29.672-709).

<sup>32</sup> PG 75.9-656.

<sup>33</sup> Ed. G. M. de Durand (SC 213, 237, 246; Paris, 1976-78); PG 75.657-1124.

<sup>34</sup> Ed. G. M. de Durand (SC 97; Paris, 1964), pp. 188-301; PG 75.1189-1253.

<sup>35</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 302-515; PG 75.1253-1361.

<sup>36</sup> Ed. P. E. Pusey (Oxford, 1874), pp. 498-579; PG 75.1369-1412.

<sup>37</sup> Ed. G. Ettlinger (Oxford, 1975); PG 83.28-336. For other examples of Theodoret's work in a dialectical or scholastic style, cf. the *Quaestiones et responsiones ad orthodoxos* transmitted under the name of Justin Martyr (ed. J. K. T. Otto, *Corpus apologetarum christianorum saeculi secundi*, 5 vols., 3rd edition [Jena, 1876-81], 5.2-246) and the treatise *De theologia et divina Incarnatione* (PG 75.1148-89, 1420-77), attributed in some manuscripts to Cyril of Alexandria but probably also an early work of Theodoret. (Cf. A. Ehrhard, 'Die Cyrill von Alexandrien zugeschriebene Schrift *περί τῆς τοῦ κυρίου ἐνανθρωπήσεως*, ein Werk Theodoret's von Cyrus', *Theologische Quartalschrift* 70 [1888] 179-243, 406-50, 623-53; J. Lebon, 'Restitutions à Theodoret de Cyr', *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 26 [1930] 523-50).

<sup>38</sup> Ed. Thiel, *Epist. pont.*, pp. 530-57; newly edited by E. Schwartz, *Publizistische Sammlungen zum acacianischen Schisma* (Abhandlungen der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften N.F. 10; Munich, 1934), pp. 85-106 (rpt. PLS 3.763-87). The *Liber pontificalis* 51 (Duchesne, p. 255) tells us that Gelasius 'fecit V libros adversus Nestorium et Eutychem'; this may refer to yet another tract, no longer extant.

<sup>39</sup> One such work by Timothy exists in an Armenian translation: ed. K. Ter-Mekerttschian and E. Ter-Minassiantz, *Widerlegung der auf der Synode zu Chalcedon festgesetzten Lehre* (Leipzig-Etschmiadsin, 1908); the florilegium has been reconstructed in Greek by E. Schwartz in

Council<sup>40</sup> continue the dialectical tradition of Cyril and Theodoret with full vehemence and acumen. But Greek writers in the 'Great Church', undoubtedly perplexed by the seeming inconsistency of Chalcedonian doctrine with the dominant Cyrillian Christology and cowed into silence by the imperial policy of enforced harmony, seem to have been reluctant to engage in technical theological debates like those of the decades before Chalcedon. Their shyness lasted more than fifty years, until well into the first decade of the sixth century.

One group of Greek bishops in fact (the bishops of Neocaesarea in Pontus, led by a certain Euippus) could write to the Emperor Leo in the late 450s that they were able to make the Chalcedonian formula their own by taking its language and intent *piscatorie* (with the tolerant, pastoral instincts of the apostolic fisherman) rather than *aristotelice* (with the academic exactness of a dialectician).<sup>41</sup> As bishops, Euippus and his colleagues clearly saw the advantages of the fisherman's approach, for the peace of their own consciences and for that of the Church. But Eastern Christians of the next century, by some mysterious cultural compulsion, almost universally chose the 'Aristotelian' attitude, once the silence of the *Henotikon* years had been broken. The result was continued conflict, and in the end the general acceptance of a new way of doing theology: the radical transformation, in the Greek Church of the sixth and seventh centuries, of what had been until then a written outgrowth of preaching, of the spoken kerygma, into a self-consciously intellectual discipline.

What were its literary characteristics? Aside from the homilies of Severus of Antioch, relatively few sermons survive from the sixth-century Greek

his *Codex Vaticanus Graecus 1431. Eine anti-chalkedonische Sammlung aus der Zeit Kaiser Zenos* (Abhandlungen der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 32.6; Munich, 1927), pp. 97-132. A shortened version of Timothy's work, in Syriac, has been published by F. Nau (PO 13/2.202-18; Paris, 1916). Another systematic refutation of the Chalcedonian definition and Leo's *Tome*, also attributed to Timothy Aelurus, exists in Syriac in the same manuscript (London, British Library Syr. Add. 12156), and has been partly published by Nau also (*ibid.*, pp. 218-36). A collection of dogmatic letters by Timothy, also in this manuscript, has been published and annotated by R. Y. Ebied and L. R. Wickham, 'A Collection of Unpublished Syriac Letters of Timothy Aelurus', *Journal of Theological Studies* N.S. 21 (1970) 320-69. Significantly, the polemics of these letters are mainly aimed against the Eutychians, not the Chalcedonian definition. The best summary and analysis of Timothy's Christology is still J. Lebon, 'La christologie de Timothée Aelure', *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 9 (1908) 677-702.

<sup>40</sup> Philoxenus' main dogmatic works on the Christological controversy are his two systematic tracts on the Incarnation (ed. A. Vaschalde [CSCO 9.33-271; Louvain, 1907] and trans. in CSCO 10.31-200). Cf. also his little heresiological summary and profession of faith (ed. F. Nau [PO 13/2.248 ff.]) and the seven short dogmatic and polemical treatises collected in E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Discourses of Philoxenus, Bishop of Mabogh*, 2 vols. (London, 1893-94), 2.xcvi-cxxxviii, especially his *Twelve Chapters against Those Who Maintain Two Natures in Christ, and One Person* (2.civ-cxxiii).

<sup>41</sup> *Codex Encyclius* 40 (ACO 2/5.84, ll. 2-3); the adverbs come from Gregory Nazianzen, *Oratio* 23.12 (PG 35.1164c12-14), where the Cappadocian preacher insists he has been speaking about the Trinity *δογματικῶς, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀντιλογικῶς, ἀλειυτικῶς, ἀλλ' οὐκ Ἀριστοτελικῶς* ....



Church,<sup>42</sup> and even fewer controversial works are couched in a recognizably oratorical form.<sup>43</sup> The Platonic dialogue remained fairly popular in the sixth century,<sup>44</sup> and a less literary, more schematic question-and-answer (*protasis-lysis*) structure was also developed, in which problems were proposed and solved, or the statements of one's opponents refuted.<sup>45</sup> Theses (*kephalaia*) or provocatively formulated problems (*aporiai* or *epaporemata*) came into widespread use in this period as well: brief statements of theological argument,

<sup>42</sup> 125 homilies survive, in Syriac translation, from Severus' six years as patriarch of Antioch (ed. M. Brière et al.: PO 4.1, 8.2, 12.1, 16.5, 20.2, 22.2, 23.1, 25.1, 25.4, 26.3, 29.1, 35.3, 36.1, 37.1, 38.2 [Paris, 1906-77]).

From the monophysite tradition, there are also fragments of homilies by Patriarch Timothy the Younger of Alexandria, 517-535 (PG 86.265-69) and his successor Theodosius, 535-566 (see *Clavis patrum graecorum* 7130 ff., 7150-53). On the Orthodox side, part of a homily of Ephraem of Amida (patriarch of Antioch, 526-544) survives (PG 86.2108A-C), as well as several homilies of Anastasius I of Antioch, 559-570 and 593-599 (PG 89.1361-89; cf. *Clavis patrum graecorum* 6950 f. and 6959) and of his successor Gregory, 570-593 (PG 61.761-64 and 88.1848-85). There are also thirty ascetical homilies attributed to Symeon Stylites the Younger, 521-592 (ed. A. Mai, *Nova patrum bibliotheca*, 10 vols. [Rome, 1852-1905], 8/3.13-156 and P. van den Ven, 'Les écrits de S. Syméon Stylite le Jeune avec trois sermons inédits', *Le Muséon* 70 [1957] 33-55). Taken together, this sixth-century homiletical corpus is small compared with the output of the two preceding centuries. As previously, most of it is the work of bishops. The proportionate reduction of the homily's role in the extant theological literature of the period may indicate an increased participation of lesser clerics, monks and lay people in the literary production of the Church, but it is equally indicative of a change in the predominant character of what was being written: from kerygma and exhortation to analysis, exposition and debate.

<sup>43</sup> One might mention John of Caesarea's two 'homilies' against the Manichees (ed. M. Richard [CCG 1.85-105; Louvain, 1977]), Anastasius of Antioch's five orations *De orthodoxa fide* (PG 89.1309-62) and of course Severus of Antioch's *Orationes ad Nephaliu* (ed. J. Lebon, CSCO 119-120). In a spiritual genre, the *Instructions* of Dorotheus of Gaza seem to have been delivered orally as well (ed. L. Regnault and J. de Préville [SC 92; Paris, 1963]). It is often difficult, admittedly, to distinguish an oration from other kinds of persuasive or polemical essay at this period.

<sup>44</sup> Besides the dialogues of Aeneas of Gaza and Zachary of Mytilene mentioned above (p. 166), one can point to the *Disputatio cum Manichaeo* now included among the works of John of Caesarea (ed. M. Aubineau [CCG 1.117-28]), to John Maxentius' *Dialogi contra Nestorianos* (PG 86.117-58), to Leontius of Byzantium's *Epilysis* (= *Solutio argumentorum Severi*) and *Contra Aphthartodocetas* (PG 86.1916-45, 1316-57), to Paul the Persian's *Disputationes cum Manichaeo* (PG 88.529-57), and to Anastasius of Antioch's *Jerusalem Dialogue with a Tritheist* (ed. K.-H. Uthemann, 'Des Patriarchen Anastasius I. von Antiochien Jerusalem Streitgespräch mit einem Tritheiten (CPG 6958)', *Traditio* 37 [1981] 73-108).

<sup>45</sup> One might cite here Leontius of Byzantium's *Contra Nestorianos et Eutychianos* (PG 86.1273-1316), the third part of Leontius of Jerusalem's *Aporiai* (= *Contra Monophysitas* [PG 86.1876B12-1901A2]), the *Erotapokriseis* or *Answers to Questions* falsely attributed to Caesarius, the brother of Gregory Nazianzen, which were composed in the mid-sixth century (PG 38.851-1190), and Pamphilus' *Capitulum diversorum seu dubitationum solutio* (ed. Mai, *Nova patrum bibliotheca* 2.597-693; a new edition, by the late M. Richard and J. Noret, is scheduled to appear in the CCG). A similar collection of responses to questions, on both doctrinal and ascetical subjects, is the *Quaestiones et responsiones* of the monks Barsanuphius and John (ed. Nikodemos Hagioreitēs [Venice, 1816], revised by S. N. Schoinas [Volos, 1960]).

usually in syllogistic form, sometimes capped with anathemas, in which one's own position was shown to be necessarily true, or one's opponent's position impious or absurd.<sup>46</sup> Even in works of a looser structure, such as the various *Apologies* and *Refutations* in which the period abounds,<sup>47</sup> the character of the argument is noticeably different from that of the more oratorical controversial works of the third or fourth century. Theology has by now become very technical, very scientific; examples chosen to illustrate points at issue are generally chosen not from everyday life but from contemporary physics, psychology or medicine.<sup>48</sup> Theology is now also very conscious of its own

<sup>46</sup> Examples of this genre include John of Caesarea's *Capitula contra Monophysitas* (CCG 1.61-66) and the *Syllogismoi sanctorum patrum* which appear in some manuscripts of John's works (ibid., pp. 131-33); Ephraem of Amida's *Capitula duodecim* (ed. S. Helmer, *Der Neuchalkedonismus* [see below, n. 58], pp. 262-65); Leontius of Byzantium, *Epaporemata* (= *Triginta capita* [PG 86.1901-16]); the first section of Leontius of Jerusalem's *Aporiai* (= *Contra Monophysitas* [PG 86.1769A1-1804C12]); Paul the Persian, *Capita quadraginta novem contra Manichaeos* (PG 88.557-69); Eulogius of Alexandria, *Dubitationes orthodoxi* (in F. Diekamp, ed., *Doctrina patrum de Incarnatione Verbi. Ein griechisches Florilegium aus der Wende des 7. und 8. Jahrhunderts* [Münster, 1907], pp. 152-55; PG 86.2937-40).

<sup>47</sup> As examples, one might cite the *Apologia* for the definition of Chalcedon composed by John of Caesarea and recoverable, to some extent, from Severus of Antioch's refutation, *Contra impium grammaticum* (CCG 1.6-58); one must also list Severus' vast polemical tracts against John (ed. J. Lebon [CSCO 93-94, 101-102, 111-112]), his orations against Nephalius (ed. J. Lebon [CSCO 119-120]) and his sternly critical letters to Sergius (ed. J. Lebon, ibid.), as well as his pamphlet war against Julian of Halicarnassus over the incorruptibility of Christ's body (ed. R. Hespel [CSCO 244-245, 295-296, 301-302, 318-319]). Fragments exist of Ephraem of Amida's *Apologia* for Chalcedon (PG 86.2104 f.) and of his refutation of Severus' works (ibid., 2105-2108) as well as of Anastasius of Antioch's *Apologia* for Leo's *Tome* (Mansi 10.1107B-c and 11.435E-437B). Other polemical works of the same analytical and dialectical character from the sixth century include Leontius of Byzantium's *Deprehensio et triumphus super Nestorianos* (PG 86.1357-96, where it is incorrectly called *Adversus Incorrupticolos et Nestorianos*), an attack, largely *ad hominem*, on Theodore of Mopsuestia; Leontius of Jerusalem's *Adversus Nestorianos* (PG 86.1400-1768), a massive refutation of eight specific charges made by diphysites against Neo-Chalcedonian Christology; Eulogius of Alexandria's *Synegoriai* (fragments in Diekamp, *Doctrina patrum*, pp. 209 f. and 211 f.); and John Philoponus' *Diaitetes* ('The Umpire'), with its more schematic summary version and the appended refutation of the countercharges made against it (ed. A. Šanda, *Opuscula monophysitica Joannis Philoponi* [Beirut, 1930], pp. 3-80 [text], pp. 35-125 [trans.]).

<sup>48</sup> A favorite analogy used to illustrate the relation of the divine and the human in Christ is the relation of soul and body in the human person: see Leontius of Byzantium, *Contra Nest. et Eut.* (PG 86.1280B13-1285B14); John Philoponus, *Diait.* 3 (Šanda, *Opuscula*, pp. 5.12-6.1 [text]; p. 38.3-25 [trans.]) and 37 (ibid., pp. 33.20-34.1 [text]; p. 7.16-26 [trans.]). Other stock illustrations used in most discussions of unity in sixth-century Christology are the listing of the 'parts' of soul and body (e.g., Leontius of Byzantium, *Contra Nest. et Eut.* [PG 86.1296C8-1297A4]), the 'mixing' of light, air and matter in lamps and transparent solid objects (e.g., Leontius of Byzantium, ibid. 1304B12-C7; John Philoponus, *Diait.* 37 [Šanda, *Opuscula*, pp. 34.1-35.7, text; pp. 71.26-73.10, trans.]), the ethereal 'hypostases' of the heavenly bodies (e.g., Leontius of Byzantium, *Epil.* [PG 86.1928B5-C2]), and the combination of gold and silver in the alloy electrum (e.g., John Philoponus, *Diait.* 43 [Šanda, *Opuscula*, pp. 42.26-43.3, text; p. 82.16-21, trans.]).

logical procedure. Great stress is laid on the clear and accurate definition of crucial terms and especially, in Christological works, of the terms 'substance' and 'nature', 'hypostasis' and 'person'.<sup>49</sup> Not only definitions but also the axioms or general presuppositions of an argument are often stated briefly at the start of a passage, and the point is then driven home not so much through an impassioned appeal to Christian sensibilities (as Athanasius or Gregory Nazianzen might have done) but through syllogisms, enumerations, dilemmas, distinctions, stock analogies from the physical world, and the ever-present *reductio ad absurdum*.<sup>50</sup>

In reading the theological works of this period, one constantly gets the impression that argument is now understood as basically a formal exercise. Demonstrating consistency in one's own use of terms – consistency, especially, between one's Christological language and the language one uses in Trinitarian theology or in natural science<sup>51</sup> – is a primary goal, as is demonstrating the inconsistency evidenced by one's opponents. The *formula* in which one couches one's understanding of Christ – the phrase, even the single noun or adjective – now becomes all-important as the key to a right faith, the symbol of orthodoxy, and it is subjected by friends and opponents alike to the most

<sup>49</sup> Perhaps the most famous example of such definitions in sixth-century Greek theology is the passage on nature and hypostasis at the beginning of Leontius of Byzantium's *Contra Nest. et Eut.* (PG 86.1277-80), but similar expositions abound in the literature of the period. For a monophysite presentation of the same concepts, see John Philoponus, *Diait.* 7 (Šanda, *Opuscula*, pp. 20.14-28.2 [text]; pp. 55.24-64.17 [trans.]); this passage is also preserved in Greek by John Damascene, *De haeresibus* 83 (ed. B. Kotter, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, vol. 4: *Liber de haeresibus. Opera polemica* [Patristische Texte und Studien 22; Berlin, 1981], pp. 50-55) and in the florilegium *Doctrina patrum* [ed. Diekamp, pp. 273-83]. For a whole collection of short theological definitions from later in the sixth century, see K.-H. Uthemann, 'Die philosophischen Kapitel des Anastasius I. von Antiochien (559-598)', *Orientalia christiana periodica* 46 (1980) 306-66.

<sup>50</sup> One could find examples of these tools of argument in the works of practically all the sixth-century theologians I have mentioned. A few examples from the works of Leontius of Byzantium will suffice as representative. Syllogisms: *Epap.* (= *Trig. cap.*) 19 and 22 (PG 86.1908B3-8, 1908D12-1909A6); in fact, almost all thirty *Epaporemata* are elaborations of hypothetical syllogisms. Enumerations: *Contra Nest. et Eut.* (ibid. 1296C8-1297A2: the parts of a human person). Dilemmas: *Contra Nest. et Eut.* (ibid. 1277B4-C10); *Epap.* 4 and 16 (ibid. 1901C7-15, 1905B15-C6). Distinctions: *Contra Aphthart.* (ibid. 1333A8-B5: natural, preternatural and supernatural). Analogies: *Contra Nest. et Eut.* (ibid. 1304B12-C7: flaming wick as example of union of different elements; ibid. 1304D9-1305A6: light of stars, torches in a room as examples of union of distinct individuals). *Reductio ad absurdum*: *Contra Nest. et Eut.* (1293A10-15, B13-C4; 1301A11-B8). Almost the whole of Leontius of Jerusalem's two extant works takes the form of a chain of syllogisms.

<sup>51</sup> Leontius of Byzantium particularly stresses the need for such consistency: e.g., *Epil.* (PG 86.1921B14-C11). For his insistence on using the language of hypostasis and nature in the same way in Christological and in Trinitarian contexts, cf. *Contra Nest. et Eut.*, prologue to florilegium (ibid. 1309A10-B6); *Epil.* (ibid. 1921D1-1924B3, 1925A7-B9).

rigorous linguistic scrutiny, *aristotelice magis quam piscatorie*.<sup>52</sup> Using the language of faith correctly, and in a way that avoided the pitfalls of heresy, had become a highly complex, technical matter, requiring either a high degree of specialized knowledge on one's own part or the guidance of trusted experts.<sup>53</sup>

In addition, it now became increasingly important to show the continuity of one's own thought, and the discontinuity of one's opponents' thought, with the orthodox tradition as expressed by recognized voices from the past.<sup>54</sup> Just as the Alexandrian school-philosophers did their work chiefly through the highly traditional vehicle of the textual commentary, so Christian theologians of the age after Chalcedon were really the first to develop the systematic argument from non-scriptural authority. Now a theologian had to add footnotes to his tract: he had to give his texts, as well as his reasoning, and he considered it fair game both to attack the authenticity of his opponents' cited authorities and to rewrite or even fabricate totally the authorities he cited himself, if he thought he could get away with it.<sup>55</sup> In any case, the century between Chalcedon and

<sup>52</sup> For a reflection on the importance of the 'formula' in post-Chalcedonian Christology, see the article of A. Grillmeier, "'Piscatorie'-'Aristotelice': zur Bedeutung der 'Formel' in den seit Chalcedon getrennten Kirchen" in his *Mit Ihm und in Ihm: Christologische Forschungen und Perspektiven* (Freiburg, 1975), pp. 283-300. Grillmeier sees Timothy Aelurus as the one who really began this concentration on the niceties of Christological language (p. 292). In any case, the Christological definition of Chalcedon was clearly so radical-sounding to Greek ears, even to those prepared to listen to it favorably, that a great deal of close and ultimately restrictive analysis had to be done to it to assure its acceptance by the Great Church in the century which followed the Council. See L. Perrone, *La chiesa di Palestina e le controversie cristologiche dal Concilio di Efeso (431) al secondo concilio di Costantinopoli (553)* (Brescia, 1980), pp. 89-173.

<sup>53</sup> So Leontius of Byzantium remarks candidly: 'Referring to Christ (in contrast to our references to ordinary humans) resembles the use of a technical, scientific term; just as only they know how to use them, who have acquired the appropriate training, so the truth hidden in the name (of Christ) is clear only to those wise in divine things' (*Contra Nest. et Eut.* [PG 86.1296A14-B4]).

<sup>54</sup> For the claim to be teaching only what the great orthodox Fathers of the past taught, see again Leontius of Byzantium, *Contra Nest. et Eut.* (PG 86.1305D6-1308A4); *Contra Aphthart.* (ibid. 1344D9 ff.: 'Nothing of what I say is my own; I have taken it all from the Fathers...').

<sup>55</sup> Controversy between monophysites and Chalcedonians seems to have focussed on issues of textual authenticity with a passion and a critical exactitude unknown in previous centuries. See, for example, Innocent of Maroneia's account of the discussion between both parties in 531, in his letter to the presbyter Thomas of Thessalonica, secs. 22-28 (ACO 4/2.172 f.); also Severus of Antioch, *Contra imp. gram.* 3.39 (CSCO 101.245, ll. 12-27; trans. 102.180, l. 25-181, l. 3). Opponents of the monophysite version of the *Trisagion*, which was being promoted in the last years of Anastasius' reign, produced (probably around 512) the forged series of letters supposedly addressed to Peter the Fuller when he was Patriarch of Antioch (469-470), protesting his introduction of the interpolated hymn; see Schwartz, *Pub. Samml.*, pp. 125-50 and 292 f. Leontius of Byzantium was most insistent that the authorities he produced at the end of his *Contra Nest. et Eut.* were above reproach (PG 86.1308B9-12) and compiled perhaps the earliest critically annotated collection of theological forgeries, the *Adversus fraudes Apollinaristarum* (ibid. 1948-76). Whether his own citations of Theodore of Mopsuestia, appended to the passionately hostile *Deprehensio et triumphus*, are entirely unadulterated, however, has been

Constantinople II witnessed the sudden growth of the theological florilegium,<sup>56</sup> of patristic documentation in theological argument. In this way it also saw the beginning of positive or 'dogmatic' theology as an intellectual discipline.

With the exception, perhaps, of the pseudo-Dionysius, whose philosophical apparatus was the Platonism of Proclus rather than the Aristotelianism of Ammonius, all the important Greek theologians from the sixth century whose works survive took this new approach to doctrinal exposition and controversy. In Christology, the sixth century's dominant theological concern, it was used by the defenders of the 'symmetrical' understanding of Christ formulated at Chalcedon, who admittedly grew fewer as the century wore on; these included the *Akoimetai* or 'sleepless monks' of Constantinople, the mysterious Basil the Cilician,<sup>57</sup> and above all Leontius of Byzantium. It was used, too, by the more conservative 'monophysites' like Severus of Antioch and his followers, who rejected Leo and the Fathers of Chalcedon as secularizers of Jesus and dangerous innovators in the language of faith, and who preferred to hold onto the older, more ambiguous terminology of Athanasius and Cyril, with its implication of a more Logos-centered understanding of Jesus. And it was used by the proponents of the post-Chalcedonian *via media* which won increasing adherence in sixth-century Palestine, and which Justinian later fostered energetically as the key to the religious reunification of the East: what modern historians refer to as 'Neo-Chalcedonian' Christology. Churchmen in this tradition looked to the whole corpus of Cyril's writings, including his most

called into question: see M. Richard, 'La tradition des fragments du traité *περὶ τῆς ἑνῆς θρωπῆσεως* de Théodore de Mopsueste', *Le Muséon* 56 (1943) 55-75 (= *Opera minora* 2, no. 41); the authenticity of these fragments is defended by F. A. Sullivan, *The Christology of Theodore of Mopsuestia* (Analecta gregoriana 82; Rome, 1956), pp. 35-98.

<sup>56</sup> The earliest Christological florilegia of any size still extant are those appended to the three books of Theodoret's *Eranistes*. Important florilegia from the late fifth and early sixth centuries include the two monophysite collections of Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Vat. gr. 1431 (ed. Schwartz; see above, n. 39); the diphysite collection of texts from Cyril of Alexandria, against which Severus put together his own *Philalethes* (*Florilegium cyrillianum*, ed. R. Hespel [Bibliothèque du Muséon 37; Louvain, 1955]; *Philalethes*, ed. and trans. R. Hespel [CSCO 133-134; Louvain, 1952]); John of Caesarea's collection in his *Apologia* for Chalcedon (ed. Richard [CCG 1.28-46]); and the partly published florilegia of Leontius of Byzantium (PG 86.1309-16, 1356 f., 1385-96), Leontius of Jerusalem (PG 86.1817-76) and Ephraem of Amida (Photius, *Bibl.* 229, ed. Henry, 4.126-35, 142-74 [cited above, n. 22]). For a description of these collections and an estimate of their importance, see M. Richard, 'Les florilèges diphysites du v<sup>e</sup> et du vi<sup>e</sup> siècle' in A. Grillmeier and H. Bacht, eds., *Das Konzil von Chalkedon*, vol. 1: *Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Würzburg, 1951), pp. 721-48 (= *Opera minora* 1, no. 3); also his 'Notes sur les florilèges dogmatiques du v<sup>e</sup> et du vi<sup>e</sup> siècle' in *Actes du VI<sup>e</sup> Congrès international des études byzantines*, Paris, 27 juillet - 2 août 1948 (Paris, 1950), pp. 307-18 (= *Opera minora* 1, no. 2). I hope that my own critical edition of the works of Leontius of Byzantium, including the full text of his three florilegia, will appear soon in the CCG.

<sup>57</sup> See Photius, *Bibl.* 107 (ed. Henry, 2.74-78; for his Christology see especially p. 78.5 ff.

combative works against the Antiochene school, as their first norm of orthodoxy. They were prepared to accept the definition of Chalcedon, provided several additional formulaic phrases were added as qualifications; their purpose was to emphasize the 'synthetic', organic personal unity of Christ above all distinctions in the spheres of his activity, and to stress that the 'one hypostasis' of Christ which Chalcedon spoke about was the Logos and the Logos alone.<sup>58</sup> In works of all three of these competing Christological traditions, the vehicles of argument – the propositional logic, the metaphysical and anthropological terms, even at times the schematic marginal diagrams in the manuscripts that have come down to us<sup>59</sup> – are quite clearly borrowed from the academic world of the Alexandrian commentaries on Aristotle.

Even Cosmas 'Indicopleustes', the one surviving sixth-century Christian writer who expressly intends to refute the world view of the Aristotelian

<sup>58</sup> The best survey of the theologians and doctrinal themes classified as 'Neo-Chalcedonian' is still S. Helmer, *Der Neuchalkedonismus: Geschichte, Berechtigung und Bedeutung eines dogmengeschichtlichen Begriffs* (Diss. Bonn, 1962). See also M. Richard, 'Le néo-chalcédonisme', *Mélanges de science religieuse* 3 (1946) 147-56 (= *Opera minora* 2, no. 56); C. Moeller, 'Le chalcédonisme et le néo-chalcédonisme en Orient de 451 à la fin du vi<sup>e</sup> siècle' in *Das Konzil von Chalkedon*, pp. 637-720; A. Grillmeier, 'Der Neuchalkedonismus: um die Berechtigung eines neuen Kapitels in der Dogmengeschichte' in *Festschrift Berthold Altaner (Historisches Jahrbuch der Görresgesellschaft* 77 [1957] 151-66) (= *Mit ihm und in ihm*, pp. 371-85). For the Palestinian origins of this kind of Christology, cf. Schurr, *Die Trinitätslehre des Boethius*, pp. 151 ff. and Perrone, *La chiesa di Palestina*, pp. 108 ff. and 127-39, who traces its origins to the decades immediately following Chalcedon.

<sup>59</sup> An interesting example is a simple diagram (an X in a rectangle, representing the 'square of opposition' among four terms) which appears in one of the tenth-century manuscripts of Leontius of Byzantium (Oxford, Bodleian Library Laud Gr. 92<sup>b</sup>, fol. 48v) to illustrate the complex relationship of God, as God and Father, to the Logos and to us. The same figure appears in the manuscripts of Ammonius' commentary on Aristotle's *Categories* 1a20, illustrating the relationships of general and particular in the rules of predication (*In Cat.* 2, ed. A. Busse [CAG 4.4; Berlin, 1895], p. 25.12 f.; it also appears in John Philoponus' commentary on the same passage, which is admittedly dependent on Ammonius (ed. A. Busse [CAG 13.1; Berlin, 1898], p. 28.24), and in that of Boethius as well (*In Cat.* 1 [PL 64.175bc and cf. 320cd). This same figure appears in another place in Ammonius' works to illustrate the formal relationships of affirmative and negative propositions (*In De interp.* 7 [17a38-b12], ed. A. Busse [CAG 4.5; Berlin, 1897], p. 93.10-18), and again in a similar context in Boethius (*In librum Aristotelis De interpretatione libri duo, editio prima* [PL 64.321b]; *ed. secunda* [ibid. 468c-d and 471b]), as well as in the *Liber περὶ ἐμπνεύσεως* ascribed to Apuleius of Madaura (ed. P. Thomas, *Apulei Platonici Madaurensis Opera quae supersunt*, 3 vols. [Leipzig, 1908], 3.180). It also appears in the manuscripts of Martianus Capella, illustrating the same point in Martianus' summary of the rules of dialectic (*De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* 4.401, ed. A. Dick [Leipzig, 1925; rpt. Stuttgart, 1969], p. 194). The date of Martianus' work (the 460s or 470s?) and his relationship to Alexandrian learning are not entirely clear, but Boethius' dependence on the school of Ammonius is well established (see below, p. 176 and nn. 66 f.). Without placing too much trust in scribes, one can also see the presence of this diagram in the manuscript of Leontius as evidence of that theologian's similarity in method to the school of Ammonius. On the significance of the diagrams in the manuscripts of Ammonius and Boethius, see P. Courcelle, *Les lettres grecques en Occident de Macrobe à Cassiodorus* (Paris, 1943), p. 273.

tradition, lives and argues in a world of Aristotelian academic discourse. Cosmas sets out, in his *Christian Topography*,<sup>60</sup> to vindicate a Biblical view of the universe, which he conceives as a two-storied rectangular box, the prototype of the tabernacle described in Exodus 25-26. This kind of world, for Cosmas, not only does justice to the Bible but corresponds neatly to a two-nature Christology<sup>61</sup> and suggests the two 'states' (*katastaseis*) in which each of us, like Jesus, expects to share: the lower world of corruptible humanity and the upper 'tabernacle not made by hands', where Jesus now is.<sup>62</sup> Cosmas is above all a passionate opponent of John Philoponus; he seems to identify Philoponus' monophysite Christology with his unitary, Aristotelian conception of a spherical universe. Even so, Cosmas' method of argument is remarkably similar to that of his 'scholastic' contemporaries. His style of exposition is usually to make a terse statement of theory followed by a barrage of Biblical quotations that serve as proof-texts. On one occasion he sums up his previous chain of argument in a series of theses.<sup>63</sup> Diagrams and illustrations abound, and the whole unwieldy work is expressly divided into sections labelled 'argument' (*τὸ κείμενον*) and 'excursus' (*παραγραφή*). Book 10, a later addition, is a florilegium of patristic and contemporary passages that Cosmas believes will support his arguments. In fact, Cosmas shows not only a respectable familiarity with contemporary astronomy<sup>64</sup> but a nodding acquaintance with Aristotle's *Physics*.<sup>65</sup> As a result, for all his fundamentalism, he still gives the impression of carrying on learned academic controversy rather than of simply preaching the

<sup>60</sup> Ed. W. Wolska-Conus, *Topographie chrétienne*, 3 vols. (SC 141, 159, 197; Paris, 1968-73), hereafter cited as *Top. christ.* The work was apparently written in Alexandria between 547 and 549. Cf. M. V. Anastos, 'The Alexandrian Origin of the Christian Topography of Cosmas Indicopleustes', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 3 (1946) 74-80 (= *Studies in Byzantine Intellectual History*, no. 13 [London, 1979]).

<sup>61</sup> See, e.g., *Top. christ.* 2.102 (SC 141.421 ff.), 5.123-133 (SC 159.183-93). Cosmas admits that he has been deeply influenced by the Antiochene Christological tradition, through his contact with the wandering Persian bishop Paucius (Mar Aba) and his disciple Thomas – notorious 'Nestorians' to most Alexandrian Christians of the day!

<sup>62</sup> *Top. christ.* 5.28 f. (SC 159.51 ff.); cf. 2.91 (SC 141.411), 5.204 (SC 159.305) and 6.27 f. (SC 197.43 ff.). For a convincing and thorough analysis of Cosmas' theological and cosmological system, see W. Wolska-Conus, *La topographie chrétienne de Cosmas Indicopleustes* (Paris, 1962).

<sup>63</sup> *Top. christ.* 5.14-23 (SC 197.31-41).

<sup>64</sup> *ibid.* 4.13 ff. (SC 141.553 ff.), 6.8 ff. (SC 197.21 ff.).

<sup>65</sup> *ibid.* 2.14 f. (SC 141.319 ff.), which reproduces the theory of *Physics* 4.8 (215a31 ff.), even though it reaches a conclusion Aristotle expressly disclaims. We need not assume, of course, that Cosmas had studied the text of Aristotle himself, but only that he had assimilated something of the generally Aristotelian science of his day. Cf. M. V. Anastos, 'Aristotle and Cosmas Indicopleustes on the Void: A Note on Theology and Science in the Sixth Century' in *Ελληνικά* (*Studies in Honor of S. P. Kyriakides: Περιοδικὸν Σύνταγμα τῆς Ἑταιρείας Μακεδονικῶν Σπουδῶν* 4 [1953] 35-50 [= *Studies in Byzantine Intellectual History*, no. 14]).

Bible. Whatever one thought of their theories, the Aristotelian commentators had set the agenda and spelled out the rules for the debates of educated people in the sixth-century Greek East.

## II

### BOETHIUS' THEOLOGICAL WORKS

All of this leads us, in a roundabout way, back to Boethius. In an important article of 1935<sup>66</sup> and later in his *Les lettres grecques en Occident*,<sup>67</sup> Pierre Courcelle argued that Boethius' philosophical works give evidence of heavy textual borrowing from the commentaries of Ammonius. While Courcelle's conclusions are not, in my opinion, all equally convincing, he has at least shown beyond question that the learned consul's logical works and commentaries on Aristotle are very much part of the same school-tradition that Ammonius represented, and prove that Boethius was well aware of what was going on philosophically in Alexandria. Most recently, Henry Chadwick has made a sustained and, I think, a more successful effort to show the Roman nobleman's acquaintance with and dependence on the commentaries and systematic treatises of Proclus, Ammonius' Athenian teacher.<sup>68</sup> Similarly, I believe, a glance at his theological tracts should be enough to suggest to anyone familiar with sixth-century Greek 'school theology' that Boethius was also aware of both the issues and the methods then coming to dominate that branch of Christian learning, and that he saw himself as a participant in its heady discourse.

<sup>66</sup> 'Boèce et l'école d'Alexandrie', *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 52 (1935) 189-223, especially 196 f.

In 1957, L. Minio-Paluello argued, on stylistic and external grounds, that the marginal scholia in a Florence manuscript of Boethius' translation of the *Prior Analytics* ('second edition') may be part of a lost commentary by Boethius on that work: 'A Latin Commentary (? Translated by Boethius) on the *Prior Analytics*, and Its Greek Sources', *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 77 (1957) 93-102 (= *Opuscula: The Latin Aristotle* [Amsterdam, 1972], no. 20). These scholia clearly depend very closely on an Alexandrian Greek ancestor: if they are by Boethius, they would be added evidence for his effort to make Alexandrian school philosophy available in Latin. Recently S. Ebbesen has found confirmation for Minio-Paluello's thesis in a longer fragment of an anonymous commentary on the *Prior Analytics* in a manuscript from Orléans: 'Analyzing Syllogisms or Anonymous Aurelianensis III - the (Presumably) Earliest Extant Latin Commentary on the *Prior Analytics*, and Its Greek Model', *Université de Copenhague: Cahiers de l'Institut du Moyen-Age grec et latin* 37 (1981) 1-20, especially 9 f.

<sup>67</sup> pp. 257-312. For a judicious recent criticism of Courcelle's theory that Boethius draws directly on Ammonius' works, see H. Kirkby, 'The Scholar and His Public' in Gibson, *Boethius* (cited above, n. 10), pp. 60 f.

<sup>68</sup> *Boethius* (cited above, n. 11), especially pp. 20 f., 128 f., 207-11 and 216-22.



One clear resemblance is in method. Apart from his fourth theological tract, the so-called *De fide catholica*, whose authenticity (alone of the five) is still occasionally questioned and whose character is more that of a catechetical summary than a controversial essay,<sup>69</sup> Boethius' theological works show the same academic, technical orientation, the same preoccupation with clean dialectical method and with orthodox tradition, that Greek works of the time do. They begin, as a rule, with general principles: with elaborate definitions of the concepts at issue (as in Tract 5, the Christological essay *Contra Eutychen et Nestorium*),<sup>70</sup> with a list of the axioms the argument will presuppose (as in Tract 3, the little work on substantial and participated goodness),<sup>71</sup> or even with a general division of the sciences (as in Tract 1, on the Trinity).<sup>72</sup> The aim, in all four of these more technical treatises, is, again, to persuade by demonstration rather than by exhortation: to show, in Tract 5, the logical inconsistency of the somewhat schematized heretical positions Boethius opposes (which are, by definition, 'self-contradictory')<sup>73</sup> and to show in all four works the perfect self-consistency of orthodoxy, despite its paradoxes. For Boethius, too, even though he does not argue directly from authority or append patristic florilegia, it is the recognized traditions of the Church, the *Catholicae fidei fundamenta*,<sup>74</sup> which

<sup>69</sup> For the most recent discussion of the contents of this work, and of the arguments for and against its Boethian authorship, see Chadwick, *Boethius*, pp. 175-80 and 'The Authenticity of Boethius's Fourth Tractate, *De fide catholica*', *Journal of Theological Studies* N.S. 31 (1980) 551-56. Obertello (*Severino Boezio* 1.257-85) is more hesitant than Chadwick to acknowledge it as Boethian, and concludes it is the work either of Boethius or of John the Deacon. See also W. Bark, 'Boethius's Fourth Tractate, the So-called *De Fide Catholica*', *Harvard Theological Review* 39 (1946) 55-69 and Cappuyns, 'Boèce', 371 ff.

<sup>70</sup> Stewart-Rand-Tester, pp. 76-80 (*natura*); pp. 82-88 (*persona* and *ὑπόστασις*); pp. 88-90 (*οὐσία/essentia*, *οὐσίωσις/subsistentia*, *ὑπόστασις/substantia*). For a helpful discussion of the meaning of these terms in Boethius' work, see K. Bruder, *Die philosophischen Elemente in den Opuscula Sacra des Boethius* (Leipzig, 1928), pp. 57-80; C. Micaelli, "'Natura" e "Persona" nel *Contra Eutychen et Nestorium* di Boezio: osservazioni su alcuni problemi filosofici e linguistici' in *Atti del Congresso ...* (Pavia), pp. 327-36; M. Lutz-Bachmann, "'Natur" und "Person" in den "Opuscula sacra" des A. M. S. Boethius', *Theologie und Philosophie* 58 (1983) 48-70.

<sup>71</sup> Stewart-Rand-Tester, pp. 38-42. Boethius says here that his aim is to conduct the investigation 'ut in mathematica fieri solet ceterisque etiam disciplinis' (p. 40.15).

<sup>72</sup> *ibid.*, p. 8.5-16.

<sup>73</sup> This, at any rate, is the interpretation of 'extremi sibique contrarii Nestorii atque Eutychii...errores' (*ibid.*, p. 76.56 f., 59; my italics) in the Stewart-Rand-Tester translation, and is certainly implied in Boethius' subsequent refutation of the two classical Christological heresies (*ibid.*, pp. 92-114). Obertello's translation, 'errori opposti e tra di sé contraddittori' (*Severino Boezio.... Gli opuscoli teologici* [n. 1 above], p. 231), suggests rather the interpretation that these two heresies contradict *each other*, which is also a possible reading of the Latin.

<sup>74</sup> Tract 2 (Stewart-Rand-Tester, p. 32.5). The purpose of Tract 4 seems to be to give a detailed summary of what those 'fundamental doctrines' include (*ibid.*, p. 52.8 ff.). The other, more analytical tracts are meant to 'add the fitting support of arguments to the fundamentals of faith, which stand quite firm on their own' (Tr. 1.6 [*ibid.*, p. 30.30-33]), to show the *credulitas fidei mei* (Tr. 5.8 [*ibid.*, p. 128.94 f.]). For Boethius' understanding of the relationship of faith and

remain the ultimate arbiter of right faith and even of the right choice of terms; the dialectician's task, he implies in Tract 5.4, is to analyze and clarify systematically the Church's language, but not to set the rules for its use.<sup>75</sup> Theology, for him as for his medieval Latin heirs, is very clearly bound by the theologian's ecclesiastical responsibilities.

It is less easy, perhaps, to show the direct influence of particular works of contemporary Greek theology on the doctrinal content of Boethius' tracts. For one thing, his tracts are certainly earlier than most of the examples of sixth-century Greek school-theology that survive, so that the field of possible evidence for borrowing is scanty. The earliest surviving examples of what I have been calling Greek 'scholastic' theology from Boethius' generation are the documents of the controversy between Nephalius and Severus, from the middle of the first decade of the century (perhaps five to seven years before Boethius composed Tract 5). In fact, the production of this kind of theological literature did not move into high gear in the Greek-speaking world until the bitter Christological debates of the 530s. Besides, Boethius' tracts were written in a different ecclesiastical and political context from their Greek counterparts, against the background of a different theological tradition; necessarily, then, they emphasize different points. In any case, it seems to me thoroughly wrongheaded to assume, as some scholars have tended to do,<sup>76</sup> that Boethius is simply a translator and popularizer of Greek learning in the West, and to miss the originality and depth of his own contribution to the world of undeniably Hellenic thought in which he worked. Nevertheless, the fact that he does share in the Greek theological culture of his day, as well as the other aspects of its intellectual life, is underscored by a number of striking echoes and anticipations of Eastern themes and theories in these tracts, especially in Tract 5, the *Contra Eutychem*.

Viktor Schurr demonstrated amply, in 1935,<sup>77</sup> that the occasion for this Christological treatise was probably the arrival in Rome of the famous 'letter of the Eastern bishops' (*Epistula Orientalium*) to Pope Symmachus in 512.<sup>78</sup> This

reason, see also Tr. 2 (*ibid.*, p. 36.68-71) and Tr. 5.7 (*ibid.*, pp. 114.1-116.3, 120.91-122.93). Surely Courcelle is exaggerating when he writes '(Boèce) a surtout voulu garder séparés dans ses œuvres le domaine de la raison et le domaine de la foi' (*Les lettres grecques*, p. 303). Nor can I agree with Chadwick's judgment that Tract 4 shows 'a conscious design to bring out in sharp relief the disjunction rather than the harmony of faith and reason' (*Boethius*, p. 180). Boethius is simply well aware of the normative value of Church teaching for the articulated *intellectus fidei*.

<sup>75</sup> Stewart-Rand-Tester, p. 92.3 ff. See also his reference to the normative character of the *ecclesiasticus loquendi usus* at the end of chapter 3 of the same work (*ibid.*, p. 90.95 ff.).

<sup>76</sup> e.g., J. Bidez, 'Boèce et Porphyre', *Revue belge de philologie et de l'histoire* 2 (1923) 189-201, and especially Courcelle, *Les lettres grecques*, pp. 257-312.

<sup>77</sup> *Die Trinitätslehre des Boethius*, pp. 108-27.

<sup>78</sup> This letter can be found in Thiel, *Epist. pont.*, pp. 709-17.

letter was essentially a plea for recognition and support by a group of Chalcedonian bishops from the lower Danube region, who were under mounting pressure from the Emperor Anastasius I to join the growing monophysite consensus. It ended with a profession of faith<sup>79</sup> that attempted to put the kernel of Chalcedonian Christology in subtly amplified terms, terms that would perhaps be less provocative to the monophysite mind than the pure Chalcedonian language was. Notably, it insisted that the one Christ exists 'both from (*ex*) and in two natures'.<sup>80</sup> Since the time of Apollinarius of Laodicea, defenders of the unitive, Logos-centered Christology now known as the 'Alexandrian' tradition had been willing to affirm that the one Incarnate Word takes his being 'from two natures', a human and a divine, but they had steadfastly attacked the contention of 'Antiochene' theologians, and eventually of Chalcedon, that he continues to exist 'in' the two distinct natures after the Incarnation. This phrase of the Eastern bishops implicitly combining the Christologies of Alexandria and Antioch, Cyril and Pope Leo by the simple balance of two prepositions had been used rather casually, in almost the same form, by Pope Gelasius in his Christological treatise some twenty years earlier.<sup>81</sup> It had recently appeared, however, in a more polemical context in the Greek East,<sup>82</sup> and its earlier history was apparently forgotten in Rome. In its linguistic precision and in its reconciling purpose, it was typical of the sixth-century 'Neo-Chalcedonian' synthesis then being born.

Pope Symmachus' reaction, like that of his successor Hormisdas, was thoroughly uncompromising when it came to any change in the formulation of

<sup>79</sup> sec. 10 (*ibid.*, pp. 715 ff.).

<sup>80</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 715.25-28, 715.30-716.12.

<sup>81</sup> '...haec eadem, ex quibus vel in quibus unus atque idem, et Deus homo est et homo Deus est, confusa non sint, deficientia non sint...' (*De duabus naturis* [*ibid.*, p. 540.18 ff.; Schwartz, *Publ. Samml.*, p. 93.18 f.]). Already in the 450s, Epiphanius of Perge and the Pamphylian bishops, in an official evaluation of the Chalcedonian decree, could calmly equate the Council's two-nature Christological language with the Apollinarian formula 'from two natures' and say: 'nihil enim differt sive duarum naturarum unitas inconfusa dicatur sive ex duabus eodem modo referatur...' (*Codex Encyclius* 31 [ACO 2/5.59, ll. 20 ff.]).

<sup>82</sup> It is first found explicitly formulated in an anti-monophysite source that is probably an exact contemporary of the *Epistula Orientalium*: one of the forged 'letters to Peter the Fuller', which seem to have been produced by anti-monophysite monks during the *Trisagion* controversy of 511-512 (Schwartz, *Publ. Samml.*, p. 135.26). In the early 520s, the formula became a favorite phrase of John Maxentius, one of the early apostles of Neochalcedonian Christology; see his *Responsio contra Acephalos* (ACO 4.12.29 ff.); *Dialogus contra Nestorianos II* (*ibid.*, p. 43.15 f.); *Responsio adversus Hormisdam episcopum* (*ibid.*, p. 56.18 f.). Cf. Schurr, *Die Trinitätslehre des Boethius*, p. 125 n. 71. It was accepted unquestioningly as the formulation of orthodox faith by Ferrandus of Carthage, a decade or so later (*Ep.* 5.9 [PL 67.919A13-B1] and 5.11 [*ibid.* 921c15-D2]), and by Gregory the Great at the end of the century (*XL homiliarum in evangelia libri duo* 38.3 [PL 76.1283B7 ff.]). Canons 7-9 of the Council of 553 developed the implications of these two prepositions for orthodox Christology at some length, implicitly canonizing them both.

the Church's faith in Christ.<sup>83</sup> As the Roman presbyter Trifolius was to put it a decade or so later, 'The apostolic see of Rome has never permitted a single syllable or a single dot to be added to or subtracted from the faith of the Synod of Chalcedon. Beware lest anyone deceive you with empty philosophical fallacies!'<sup>84</sup> Boethius, by his own admission, was angered by the papal curia's manifest lack of interest in the theological subtleties of the Eastern letter in the autumn of 512. His purpose in writing Tract 5 for his friend, the deacon John, was to explore the implications of this rephrasing of the doctrine of Chalcedon, this conception of Christ as being both 'from' and 'in two natures', and to test its soundness against the opposed 'extremes' of Eutychianism and Nestorianism.<sup>85</sup>

The Christological picture which emerges is, in the end, very much within the Latin tradition of Pope Leo and Pope Gelasius: the balanced, symmetrical Christ, who is 'idem deus atque homo'.<sup>86</sup> In one place,<sup>87</sup> it is true, Boethius allows the legitimacy of theopaschite Christological language within certain defined limits (one of the points the Neo-Chalcedonians were to insist on more and more in the next four decades); more important, the conclusion of his investigation is that the *ex et in* formula of the Eastern bishops' letter is perfectly acceptable,<sup>88</sup> whatever the Papal curia might think. Yet he can also refer to Jesus in the same passage by the Antiochene phrase 'the man assumed by God',<sup>89</sup> and describe the Incarnation as a kind of 'double assumption': God 'taking on' a human being and a human being 'taking on' God.<sup>90</sup> Boethius

<sup>83</sup> Symmachus' response to the Eastern bishops' concern, if not perhaps to their actual letter, is in Thiel, *Epist. pont.*, pp. 717-22 (= *Collectio Avellana* 104, ed. O. Günther [CSEL 35; Vienna, 1898], pp. 487-93); see especially section 3 (Thiel, pp. 719 f.) and *Coll. Avell.* 7 f. (Günther, pp. 489.20-490.9). Hormisdas' similar reaction, almost a decade later, to those urging him to recognize the orthodoxy of theopaschite Christological statements can be read in his letter to the Emperor Justin of 25 March 521: 'Neque enim possibile est, ut sit diversitas praedicationis, ubi una est forma veritatis; nec ab re iudicabitur alienum, si cum his, cum quibus convenimus fide, congruamus et dogmate. Revolvantur piis mansuetudinis vestrae auribus decreta synodica et beati papae Leonis convenientia sacrae fidei constituta: eadem invenietis in illis, quae recensetis in nostris. Quid ergo est post illum fontem fidelium statutorum quod amplius, si tamen fidei terminos servat, quamlibet curiosus scrutator inquirat?' (*Epistola Hormisdas...ad Justinum* 137.2 [Thiel, p. 960.17-24]; *Coll. Avell.* 236.5 f. [Günther, p. 718.7-15]).

<sup>84</sup> *Epistula ad Faustum Senatorem* (519/520): Schwartz, *Publ. Samml.*, pp. 116.34-117.2. Trifolius assures Faustus that he has consulted the Scythian monks, at the senator's request, to determine if their insistence that 'one of the Holy Trinity' has been crucified is in accord with the teaching of the Fathers. His conclusion is simple: 'ista doctrina de fonte Arrii prodivit' (*ibid.*, p. 115.17).

<sup>85</sup> Tract 5.1 (Stewart-Rand-Tester, pp. 74.31-76.58).

<sup>86</sup> *ibid.* 7 (Stewart-Rand-Tester, p. 120.71).

<sup>87</sup> *ibid.* (Stewart-Rand-Tester, p. 118.54 ff.).

<sup>88</sup> *ibid.* (Stewart-Rand-Tester, p. 116.27 f.).

<sup>89</sup> *ibid.* (Stewart-Rand-Tester, p. 120.64 f.).

<sup>90</sup> *ibid.* (Stewart-Rand-Tester, p. 120.68-72).

seems, in fact, like Augustine, to stand outside the Christological factionalism of the Greek Church of his day as far as his 'formula' is concerned.

Yet if one knows the Eastern controversial writings of the early sixth century, much of his analysis sounds strikingly familiar. So he begins, like practically all sixth-century Greek writers on Christology, with a long and careful definition of the terms at issue: *ousia* or *essentia*, *ousiosis* or *subsistentia*, *hypostasis* or *substantia*, and *prosopon* or *persona*.<sup>91</sup> Like John of Caesarea,<sup>92</sup> Leontius of Byzantium,<sup>93</sup> and most other sixth-century Orthodox writers in the East, he sees the distinction between nature and person, in this tract, in the same way the Cappadocians had defined it for the Trinitarian debates of the fourth century: as essentially a logical or predicamental question, a matter of the relationship of a commonly shared universal to a particular individual.<sup>94</sup> Like practically all his Eastern contemporaries, too, Boethius in Tract 5 accords metaphysical primacy (in good Aristotelian fashion) to the concrete individual, denying that natures or essences have substance or are knowable except insofar as they are concretized or 'hypostatized' in particular beings.<sup>95</sup> In considering the ways different realities can be unified and

<sup>91</sup> See above, n. 68.

<sup>92</sup> e.g., *Apologia concilii chalcedonensis*, Greek frag. 5 (ed. Richard [CCG 1.56.238-57.247]).

<sup>93</sup> e.g., *Contra Nest. et Eut.*, introduction to florilegium (PG 86.1309A11-B6); *Epaporemata* (= *Trig. cap.*) 11 (ibid. 1904C1-7). Leontius insists that these key terms must be defined in the same way in both Trinitarian theology and Christology (*Epilysis* [ibid. 1921D11-1924A11]), and traces both Trinitarian and Christological heresies back to similar inaccuracies in the use of these terms (*Contra Nest. et Eut.* [ibid. 1276B12-C14]).

<sup>94</sup> Classical sources for this Cappadocian approach to person and nature are: Basil, *Ep.* 214.4 (ed. Y. Courtonne, *Saint Basil. Lettres*, 3 vols. [Paris, 1957-66], 2.205.6-206.22); pseudo-Basil, *Ep.* 38 (actually Gregory of Nyssa, *Ep. ad Petrum fratrem*, ed. Courtonne, 1.81-92); Gregory Nazianzen, *Ep.* 101, *ad Cledonium* 1 (ed. P. Gallay, *Grégoire de Nazianze. Lettres théologiques* [SC 208; Paris, 1974], pp. 44.6-46.2); Gregory of Nyssa, *Ad Graecos, ex communibus notionibus* (ed. F. Müller, *Gregorii Nysseni Opera*, vol. 3.1: *Opera dogmatica minora* [Leiden, 1958], pp. 19-33). Except for the last-mentioned work, these texts are often cited in Greek Christological florilegia from the sixth century on. Even John Philoponus, despite his monophysite Christology and his tritheistic conception of the Trinity, echoes these definitions in his *Diattetes* 7 (see above, n. 47). Boethius' own understanding of the concepts 'person' and 'nature' shows a fairly wide range of variation, depending on the context of his inquiry; see M. Nédoncelle, 'Les variations de Boèce sur la Personne', *Revue des sciences religieuses* 29 (1955) 201-38 and M. Elsässer, *Das Person-Verständnis des Boethius* (Münster, 1973). On Boethius' famous definition of 'person' in Tr. 5, see Nédoncelle, pp. 214-23.

<sup>95</sup> See especially sec. 3 (Stewart-Rand-Tester, p. 84.2 f.): '... substantiaque omnis natura est nec in uniuersalibus sed in indiuiduis constat'; ibid., pp. 86.33-88.36: 'essentiae in uniuersalibus quidem esse possunt, in solis uero indiuiduis et particularibus substant. Intellectus enim uniuersalium rerum ex particularibus sumptus est.' In the second version of his commentary on the *Eisagoge* 1.11 (ed. G. Schepss and S. Brandt [CSEL 48; Vienna-Leipzig, 1906], pp. 166.6-167.20), Boethius explains the Aristotelian doctrine of universals at some length, without explicitly committing himself to it. Both John of Caesarea and Leontius of Byzantium refer to the phrase, οὐκ ἔστι φύσις (οὐσία) ἀνυπόστατος (ἀπρόσωπος) — 'There is no such thing as a nature

distinguished in a single individual, he analyzes the concept of substantial change<sup>96</sup> and the different kinds of synthesis or mixture one finds in nature;<sup>97</sup> he stresses, too, the difference between distinction in theory, which is an act of the mind, and real, physical separation.<sup>98</sup> All of this has its roots in contemporary metaphysics and natural science and its analogies in the Trinitarian theology of the Cappadocians, but it is standard procedure in sixth-century Greek debates on Christology.<sup>99</sup>

Into this dense tissue of scientific and logical analysis Boethius also weaves a few traditional Christian threads that are of decisive importance to his argument. So he bases his rejection of the notion that Jesus' flesh may not have been the same as ours (one possible version of the monophysite position), as well as his rejection of the Nestorian hypothesis that the Logos was only extrinsically one with the man Jesus, on the fundamental soteriological axiom

(essence) that is not hypostatized (individuated) – as an axiom common to all parties in contemporary debate (John of Caesarea, *Apol. conc. chalc.*, Greek frags. 4.1 [Richard, p. 51.83] and 4.3 [Richard, p. 54.163]; Leontius of Byzantium, *Contra Nest. et Eut.* [PG 86.1276D6, 1277B6, D11 ff.]). John Philoponus echoes this assumption: *Diail.* 7 (Greek frag. in PG 94.752A13-B15, 753A2-9); *Tractatus ad Sergium* 2 (Šanda, *Opuscula*, pp. 84.6-11 [text], 129.4-10 [trans.]); *Ep. ad Justinianum* 5 (Šanda, *Opuscula*, p. 127.8 ff., 15-18 [text]; p. 177.11-17 [trans.]). But John uses the axiom to argue to his own conception of the concrete or 'individual' nature, as a metaphysical entity halfway between abstract reality and the concrete individual. Lutz-Bachmann, "Natur" und "Person", 58 ff., argues that Boethius' understanding of hypostasis is a hybrid of the Aristotelian and Neoplatonist conceptions of substance. It was characteristic of later Alexandrian Neoplatonism, however, to try to harmonize Aristotle and Plato, as Boethius himself hoped to do (*Un ... De interpretatione*, ed. secunda 2, praefatio [PL 64.433D5-11]); cf. R. T. Wallis, *Neoplatonism* (London, 1972), pp. 24 f. and 143 f.

<sup>96</sup> sec. 6 (Stewart-Rand-Tester, pp. 108.18-112.82).

<sup>97</sup> *ibid.* (Stewart-Rand-Tester, p. 114.87-99).

<sup>98</sup> sec. 7 (Stewart-Rand-Tester, p. 118.59 ff.).

<sup>99</sup> On substantial change, see again John of Caesarea, *Adv. Aphthartodocetas* 1.7 (Richard, p. 70.46 ff.) and 3.1 (Richard, p. 76.210 ff.); Leontius of Byzantium, *Contra Nest. et Eut.* (PG 86.1284A1-8, 1284C10-1285A14 [on the soul's need for a 'capacity' to be affected and undergo change]); Leontius of Jerusalem, *Adv. Nest.* 1.15 (PG 86.1460A9-D4). On mixture, see especially Leontius of Byzantium, *Contra Nest. et Eut.* (PG 86.1304A8-1305A15) and *Epil.* (PG 86.1925C7-D2); John Philoponus, *Diail.* 37 (Šanda, *Opuscula*, pp. 33.20-35.18 [text]; pp. 71.16-73.25 [trans.]). On distinction in theory vs. disjunction in fact, see Leontius of Byzantium, *Epil.* (PG 86.1932A7-1933B8); Leontius of Jerusalem, *Aporiai* (= *Contra Monoph.*) 45 (PG 86.1796C10-D10); John Philoponus, *Tractatus de differentia* 5 f. (Šanda, *Opuscula*, pp. 98.18-100.1 [text]; pp. 144.9-146.22 [trans.]); Anastasius I of Antioch, *Jerusalem Dialogue* (Uthemann [cited above, n. 44], pp. 90.365-91.384, 91.398-404). Theories of substantial mixture and change generally accepted in sixth-century school philosophy were of Stoic rather than Aristotelian origin. For an account of these Stoic theories, see S. Sambursky, *Physics of the Stoics* (London, 1959), pp. 11-17; for the earlier use of Stoic conceptions of mixture to explain the relation of body and soul, and of the humanity and divinity of Christ, see E. Fortin, 'Saint Augustin et la doctrine néoplatonicienne de l'âme (Ep. 137.11)' in *Augustinus magister. Congrès international augustiniien. Paris, 21-24 septembre 1954*, vol. 3: *Actes* (Paris, 1955), pp. 371-80 and 'The *Definitio Fidei* of Chalcedon and Its Philosophical Sources', *Studia patristica* 5 (1962) 489-98.

that had guided orthodox Greek Christology in its struggle towards self-definition since Irenaeus: if Jesus is the sole and effective bringer of salvation to the human race, he must both truly be God and have fully shared in our human nature, have possessed a humanity like ours.<sup>100</sup> This is a thoroughly mainstream reading of the basic paradox of Christian faith, and Boethius, like his Greek theological contemporaries, goes to some length to assert the centrality, the tested legitimacy of his own position within this tradition. In two passages of Tract 5, in fact, he asserts that while the Christological heresies of Nestorius and Eutyches represent two extreme (and opposite) forms of the same fundamental conceptual error (confusing nature with person), orthodoxy, like all *virtus*, 'holds to the middle path'.<sup>101</sup> This notion of orthodoxy as a mean, a *medietas*, with all its Aristotelian overtones, is explicitly stressed in the letter of the Oriental bishops which apparently occasioned Boethius' work.<sup>102</sup> It resembles, it is true, an image Augustine had used to describe orthodox faith in the Trinity.<sup>103</sup> But it is also a point made in a Christological context by John of Caesarea,<sup>104</sup> an exact contemporary of Boethius, and it could serve as a programmatic description of what the new Neo-Chalcedonian synthesis sought to be. It will be suggested again by the more strictly diphyssite Leontius of Byzantium<sup>105</sup> a quarter of a century later.

Boethius' other theological essays, as I have said, give us fewer direct reminiscences of the terms and themes of Eastern debates. Tracts 1 and 2, which discuss the subtle problems of unity and plurality in the Trinity, and Tract 3, on the question of substantial and participated goodness, all deal, at face value, less with issues of internal Christian controversy than with issues defining the borderline between Christianity and Neoplatonism. True, Boethius' discussion of the relationship of number and objective plurality, in

<sup>100</sup> See sec. 4 (Stewart-Rand-Tester, pp. 98.109-100.125) and sec. 5 (*ibid.*, p. 106.85-102).

<sup>101</sup> sec. 1 (Stewart-Rand-Tester, p. 76.54-58: 'Christianae medietatem fidei temperabo'); sec. 7 (*ibid.*, p. 120.74-79: 'Mediaque est haec inter duas haereses uia sicut uirtutes quoque medium tenent. Omnis enim uirtus in medio rerum decore locata consistit').

<sup>102</sup> *Ep. Orient.* 8 (Thiel, *Epist. pont.*, p. 714.32 ff.): 'Et inter duas diabolici vias erroris, Eutychetis atque Nestorii, tertiam immo mediam nobis ostendas expressius veri rectique dogmatis viam.'

<sup>103</sup> 'diuersi nobis aduersantur heretici, qui non ex una parte, sed in contraria conantes, a uia ueritatis exorbitant... in medio est uia quam reliquistis' (*Tr. in Joh.* 71.2.3 ff., 1 f. [CCL 36; Turnhout, 1954], p. 505). Cf. Augustine's image of Trinitarian orthodoxy as sailing between the Scylla of Arianism and the Charybdis of Sabellianism (*ibid.* 36.9.12-25 [CCL 36.329]).

<sup>104</sup> *Apol. conc. chalc.*, Greek frag. 4.1 (Richard, pp. 52.113-53.116).

<sup>105</sup> Leontius, apparently using a term already familiar to his contemporaries, calls Eutyches and Nestorius 'Εναντιοδοκῆται', 'opposite kinds of docetist' (*Contra Nest. et Eut.*, introduction [PG 86.1273c7-1276a10]) and insists that 'the single argument of truth' (*ibid.* 1276b7) can defeat both Christological extremes.

Tract 1.3,<sup>106</sup> reflects a concern frequently expressed by sixth-century Greek theologians because of its relevance to the question of the natures and hypostases in Christ and the Trinity, and has close parallels in the works of Leontius of Byzantium, Leontius of Jerusalem and John Philoponus.<sup>107</sup> Nonetheless, Boethius' debt in all three of these tracts, linguistically and doctrinally, is clearly more to Augustine than to any Greek Christian writer.<sup>108</sup> In trying to defend and expound the Augustinian position with the tools of Aristotelian logical analysis, he seems to offer a peculiarly Western, Latin parallel to the essentially apologetic enterprises of Aeneas of Gaza, Zachary of Mytilene or John Philoponus. Unlike the Christological essay we have been considering, the object of Tracts 1-3 is less to define the terms of a part of the Christian tradition still in the process of formation than to explain accepted Christian doctrine in terms that an educated Hellenistic mind would find illuminating.

Even in these three tracts, however, there does seem to be a historical connection with Eastern issues. Viktor Schurr has made a strong case that the occasion for their composition was the debates in Rome over the implications of the theopaschite slogan, 'one of the Holy Trinity suffered in the flesh', for which the famous delegation of earnestly Neo-Chalcedonian 'Scythian monks' sought papal approval in 519 and 520.<sup>109</sup> Here again, if Schurr is right, Boethius' attitude is one of openness to new Greek ideas and of informed, attentive interest. If his own Trinitarian theology, for all its new Aristotelian

<sup>106</sup> Stewart-Rand-Tester, pp. 12.3-14.28.

<sup>107</sup> Leontius of Byzantium, *Epil.* (PG 86.1917D10-1921B4); Leontius of Jerusalem, *Aporiai* (= *Contra Monoph.*) 22 (PG 86.1784A7-c14); John Philoponus, *Tract. de diff.* 7 f. (Šanda, *Opuscula*, pp. 100.24-101.25 [text]; pp. 146.23-147.29 [trans.]).

<sup>108</sup> Boethius suggests this himself in the introduction to Tract 1 (Stewart-Rand-Tester, p. 4.31 ff.), and Tract 2 is clearly dependent on Augustine's argumentation in *De Trinitate* 5-7 (cf. Schurr, *Die Trinitätslehre des Boethius*, p. 210; *ibid.*, p. 224: 'Tr. II ist inhaltlich fast durchweg von St. Augustin übernommen'). Schurr never published, unfortunately, the second volume of his study of Boethius, in which he planned to study Boethius' theological relationship to Augustine in detail. R. Carton's wordy article, 'Le christianisme et l'augustinisme de Boèce', *Revue de philosophie* N.S. 1 (1930) 573-659, deals almost exclusively with the *Consolatio*; cf., however, his remarks on the theological tracts (631-34). For a recent consideration of the tension between Boethius' dialectic approach and the Latin Augustinian tradition, see C. Leonardi, 'La controversia trinitaria nell'epoca di Boezio' in *Atti del Congresso ... (Pavia)*, pp. 109-22.

<sup>109</sup> Schurr, *ibid.*, pp. 207-27 (occasion of Tracts 1-3); on the identity of these monks and their activity in Rome, cf. *ibid.*, pp. 141 ff., 155-63. For further discussion of the Scythian delegation and of the evidence for their link with Boethius, see W. C. Bark, 'John Maxentius and the Collectio Palatina', *Harvard Theological Review* 36 (1943) 93-107 and 'Theodoric vs. Boethius' (see above, n. 10), 417-20. Severus of Antioch complains in a letter of the hesitation of the 'Romans' (i.e., the Byzantine Greeks) to accept the theopaschite formula, 'lest we subject the Holy Trinity to numeration' (*Ep.* 22, ed. E. W. Brooks [PO 12.2; Paris, 1919], p. 215). Despite this initial reluctance, the formula became, by mid-century, another hallmark of Neo-Chalcedonian orthodoxy; see Leontius of Jerusalem, *Adv. Nest.* 7 (PG 86.1757D1-1767B9) and Canon 10 of the Council of 553 (ACO 4/1.242, II. 30 f.).



apparatus, is still at heart thoroughly Latin, thoroughly in the school of Augustine, a major point of the essays seems to be to show the compatibility of the growing Eastern concern to stress the unity of subject and the divine identity of Christ, expressed now in the Scythian formula, with the more familiar Augustinian tradition.

### III

#### QUESTIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

The point I have been making throughout this article – the closeness of Boethius' theological tracts, in method, style and content, to contemporary Greek 'scholastic' theology – leaves some central riddles still unsolved. What, for instance, was the 'home' of this new style of theological writing in the East? Where would Boethius or his informants have made its acquaintance? In what kind of 'school' was it originally done? Were there lecture halls, similar to that of Ammonius, where Christians carried on their theological debates and taught others how to take this dialectical approach to revelation and tradition?

From Junillus Africanus we know of a school of Christian doctrine at Nisibis in Eastern Syria in the mid-sixth century, 'where the divine law is taught in an orderly and regular way by public teachers, just as grammar and rhetoric are taught among us in the secular schools.'<sup>110</sup> We know, too, of Cassiodorus' frustrated hope to found something like this in Rome.<sup>111</sup> But aside from one theological treatise written in the form of a set of academic lectures, from the last two decades of the sixth century and probably from Palestine (the so-called *De sectis*),<sup>112</sup> there is simply no evidence that Christian schools of theology existed in the Greek-speaking world between the end of the Alexandrian catechetical school in the late fourth century and the beginning of the patriarchal academy in Constantinople in the eleventh.<sup>113</sup> Theology was, apparently, through all these centuries, a private study, pursued by Christians

<sup>110</sup> *Instituta regularia divinae legis*, prologue (PL 68.15c2-5).

<sup>111</sup> *Institutiones*, praef. 1 (ed. R. A. B. Mynors [Oxford, 1937], p. 3.2-13).

<sup>112</sup> PG 86.1193-1268. A new edition of this important work, by Maryse Waegeman, is to appear soon in the CCG. For a discussion of its date, author and contents, see M. Richard, 'Le traité "De Sectis" et Léonce de Byzance', *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 35 (1939) 695-723 (= *Opera minora* 2, no. 55).

<sup>113</sup> This position has been argued convincingly by H.-G. Beck, 'Bildung und Theologie im frühmittelalterlichen Byzanz', *Polychronion. Festschrift F. Dölger zum 75. Geburtstag* (Heidelberg, 1966), pp. 69-81 and G. Podskalsky, *Theologie und Philosophie in Byzanz* (Munich, 1977), pp. 53-58. For a broader discussion of institutionalized education in Constantinople, see P. Speck, *Die kaiserliche Universität in Konstantinopel* (Munich, 1974).

whose institutional education had been purely secular, purely traditional.<sup>114</sup> So when the young Severus of Antioch, a law student at the famous school of Berytus who had previously studied rhetoric and dialectic in the schools of Alexandria, was converted, in the 490s, to a deeper commitment to Christianity, he had to pursue his new theological interest at home on Sundays with his friend Paralius, voraciously reading the Scriptures and the main works of the Cappadocian Fathers, John Chrysostom and Cyril of Alexandria.<sup>115</sup> He and the other devout young men of his circle received a great deal of encouragement and guidance from their spiritual directors in the practical, ascetical side of the 'Christian philosophy', but they seem to have been expected to climb to the higher realms of *theoria* on their own.<sup>116</sup>

How, then, and where did what we have been calling Greek 'scholastic' theology come to be written? What was the forum for the controversies and disputations which its literary *genera* seem to enshrine? A number of sixth-century sources refer to heated theological debates in the *stoa basilike* at Constantinople, a colonnade near the public schools of grammar and rhetoric, where books were also sold.<sup>117</sup> The historian Agathias, narrating the events of the 550s, gives a particularly colorful picture of these debates in his account of the career of Ouranios, a Syrian physician who eventually passed himself off at the Persian court as a philosopher. Ouranios, he says,

knew nothing precise about Aristotle's theories, but prided himself on knowing a great deal, and swaggered about the fact that he was quarrelsome in public gatherings. He often went to the square before the *stoa basilike* and sat among the bookstalls, wrangling and talking in a self-important way with those who gather there to twist around worn-out phrases about the Almighty, talking about what God's 'nature' and 'essence' are, and about 'passibility' and 'distinctness' and other things of that sort. Most of them have never even been to grammar school, in my opinion, nor have they taken on the discipline of an upright life. Still, they think it

<sup>114</sup> Podskalsky, *ibid.*, pp. 57 f.; cf. H.-I. Marrou, *Histoire de l'éducation dans l'antiquité*, 7th edition (Paris, 1970), pp. 468 ff.

<sup>115</sup> Zachary of Mytilene, *Life of Severus* (Kugener, pp. 52 ff.).

<sup>116</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 55 ff. (theory and practice of 'philosophy') and 99 (Severus allows a younger monk, already trained in practical asceticism, to begin reading theology on his own). When Severus was being instructed for baptism by a local priest, he was told to read the catechetical works of Cyril of Jerusalem, Gregory of Nyssa and John Chrysostom (*ibid.*, pp. 80 f.), but the narrator does not imply that he received much formal instruction from his pastor even then.

<sup>117</sup> Cyril of Skythopolis (*Vita Sabae* 72, ed. E. Schwartz, *Kyrillos von Skythopolis* [Texte und Untersuchungen 49.2; Leipzig, 1939], pp. 176.7 ff.) tells of debates in the *stoa basilike* between 'Nestorian' monks from Palestine and 'schismatics' (monophysites), in Constantinople in 531. For the availability there of controversial books on theology, see Zachary of Mytilene, *Life of Severus* (Kugener, p. 7 f.). For a history and description of the *stoa basilike*, Constantinople's academic quarter, and a thorough discussion of the educational activities that went on there, see Speck, *Die kaiserliche Universität*, pp. 92-107.

an easy and effortless thing to 'cross the threshold', as we say, and get a grasp on theology – a subject really sublime and inaccessible, greater than human powers and causing us to wonder at our own ignorance! In any case, they usually come together late in the afternoon, after drinking, probably, and other kinds of intemperate behavior, and then, taking whatever pretext they find, they start on those subjects I have mentioned and on the investigation of divine things. Always quibbling about the same points, they never let themselves be convinced by each other, nor ever think better of their original opinions, whatever those happened to be. The same people always hold the same opinions, come what may; and at the end of the argument they blame each other for contentiousness and openly abuse each other, shouting in unseemly tones like gamblers fighting over their dice. So the session ends and they go away reluctantly, having neither benefited anyone else nor profited themselves, and having become enemies rather than friends.<sup>118</sup>

However jaundiced a witness Agathias may be, this disdainful portrait suggests a lively, if not a formally institutionalized setting for the style of theological argument we have been considering. So Leontius of Byzantium, who seems to have spent several years in the capital near to the time about which Agathias is writing,<sup>119</sup> explains at the start of his collected works that they are a synthesis of the 'public disputations (τάς εἰς τὸ κοινὸν διαλέξεις) which we have frequently held', consisting of 'written versions of the theses and solutions (ἐπαπορήσεων καὶ λύσεων) we have many times proposed orally'.<sup>120</sup> Cosmas Indicopleustes, too, tells of public experiments with light and shadow that he and his associates conducted in Alexandria, probably in the 540s, to convince Christian Aristotelians that the universe is not a sphere.<sup>121</sup> And at the end of the century, as we have already mentioned, the *De sectis* magisterially sketches out the history and content of orthodox faith in ten lectures or *praxeis*, under the rubric of being 'notes (σχόλια) taken by Leontius, a Byzantine lawyer, from the oral presentations of the devout Abba Theodore',<sup>122</sup> a formula similar

<sup>118</sup> Agathias, *History* 2.29.1-5 (ed. R. Keydell, *Agathiae Myrianei Historiarum libri quinque* [Berlin, 1967], p. 78.8-29). Note especially that knowledge of Aristotle is Agathias' first criterion for philosophical competence, and that the terms about which his self-made theologians argue are precisely the terms of sixth-century Christological controversy! For a good, colloquial translation of this passage, cf. *Agathias. The Histories*, trans. J. D. Frendo (Berlin, 1975), p. 63.

<sup>119</sup> If we can identify Leontius the theologian with the 'Origenist' monk Leontius of Byzantium in Cyril of Skythopolis' *Vita Sabae*, we can assume he was in the capital from 531 until about 537 and again in the early 540s; see *Vita Sabae* 72 (Schwartz, *Kyrillos*, p. 176.11-20), 84 (p. 190.3-29), 85 (p. 191.20-25) and 86 (p. 192.12-22). For the arguments in favor of this identification and for a reconstructed chronology of Leontius' life, see my dissertation, *Leontius of Byzantium: A Critical Edition of His Works, with Prolegomena* (Oxford, 1978), pp. i-xxv; also 'The Origenism of Leontius of Byzantium', *Journal of Theological Studies* N.S. 27 (1976) 333 f.

<sup>120</sup> PG 86.1268B2-5.

<sup>121</sup> *Top. christ.* 6.8-10 (SC 197.21 ff.).

<sup>122</sup> PG 86.1193. That the Leontius who wrote down the *De sectis* cannot be the theologian Leontius of Byzantium was established by Richard, 'Le traité "De Sectis"' (see above, n. 112).

to that introducing our written texts of the Alexandrian philosophical commentaries, which are all basically classroom notes.<sup>123</sup> If there were no formally established, publicly funded Christian schools of theology in the sixth-century Greek East (and, as I have said, there is no evidence that there were), still there seems to have been ample opportunity for learned Christians, and even not-so-learned ones, to dispute informally about theological issues, according to the model of the contemporary schools of philosophy.

A second riddle is: how much did Boethius actually read of the specifically theological works produced in the Greek-speaking East during his own lifetime? How much did he depend on Greek sources or models in producing his five theological tracts? As I have mentioned, there is no textual evidence that he knew Eastern theological sources directly, apart from the so-called *Epistula Orientalium*, and chronological considerations rule out the possibility that he could have drawn on any but a handful of the Greek 'scholastic' theological works from the sixth century that have survived. The striking similarities of method and even of content between his tracts (especially Tract 5) and contemporary Greek works on similar subjects *could* simply depend on the common intellectual formation of their authors. Boethius and his Greek counterparts had all been brought up on the Alexandrian syllabus; they had learned their Porphyry, their Proclus, and probably their Ammonius, well. In the absence of theological institutions to help in the production and circulation of works like these, the best explanation of their similarities *may* simply be that this is the kind of theology an orthodox Christian of Aristotelian training would naturally write, when confronting the problems that exercised the post-Chalcedonian Church. But when one considers the similarities of content and style, one is tempted to suppose Boethius may have had firsthand accounts of Greek theological disputations from friends or correspondents who had visited the East. In any case, some mystery remains.

Finally, what was the home, the audience for Boethius' own theological works? Their dedications and contemporary letters suggest it was a small, highly educated group of his aristocratic friends, people like his father-in-law Symmachus, John the Deacon, the ex-consul Albinus,<sup>124</sup> the ambitious bishop

<sup>123</sup> See M. Richard, 'Ἀπὸ φωνῆς', *Byzantion* 20 (1950) 191-222; on the *De sectis*, see 198-202.

<sup>124</sup> (Faustus?) Albinus Junior had been consul in 493; see PLRE 2.51 f. Boethius' downfall began with his intervention to defend Albinus at court, according to his account in *Cons.* 1, pr. 4 (Bieler, p. 8.43 f.). Albinus had asked Pope Hormisdas, in a letter written from 'some distance' (Constantinople?) in 519, if he thought 'those who condemned Chalcedon orally' should be treated as harshly by Church authorities as 'those who did it in writing' (*Ep. Horm.* 104 [Thiel, *Epist. pont.*, pp. 904.31-905.2] and *Coll. Avell.* 173 [Günther, p. 629.15-18]). This obscure question suggests Albinus may have been trying to lead the Papal court towards a more nuanced attitude with regard to the Neo-Chalcedonians.

Ennodius,<sup>125</sup> Renatus (who commissioned copies of Boethius' dialectical works and of Priscian's *Ars grammatica*)<sup>126</sup> and Renatus' friends Petronius<sup>127</sup> and Senarius.<sup>128</sup> All these men, with the possible exception of John, were members of old senatorial families; all had connections in Constantinople and an apparent interest in Greek intellectual issues; and all were deeply involved in Western efforts to end the schism with the Eastern Church. Were they, as a group, also linked by pro-Greek, or at least pro-imperial political sympathies? Was their interest in the issues of Greek theology part of a larger concern to bridge the ecclesiastical and cultural chasm between East and West, which seems to have grown wider during the years of Theoderic's Western rule? Were they committed to political as well as theological mediation?

Whatever answers one proposes to these riddles, a few things strike me, at least, as clear. One is that the Eastern, 'scholastic' or 'Alexandrian' kind of theological investigation represented by Boethius' four controversial tracts, carried on in Ostrogothic Italy in the 510s and 520s, could not fail to have had 'political' significance in the eyes of an intransigent pope or a suspicious and defensive Gothic king, even if politics were not a primary concern in the mind of their author. Awareness of such political significance may well help to explain Boethius' concern to restrict the circulation of the essays to his intimate friends, and to couch them in technical language which only the initiate few

<sup>125</sup> A relative and correspondent of Boethius (*Epp.* 6.6; 7.13; 8.1, 36, 37, 40) and Senarius (*Ep.* 1.23; 3.11, 34; 4.27, 33; 5.15; 6.8, 27; 7.5; 8.7). Magnus Felix Ennodius was bishop of Pavia c. 514-521 and led papal delegations to the Eastern court in 515 and 517, to attempt yet again to heal the Acacian schism. See the relevant papal letters in Thiel, *Epist. pont.*, pp. 796-809 and 812 f. (*Epp. Horm.* 27-34 and 37) and *Coll. Avell.* 115 f., 125-132, 134 f. (Günther, pp. 510-22, 537-54, 556 ff.).

<sup>126</sup> Marcius Novatus Renatus: see PLRE 2.939. On Renatus' manuscripts, see Schurr, *Die Trinitätslehre des Boethius*, p. 198 f., n. 30. Renatus was also the person who brought to John the Deacon Senarius' question about baptism, and brought back John's treatise on the subject (see above, n. 17).

<sup>127</sup> Severus, *Contra imp. gram.* 3.29 (CSCO 101.100.7-101.2; trans., pp. 102.72.23-73.6), tells of a debate he had in Constantinople on the Chalcedonian definition and the theopaschite formula with two visiting Western dignitaries who both spoke Greek: 'Petronius from Rome and Renatus from Ravenna'. This conversation must have taken place between 508 and 511, when Severus was living in the capital. It is not certain which Petronius, of several possible candidates, was Renatus' companion; see PLRE 2.864.

<sup>128</sup> See PLRE 2.988 f. Ennodius' *Ep.* 7.5, to Senarius (ed. W. Hartel [CSEL 6; Vienna, 1892], p. 175), hints darkly at a conflict between loyalty to Theoderic and to the Church, in which both Ennodius and Senarius are involved. The letter also refers to 'amicus vester, dominus Faustus', who may possibly be Albinus (see above, n. 124). Avitus of Vienne writes to Senarius in 515/516 to ask about the state of the negotiations to heal the schism (*Ep.* 39, ed. R. Peiper [MGH AA 6/2.68]). Senarius was known as an experienced diplomat (so his own epitaph: MGH AA 12.499; also Cassiodorus, *Variae* 4.3 [CCL 96.145.13-19]) and was considered to be involved in East-West theological issues.

would understand.<sup>129</sup> But in spite of their esoteric character, these works are a breach in the linguistic and conceptual walls of a religious culture. Therein lay both their danger and the reason for their lasting influence.

Secondly, it also strikes me as clear that the works are, in their kind and their content, perfectly compatible with the broadly Neoplatonic monotheism of the *Consolation*: so much so that the lack of explicitly Christian references in that great last work, or its speculative boldness, ought not to surprise us in the least. John Philoponus, too, the zealous and thoroughly 'scholastic' monophysite Christian, could write a totally secular commentary on Aristotle's *Meteorology*, free of all allusions to a Christian theology of creation, during the same period of his life in which he wrote hotly controversial tracts in defense of that doctrine.<sup>130</sup> Other presumably Christian professors at Alexandria, later in the sixth century, also seem not to have been troubled by many of the inconsistencies between the Philosopher's account of the world and that of the Bible.<sup>131</sup> The Origenist monks of the sixth century, too, whom Justinian eventually condemned, seem to have been able to combine the ascetical tradition of the desert with the bold speculations of a Platonic *théologie savante*, and the Christian apologists of Gaza could indulge similar intellectual instincts in the comfort of their civilized coastal town.<sup>132</sup> For all of these Christian thinkers, as for Aristotle,<sup>133</sup> theology was not a separate branch of human thought; it was the highest, most abstract kind of speculative philosophy, the 'receptacle' (*mqablanitha*) or summing-up, as Zachary of Mytilene put it, of a theoretical understanding of nature.<sup>134</sup>

<sup>129</sup> See Tract 1, introduction (Stewart-Rand-Tester, pp. 2.5-3.21); Tract 3 (*ibid.*, p. 38.8-14); Tract 5, introduction (*ibid.*, p. 76.46-54). Chadwick stresses the political importance of Tract 5 as 'building a bridge to the ecclesiastical policy of reconciliation between Chalcedonian and Monophysite which Justinian would pursue throughout his career' (*Boethius*, p. 25).

<sup>130</sup> See E. Évrard, 'Les convictions religieuses de Jean Philopon et la date de son Commentaire aux "Météorologiques"', *Académie Royale de Belgique, Bulletin de la classe des lettres et des sciences morales et politiques*, 5th Ser., 39 (1953) 299-357. On the apparent inconsistencies between Philoponus' philosophical and religious beliefs, see H. Blumenthal, 'John Philoponus and Stephanus of Alexandria: Two Neoplatonic Christian Commentators on Aristotle' in D. J. O'Meara, ed., *Neoplatonism and Christian Thought* (Norfolk, Va., 1982), pp. 54-63.

<sup>131</sup> See especially Westerink, *Anonymous Prolegomena*, pp. xxii-xxv.

<sup>132</sup> See, for example, Aeneas of Gaza, *Theophrastus* [cited above, n. 27] (*Colonna*, pp. 49.7-51.23), where the author seems to be sketching out an Origenist doctrine of the preexistence, fall and restoration of souls as the Christian answer to the pagan question why God allows creatures to be mortal.

<sup>133</sup> *Metaph.* E.1 (1026a18): 'τρεῖς ἂν εἴεν φιλοσοφίαι θεωρητικαί· μαθηματική, φυσική, θεολογική.' This division became part of the philosophical tradition, and is adopted by Boethius in Tr. 1.2 (Stewart-Rand-Tester, p. 8.5-21). Cf. Ammonius' commentary on Porphyry's *Eisagoge* (CAG 4/3.11.22-14.26). Bruder, however, suggests Boethius is drawing directly on Aristotle here (*Die philosophischen Elemente*, p. 10).

<sup>134</sup> *Life of Severus* (Kugener, p. 98).

True, for a Christian thinker, as Origen had recognized,<sup>135</sup> such speculation often found its starting point in Church tradition and ultimately had to be brought into harmony with the normative 'data' of religion provided by the Bible and by the Church's baptismal creeds and conciliar definitions. But such official dogmatic guidelines were relatively few, and were not generally recognized as including the subject matter of Greek natural philosophy (in theological terms, cosmology and eschatology) until the Council of 553 endorsed Justinian's anathemas against Origenism.<sup>136</sup> Meanwhile, among educated Christians the very continuity of theology with other kinds of learning, despite the normative value of Christian tradition, guaranteed those other subjects their independent validity. Philosophy, like grammar and arithmetic, was not strictly a Christian pursuit; it had for the Hellenic mind, whether Christian or pagan, an integrity of its own, rooted in the living history of Greek culture and education. Greek Christianity occasionally criticized it, but never attempted to alter it materially on its own lines.<sup>137</sup> That Boethius could find Lady Philosophy consoling in her own right during his final days should not surprise us, or cause us to doubt in the least the sincerity of his Christian faith. It should simply remind us of the respect he felt he owed her, and of the thoroughness with which he had made the Greek cultural tradition which nurtured her his own.

*Weston School of Theology.*

<sup>135</sup> See especially *De principiis*, preface 2-10 (ed. H. Görgemanns and H. Karpp [Darmstadt, 1976], pp. 84-98).

<sup>136</sup> Gregory Nazianzen's remark, at the end of the fourth century, is typical of a durable strain among ancient Christian intellectuals: 'Philosophize, if you wish, on the world or worlds, on matter, the soul, spiritual beings good and bad, the resurrection, the judgment, retribution, the sufferings of Christ; for on these subjects it is profitable to discover the truth, and not dangerous to be in error' (*Orat.* 27.10, ed. P. Gallay [SC 250; Paris, 1978], pp. 96.17-98.1).

<sup>137</sup> On the non-existence of 'Christian philosophy', or indeed of Christian grammar or rhetoric, in the ancient world, see Marrou, *Histoire de l'éducation*, pp. 460-71 and Westerink, *Anonymous Prolegomena*, p. xx.

THE UNCOVERING OF THE  
*GLOSAE SVPER PLATONEM*  
OF BERNARD OF CHARTRES

Paul Edward Dutton

I

IN his *Metalogicon* John of Salisbury calls Bernard of Chartres the most complete or accomplished Platonist of the twelfth century: 'Bernardus quoque Carnotensis, perfectissimus inter Platonicos seculi nostri ....'<sup>1</sup> Bernard is, as R. W. Southern has said, the unobtrusive hero of the *Metalogicon*, full of literary, pedagogic, and moral virtues.<sup>2</sup> But he has also been the subject of much scholarly confusion and dispute. Until nearly the end of the nineteenth century three Bernards were rolled into one: Bernard of Chartres, Bernard Silvestris, and Bernard of Moëlan, later bishop of Quimper, who is possibly the Bernard Brito of the *Metamorphosis Goliae*.<sup>3</sup> Clerval was the first to take a critical razor to the question, separating the Bernards and giving each his own identity.<sup>4</sup> Southern, though denying the predominant place of the cathedral school of Chartres in the twelfth century, has furthered Clerval's work by a careful examination of some of the assumptions about Bernard of Chartres: we can no longer assume, for instance, that Thierry of Chartres was the brother of this Bernard.<sup>5</sup> What we are left with is a starker account of the career of

<sup>1</sup> 4.35, ed. Clement C. J. Webb, *Iohannis Saresberiensis episcopi Carnotensis Metalogicon* (Oxford, 1929), p. 205, ll. 21-23.

<sup>2</sup> 'Humanism and the School of Chartres' in Southern, *Medieval Humanism and Other Studies* (New York, 1970), p. 79 [61-85].

<sup>3</sup> See J. O. Ward, 'The Date of the Commentary on Cicero's *De inventione* by Thierry of Chartres (ca. 1095-1160?) and the Cornifician Attack on the Liberal Arts', *Viator* 3 (1972) 263-66, where the question of the three Bernards is judiciously surveyed.

<sup>4</sup> A. Clerval, *Les écoles de Chartres au Moyen Age (du v<sup>e</sup> au xvi<sup>e</sup> siècle)* (Paris, 1895; rpt. Frankfurt, 1965 and Geneva, 1977), pp. 158-63.

<sup>5</sup> *Medieval Humanism*, pp. 68-70. See also Ward, 'The Date of the Commentary', 263-66, and the counterargument of Nikolaus Häring, 'Chartres and Paris Revisited' in *Essays in Honour of Anton Charles Pegis*, ed. J. Reginald O'Donnell (Toronto, 1974), pp. 295-99 [268-329].



Bernard, but it is one on which scholars have reached some degree of consensus: Bernard, at Chartres by at least 1114 and *scholae magister* by 1119, became chancellor by 1124 and was succeeded in this position by Gilbert of Poitiers in 1126.<sup>6</sup> Among his students, or at least the disciples of his method of teaching, can be counted Gilbert himself, William of Conches, and Richard the Bishop.<sup>7</sup> This is, of course, the minimum which can be claimed about the career of Bernard of Chartres.

After the recent and perhaps healthy clearing of the Chartrian forest,<sup>8</sup> only Bernard still stands tall and in place. Even the most discriminating of critics could not remove him from Chartres or entirely deny him his importance.<sup>9</sup> Indeed John of Salisbury, himself a man of discrimination and taste, called Bernard 'exundantissimus modernis temporibus fons litterarum in Gallia ....'<sup>10</sup> Despite this high, almost extravagant praise, Bernard has remained a kind of Socratic figure, one who deeply impressed the men of his time, but who seemed to have left no writings by which he might be judged. In fact, without the *Metalogicon* of John of Salisbury, Bernard would scarcely warrant a footnote in most studies of the twelfth century. From John we learn virtually everything we know about the literary life of Bernard of Chartres: of his teaching methods,<sup>11</sup> of his favourite expressions,<sup>12</sup> of the few lines of verse which we can

<sup>6</sup> See the detailed account of Bernard of Chartres' career by Häring, *ibid.*, 269-71.

<sup>7</sup> For the witness to Gilbert of Poitiers as a student of Bernard of Chartres, see *Ottonis et Rahewini Gesta Friderici imperatoris* 1.52, ed. B. von Simson (MGH *Scriptorum rerum germanicarum in usum scholarum*; Hanover, 1912), p. 74. On William of Conches and Richard the Bishop as students of Bernard of Chartres, see John of Salisbury, *Met.* 1.24, ed. Webb, p. 57.

<sup>8</sup> Aside from 'Humanism and the School of Chartres', Southern has reconsidered the position of Chartres in two recent works: 'The Schools of Paris and the School of Chartres' in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. Robert L. Benson and Giles Constable with Carol D. Lanham (Cambridge, Mass., 1982), pp. 113-37 and *Platonism, Scholastic Method and the School of Chartres* (The Stenton Lecture of 1978; Reading, 1979).

<sup>9</sup> See Southern, *Medieval Humanism*, pp. 78-79 and 'The Schools of Paris and the School of Chartres', 113.

<sup>10</sup> *Met.* 1.24, ed. Webb, p. 55, ll. 11-13.

<sup>11</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 55-57.

<sup>12</sup> See John of Salisbury, *Policraticus* 2.22, ed. Clement C. J. Webb, *Iohannis Saresberiensis episcopi Carnotensis Policraticus* 1 (London, 1909; rpt. Frankfurt, 1965), p. 131, ll. 9-11; *Met.* 1.11, ed. Webb, p. 29, ll. 16-24; and *Met.* 3.4, ed. Webb, p. 136, ll. 23-27. On the last of these, which is the famous image of the moderns as dwarfs perched on the shoulders of the giants of antiquity, see Raymond Klibansky, 'Standing on the Shoulders of Giants', *Isis* 24 (1935-36) 107-109 and Édouard Jeuneau, '“Nani gigantum humeris insidentes”'. *Essai d'interprétation de Bernard de Chartres*, *Vivarium* 5 (1967) 79-99 (rpt. in Jeuneau, 'Lectio philosophorum': *Recherches sur l'École de Chartres* [Amsterdam, 1973], pp. 53-73).

Due to a dearth of writings by Bernard of Chartres, there has been a tendency to create some. Professor Jeuneau drew my attention to one such. M.-D. Chenu assigns the phrase 'Veritas, filia temporis' ('Truth is the daughter of time') to Bernard of Chartres in the epigraph to his insightful essay, 'Conscience de l'histoire et théologie', *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et*

associate with his name,<sup>13</sup> of his basic teachings and moral attitudes,<sup>14</sup> and of one treatise which he wrote.<sup>15</sup> Yet John of Salisbury never knew Bernard personally. Moreover, one does not derive the impression from the *Metalogicon* that John was on intimate terms with any of Bernard's writings.

Chapter 24 of the first book of the *Metalogicon*, in which John describes Bernard's method of teaching, provides an excellent example of the way in which John probably knew about Bernard. Surely no written account of Bernard as a teacher existed. More likely John had received reports about Bernard's pedagogy from his own teachers, William of Conches and Richard the Bishop, and had witnessed, through them, some of Bernard's techniques in practice. With hindsight John could perceive the importance of the method, since its stringency served as a partial prologue to the Cornifician dispute which hastened the exit of William and Richard from the scene. The Chartian method of teaching exemplified by Bernard and of which John considered himself to be a product was, doubtless, a much discussed issue and, therefore, from John's point of view memorable. We should note that John of Salisbury chiefly illustrates Bernard's teachings by means of short poems and pithy phrases, again material that he had likely heard from William and Richard and preserved in his own lecture notes. What he provides are the *exempla* of Bernard's lectures, and his use of the imperfect tense such as 'Aiebat Bernardus Carnotensis' and 'Dicebat Bernardus Carnotensis' suggests that these were things which Bernard frequently used to say to his pupils.<sup>16</sup> Several times John places the teachings of Bernard in the context of a speaker and his listeners

*littéraire du Moyen Age* 10 (1935-36) 107 (rpt. in Chenu, *La théologie au douzième siècle*, 3rd edition [Paris, 1976], p. 62; and trans. Jerome Taylor and Lester K. Little as *Nature, Man, and Society in the Twelfth Century: Essays on New Theological Perspectives in the Latin West* [Chicago, 1968], p. 162). The attribution of the saying to Bernard was also repeated by Jacques Le Goff, *Les intellectuels au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1955; rpt. 1957, 1962, 1976), p. 19: 'Veritas, filia temporis, dit encore Bernard de Chartres.' In fact, this appealing poetic phrase derives from the *Attic Nights* of Aulus Gellius, who himself conveniently claims to be unable to remember the name of the poet who first coined it; *A. Gellii Noctium atticarum libri xx* 12.11.7, ed. P. K. Marshall (Oxford, 1968): 'Alius quidam ueterum poetarum, cuius nomen mihi nunc memoriae non est, Veritatem Temporis filiam esse dixit.'

<sup>13</sup> *Met.* 4.35, ed. Webb, p. 205, ll. 24-27 and p. 206, ll. 26-31; and *Pol.* 7.13, ed. Webb, 2, p. 145, ll. 12-14. The three hexameters found in the *Policraticus* were also quoted and commented on by Hugh of St. Victor, in *Didascalicon* 3.12, ed. C. H. Buttimer, *Hugonis de sancto Victore Didascalicon. De studio legendi* (Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Latin 10: Washington, D.C., 1939), p. 61, ll. 10-19.

<sup>14</sup> *Met.* 2.17, ed. Webb, pp. 93-94; 3.2, pp. 124, l. 21-125, l. 10; 4.35, pp. 205, l. 21-206, l. 31.

<sup>15</sup> *Met.* 4.35, ed. Webb, p. 206, ll. 19-20: 'Vt enim ait in expositione Porphyrii ....' This work has not been identified.

<sup>16</sup> *Met.* 3.2, ed. Webb, p. 124, l. 21 and 3.4, p. 136, l. 23.

(*auditores*);<sup>17</sup> the listeners whom John knew best were William of Conches and Richard the Bishop, his own teachers. John sees Bernard through their eyes: Bernard was already considered old when William and Richard were his students, and so John refers to him as the 'senex Carnotensis'.<sup>18</sup> To repeat this important point, it seems likely that John of Salisbury knew Bernard of Chartres chiefly by reputation and not by a reading of his works.

But it would be wrong to assume that other writings by Bernard did not or do not exist just because John of Salisbury does not mention them. We know, for instance, that William of Conches wrote a number of works, but his student John names none of them. Even in John's day works by Bernard may have been difficult to identify. Most twelfth-century commentaries, even by men as famous as William of Conches, Gilbert of Poitiers, and Thierry of Chartres, were published anonymously.<sup>19</sup> Of all the manuscripts of William of Conches' glosses on the *Timæus*, for instance, only one possesses a title fully naming him as author.<sup>20</sup> Glosses were perceived to be aids to understanding a given text, but they stood second in importance to the text itself. It is not only plausible but likely that Bernard of Chartres wrote glosses on the texts which he regularly taught at Chartres. He was, after all, the principal proponent in the early twelfth century of a systematic reading of the philosophers, the *lectio philosophorum*, and the *Metalogicon* describes, in part, how this was accomplished.<sup>21</sup> The composition of glosses was, as Bernard must have realized along with William, an extension of the art of teaching, 'for no one ought to write glosses for himself, but for others.'<sup>22</sup> It is not impossible that Bernard glossed some of the works later glossed by his student William; those of Boethius, Macrobius, and Priscian appear to be reasonable choices, since these were the core texts studied at Chartres.

The *Timæus* of Plato, however, is the text which Bernard of Chartres is most likely to have glossed. A man does not gain a reputation as the foremost Platonist of his day, a day in which the *Timæus* was widely available and was the single work of Plato known to the Latin West, without saying something

<sup>17</sup> *Met.* 1.11, ed. Webb, p. 29, ll. 17-18 and 2.17, p. 94, l. 23.

<sup>18</sup> *Met.* 1.11, ed. Webb, p. 29, ll. 16-17; and *Pol.* 2.22, ed. Webb, 1.131, l. 9 and 7.13, ed. Webb, 2.145, l. 9.

<sup>19</sup> See Nikolaus Häring, 'Commentary and Hermeneutics' in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, p. 175 [173-200].

<sup>20</sup> See Édouard Jeuneau, ed., *Guillaume de Conches, Glosæ super Platonem* (Textes philosophiques du Moyen Age 13; Paris, 1965), pp. 15-16, 32.

<sup>21</sup> *Met.* 1.24, ed. Webb, pp. 55-57.

<sup>22</sup> William of Conches, *Glosæ super Priscianum*, ed. É. Jeuneau, 'Deux rédactions des gloses de Guillaume de Conches sur Priscien', *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 27 (1960) 212-47; rpt. in *Lectio philosophorum*, p. 347 [335-70]: 'Nullus enim sibi sed aliis glosare debet.'

about it. Indeed, in the *Metalogicon*, John of Salisbury furnishes ample evidence of Bernard's Platonism and of his specific interest in the *Timaeus*. Bernard has long been recognized, in fact, as the founder of the Platonic tradition at Chartres. Where else but at Chartres in Bernard's presence did such future Platonists as Gilbert of Poitiers and William of Conches first intensively study the *Timaeus*? The case against a distinctive Chartrian Platonism, argued with great verve and eloquence by Southern, has really been made in the absence of texts.<sup>23</sup> Without a genuine work of Bernard in hand, no Chartrian tradition of reading Plato could be fully demonstrated. For nearly a century, scholars have formed opinions about Bernard's Platonism based on the descriptions of it to be found in the *Metalogicon*.<sup>24</sup> What has been wanting since Clerval first discovered the true identity of Bernard of Chartres has been a work which could be surely attributed to him. Among twelfth-century glosses on the *Timaeus* perhaps such a work is to be found.

## II

Aside from William of Conches' glosses, virtually all twelfth-century glosses on the *Timaeus*, of which there are a considerable number, remain anonymous. The most popular of these was the set which begins with the words 'Socrates de re publica decem libris disputavit' and ends 'substantias quattuor principalium corporum quod superius promiserat'.<sup>25</sup> This work, which shall henceforth be cited as the *Glosae super Platonem*,<sup>26</sup> runs to about 20,000 words. It contains a

<sup>23</sup> See especially *Platonism, Scholastic Method, and the School of Chartres*, where Southern develops his fullest arguments against the 'Platonism' of Chartres.

<sup>24</sup> See, for instance, Clerval, *Les écoles de Chartres*, pp. 162-63; Étienne Gilson, 'Le platonisme de Bernard de Chartres', *Revue néo-scholastique de philosophie* 25 (1923) 5-19; J. Parent, *La doctrine de la création dans l'école de Chartres* (Publications de l'Institut d'études médiévales d'Ottawa 8; Paris, 1938), pp. 45-48, 84-85; Eugenio Garin, *Studi sul platonismo medievale* (Quaderni di letteratura e d'arte 17; Florence, 1958), pp. 50-53; Tullio Gregory, 'Anima mundi'. *La filosofia di Guglielmo di Conches e la Scuola di Chartres* (Florence, 1955), pp. 76-79 and *Platonismo medievale: studi e ricerche* (Rome, 1958), pp. 113-15; Jean Jolivet, 'Éléments pour une étude des rapports entre la grammaire et l'ontologie au Moyen Âge' in *Sprache und Erkenntnis im Mittelalter* (Miscellanea mediaevalia 13.1; Berlin, 1981), pp. 136-39 [135-64]; and Armand A. Maurer, *Medieval Philosophy*, 2nd edition (The Étienne Gilson Series 4; Toronto, 1982), pp. 71-75.

<sup>25</sup> On this work, see Paul Edward Dutton, 'Illustrate ciuitatis et populi exemplum: Plato's *Timaeus* and the Transmission from Calcidius to the End of the Twelfth Century of a Tripartite Scheme of Society', *Mediaeval Studies* 45 (1983) 95-96 [79-119]. Raymond Klibansky, *The Continuity of the Platonic Tradition during the Middle Ages: Outlines of a Corpus Platonium Medii Aevi* (London, 1939, rpt. 1950; rpt. with a new preface and four supplementary chapters, 1981), pp. 30, 52, incorrectly refers to this work as a 'commentary on Calcidius'.

<sup>26</sup> Although this title does not accompany the text, it is the preferred title for such a work in the twelfth century: see Jauneau, ed., *Guillaume de Conches, Glosae*, pp. 16-17 and Häring, 'Commentary and Hermeneutics', 178-80. Moreover, the fourteenth-century table of contents to be found on fol. 1r of the ms. listed as D below calls this work: 'Glose super Platonem'.

complete set of glosses on Plato's *Timaeus* as it exists in the shortened version translated into Latin by Calcidius. The *Glosæ super Platonem*, at least in its main manuscript tradition, does not accompany the text of the *Timaeus* as marginal glosses, but stands on its own with lemmata which refer the reader to the *Timaeus*. The *Glosæ super Platonem* has been identified in five manuscripts:<sup>27</sup>

D = Durham, Cathedral Library C.IV.7, fols. 42ra-49va<sup>28</sup>

M = Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 540B, fols. 1r-38v<sup>29</sup>

O = Orléans, Bibliothèque Municipale 260 (216), pp. 175-214<sup>30</sup>

P = Pommersfelden, Gräflisch Schönborn'sche Bibliothek 76 (2663), fols. 42r-60v<sup>31</sup>

V = Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 2376, fols. 19r-31v.<sup>32</sup>

In all but V, the text is complete. V ends prematurely at *Timaeus* 42B with a gloss on the word *acturis*.<sup>33</sup> D and M are followed by notes on Plato which derive, at least in part, from the *Glosæ*.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Klibansky, *The Continuity*, p. 30, noted the five cities which have copies of the work and on p. 55 the appropriate shelf marks; but in the *Conspectus* appended to *The Continuity*, p. 52, he listed only four mss. See also Margaret Gibson, 'The Study of the *Timaeus* in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries', *Pensamiento* 25 (1969) 188 [183-94]. A full description of these manuscripts will be supplied in my forthcoming edition of the *Glosæ super Platonem*.

<sup>28</sup> On this ms., see R. A. B. Mynors, *Durham Cathedral Manuscripts to the End of the Twelfth Century* (Oxford, 1939), p. 58; E. A. Lowe, *Codices latini antiquiores* 2 (Oxford, 1935), p. 11 (no. 154); R. W. Hunt, 'Studies on Priscian in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries', *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies* 1 (1941-43) 207 n. 3; and Gibson, *ibid.*, 188.

<sup>29</sup> For a description, see Jauneau, *Guillaume de Conches, Glosæ*, pp. 41-42.

<sup>30</sup> See the *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France. Départements* (Octavo Series) 12 (Orléans) (Paris, 1889), p. 125. See also L. Delisle, 'Notice sur plusieurs manuscrits de la Bibliothèque d'Orléans' in *Notices et extraits des manuscrits* 31.1 (1884) 390-91; A. Cordoliani, 'La logica de Garland de Besançon', *Revue du Moyen Age latin* 5 (1949) 43-47; and L. M. de Rijk, ed., *Garlandus Compotista. Dialectica* (Assen, 1959), pp. xlv-xlv.

<sup>31</sup> On this ms., see J. H. Waszink, ed., *Timaeus a Calcidio translatus commentarioque instructus*, 2nd edition (Plato Latinus 4; London, 1975), p. cxxii.

<sup>32</sup> *ibid.*, p. cxxvi.

<sup>33</sup> The references to Calcidius' translation of the *Timaeus* will be cited by editor, page number, and line number. *Acturis*, for instance, occurs at Waszink 37.10. V ends on fol. 31v in mid-page with the words 'a corpore rediens aeterna fruitur beatitudine'.

<sup>34</sup> D 49va-b and M 38v-39v possess the same first six notes, having the following *incipits*:

- (1) Nota tres figuras in compositione animae ...
- (2) Nota Platoni consentire hebraicum ...
- (3) Nota in omni rotundo ...
- (4) Nota celum diuerso modo a philosophis accipi ...
- (5) Nota dum planete nituntur ...
- (6) Nota uertentem annum ...

D 49vb, however, continues with a seventh note, absent in M:

- (7) Platonica sententia est ignem interiorem ...

The second of these notes may be found entirely and exactly in the *Glosæ super Platonem*, while

All of the above manuscripts date from the twelfth century.<sup>35</sup> Two (M and P) reveal palaeographical characteristics proper to the end of the twelfth century: P possesses little separation between letters and a consistent use of diacritical marks over *ii*, while M also employs the majuscule form of *s* in a wide variety of positions and uses such abbreviations as *s̄* for *sunt*. O and V should probably be dated closer to the middle of the twelfth century, since they both possess a much clearer separation of letters, yet have the majuscule *s* at the ends of words, a consistent use of the diacritical marks over *ii*, and a marked preference for *e* cedilla. D is, doubtless, the oldest of the manuscripts. Mynors had placed it in the first half of the twelfth century in his comparative study of the manuscripts of Durham Cathedral Library.<sup>36</sup> D lacks diacritical marks over *ii* and has an orthography in which both *ae* and *e* cedilla are employed. The majuscule form of *s* is restricted to use, and this irregularly, at the ends of complete lines of writing. In a few cases the *s* at the end of a word forms a ligature rising up above the last letter (as, for example, *potentias* on fol. 44rb). These are all features characteristic of manuscripts from the early twelfth century. On palaeographical grounds alone, it is not impossible to date D, and therefore the manuscript tradition of the *Glosae*, to the first quarter of the twelfth century.

Additional evidence for the early date of the composition of the *Glosae super Platonem* is provided by its wide and early reception in the twelfth century. Tullio Gregory, who edited a few passages of the *Glosae* from M and V,<sup>37</sup> noted that some were related to another set of *Timaetus* glosses to be found in two manuscripts; one of these dates to the twelfth century.<sup>38</sup> In a recent article, I pointed out dependent passages in four other sets of glosses on the *Timaetus*, all of them from the twelfth century.<sup>39</sup> In all, twelve sets of glosses which reflect.

parts of the others also derive from this text. On the copy of the notes in M, see Jeuneau, *Guillaume de Conches, Glosae*, p. 41.

<sup>35</sup> For evidence for dating mss. from this period on palaeographical grounds, see Armando Petrucci, 'Censimento dei codici dei secoli xi-xii: istruzioni per la datazione', *Studi medievali*, 3rd Ser., 9.2 (1968) 1115-26. I would like to thank Professor Leonard E. Boyle for his help in dating these mss.

<sup>36</sup> *Durham Cathedral Manuscripts*, p. 58.

<sup>37</sup> See Gregory, *Platonismo medievale*, pp. 66-71, 76 n. 1, 103, and 120-21. Another short passage from the *Glosae* was edited from M by Peter Dronke, *Fabula: Explorations into the Uses of Myth in Medieval Platonism* (Leiden, 1974), p. 89 n. 1. Lastly see the passages edited in Dutton, 'Illustre ciuitatis et populi exemplum', 95-96 nn. 62-63.

<sup>38</sup> The two mss. are Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 278, fols. 1r-84v from the twelfth century and Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Vat. lat. 2063, fols. 1r-68v from the fourteenth century. On the dates and relation of these two sets of identical glosses, see Gregory, *Platonismo medievale*, pp. 88-91; and compare the text edited on pp. 75-76 with the one taken from the *Glosae*, p. 76 n. 1.

<sup>39</sup> Dutton, 'Illustre ciuitatis et populi exemplum', 95-96, 97 n. 67.

to a greater or lesser degree, the *Glosæ super Platonem* have come to light.<sup>40</sup> Nine of these are found in twelfth-century manuscripts. The set of glosses contained in London, British Library Royal 12.B.xxii, fols. 2r-9r, 36r-41v, which one scholar dated to 'circa 1100', reveals, for instance, a heavy, though not exclusive, dependence on the *Glosæ*.<sup>41</sup> The numerous dependent twelfth-

<sup>40</sup> Revealing a heavy, but not exclusive, dependence on the *Glosæ super Platonem* are the following sets of *Timæus* glosses:

- Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Vat. lat. 3815, fols. 1r-32v (s. xii)
- Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Conv. soppr. J.2.49, fols. 1r-27v (s. xii)
- London, British Library Royal 12.B.xxii, fols. 2r-9r, 36r-41v (s. xii)
- London, British Library Addit. 22815, fols. 4r-35r (s. xii)
- Oxford, Bodleian Library Auct. F.3.15, fols. 1r-19v (s. xii).

None of these repeats exactly the sequence of glosses as found in any of the others; their substantial variation in selection of glosses would seem to suggest that they do not depend on each other, but more directly upon the *Glosæ*. Another group of *Timæus* glosses reveals a substantial debt to the *Glosæ*, but individual glosses are often reworked:

- Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 16579, fols. 1r-53r (s. xii)
- Pommersfelden, Gräflich Schönborn'sche Nationalbibliothek 76 (2663), fols. 2r-39v (s. xii)
- Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 278, fols. 1r-84v (s. xii) (and Vat. lat. 2063, fols. 1r-68v [s. xiv])
- Olomouc, Státní archiv CO 565, fols. 32r-66v (s. xiii).

The influence of the *Glosæ* upon this group of glosses was probably less direct, perhaps deriving from one of the many glossed copies of the *Timæus* reflecting the *Glosæ*. Lastly three mss. contain but a trace of the influence of the *Glosæ*:

- Avranches, Bibliothèque Municipale 226, fols. 96r-113r (s. xii)
- London, British Library Arundel 339, fols. 110v-120r (s. xiii)
- Cambridge, Trinity College R.9.23 (James 824), fols. 75r-92v (s. xiv).

Doubtless these glosses represent the last stages in the diffusion of the influence of the *Glosæ*: a more general circulation of its teachings without direct reference to the *Glosæ* itself.

Dates and descriptions for these mss. may be found in Waszink, *Timæus a Calcidio translatus*, pp. cvii-cxxxi, cxci. The dates given in brackets, however, refer to the glosses rather than the main text of the *Timæus*. In most cases, the hands for both are the same and, thus, Waszink's dates are fairly reliable, but Cambridge, Trinity College ms. R.9.23 (James 824) has a twelfth-century *Timæus* accompanied by fourteenth-century glosses. It should also be noted that Pommersfelden 76 (2663) is actually foliated twice in the ms. with the text of the *Timæus* running either from fols. 1r-38v or 2r-39v; Waszink, *ibid.*, p. cxxii, has given the folios as '1r-39v'. The preferred foliation is '1r-38v'. On the Olomouc ms., see Jeaneau, 'Plato apud Bohemos', *Mediaeval Studies* 41 (1979) 166-68; it is thanks to Professor Jeaneau that I was able to make the connection between this ms. and the *Glosæ*, since he generously put his transcription of the ms. at my disposal.

<sup>41</sup> See Gibson, 'The Study of the *Timæus*', 185, for the date of the ms. which has the same hand for both the main text of the *Timæus* and the badly rubbed and often illegible glosses. In Dutton, *Illustre ciuitatis et populi exemplum*, 95-96 and nn. 63-64, one example of the dependence of these glosses on the *Glosæ* is given. Another can now be brought forward. Gaines Post, *Studies in Medieval Legal Thought. Public Law and the State, 1100-1322* (Princeton, 1964), p. 507 and n. 30, wrote:

century glosses of the *Timaeus* attest to a process of diffusion of the *Glosae super Platonem* which must have begun in the first quarter of the century.

In its own right, the popularity of the *Glosae* is quite remarkable. Even the glosses of William of Conches, whom Marsilio Ficino included in the circle of great Platonists, would not seem to have been more popular.<sup>42</sup> Occasionally, in fact, the influence of William and our *Glosae super Platonem* can be found in the same set of glosses. Édouard Jeuneau, for instance, was able to demonstrate the dependence of one set of glosses in British Library, Addit. ms. 22815 on William, but noted that some others could not be accounted for.<sup>43</sup> One of these, as it now turns out, derives directly from our *Glosae*, and would seem to be prior to William's.<sup>44</sup> Recognition of the importance and extensive influence of the *Glosae super Platonem* would seem to be a necessary first step towards the clarification of the tradition of medieval *Timaeus* glosses. We have probably had, because of a lack of comparative analysis, an inflated view of the number of independent glosses of the *Timaeus*. Margaret Gibson, after a survey of the medieval material, identified what she thought were seven distinct commentaries on the *Timaeus*; three of these can be shown to depend on the

... a glossator of the *Timaeus*, who probably belonged to the school of Chartres, stressed the word *patria* in declaring that the guardians or *magisterium* should act speedily against destroyers (*endirutores*) of the *patria*. [N. 30] Brit. Mus., ms. Royal 12. B. xxii, fol. 2v, ad vv. *naturae magisterium*: 'Quasi ... endirutores patrie, ut prompti sint ad laborem et affabiles obedientibus.' I was unable to read the word or words before *endirutores*; but possibly one word is *aduersum* as in the words of Socrates, above, n. 28, 'aduersum ... hostes.' As for *endirutores*, I do not find the word in any Latin dictionary; but it probably is a coinage from *diruere*, *dirutum*.

At *Timaeus* 18A, Waszink 8.16, the *Glosae* reads: '*Huius ancipitis: id est duplicis naturae, quasi ita nutriendi sunt tutores<sup>a</sup> patriae, ut prompti ad laborem et affabiles sint obedientibus*' (D 42va, M 4v, O 178, P 43v, V 21r: <sup>a</sup>*ita nutriendi tutores P*). And indeed, the gloss referred to by Post, when examined under ultra-violet light, actually reads: 'Quasi ita sunt nutriendi tutores patrie, ut prompti sint ad laborem et affabiles oboedientibus.'

<sup>42</sup> 'Nam Apuleius, Calcidius, Contius, Ptolemæus, Platonici nobiles eo, quem breuiter referam, modo Platonis sententiam obscurissimis in Timaeo uerbis positam interpretantur' (Marsilio Ficino, *De uoluptate* 7 in *Opera omnia* 1 [Basel, 1576], pp. 997-98). Jeuneau, who made an extensive search, found eleven whole or fragmentary copies of William's glosses on the *Timaeus*: see Jeuneau, *Guillaume de Conches, Glosae*, pp. 31-48 and 'Plato apud Bohemos', 189-96. A lesser number of dependent glosses, however, have been found. On four of these, see Jeuneau, *Guillaume de Conches, Glosae*, pp. 319-22 and 'Gloses sur le *Timée*, du manuscrit Digby 217 de la Bodléienne, à Oxford', *Sacris erudiri* 17 (1966) 365-400 (rpt. in *Lectio philosophorum*, pp. 229-64).

<sup>43</sup> 'Extraits des *Glosae super Platonem* de Guillaume de Conches dans un manuscrit de Londres', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 40 (1977) 212-22.

<sup>44</sup> *ibid.*, 213. Jeuneau separated the hands into  $\alpha$ , in which the glosses drawn from William of Conches are written, and  $\beta$ , which he suspected of being prior (213 n. 8). It is, in fact, in the hand of  $\beta$  that the glosses drawn from our *Glosae super Platonem* are written.



*Glosæ* and, thus, her list of distinct works can be reduced to at least four.<sup>45</sup> One is left with the distinct impression of both the popularity of the *Glosæ* and of its centrality to an incipient twelfth-century interest in the *Timæus*.

The philosophical, rather than grammatical, character of the *Glosæ* makes the early twelfth century a likely time for its composition. Moreover, the *Glosæ* can be connected with Chartres in a number of ways. V and M both, for instance, contain works of William of Conches which follow the *Glosæ*.<sup>46</sup> There is also the matter of the *Timæus* commentary contained in Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket ms. C 62.<sup>47</sup> Scholars have been quick to note its many resemblances and exact parallels in the works of William of Conches, particularly in his glosses on the *Timæus*.<sup>48</sup> This has led some, among whom Southern is the most recent proponent, to argue that the Uppsala commentary represents an early version of William's glosses on the *Timæus*.<sup>49</sup> Jeauneau, who does not employ this text in his edition of William's glosses, thought that the hypothesis was unproved and proposed an alternative explanation: the scribe of the Uppsala manuscript was a compiler, extracting material randomly from among many of William's works.<sup>50</sup> What has not been realized, and what must surely be taken into consideration, is that the Uppsala commentary

<sup>45</sup> 'The Study of the *Timæus*', 188, gives the following list of 'seven distinct' commentaries on the *Timæus*:

- I. William of Conches' commentary
- II. Avranches 226, fol. 113r (fragment only)
- III. Vienna 2376 (with four other manuscripts)
- IV. Oxford Digby 23
- V. Paris lat. 16579
- VI. Vienna 278 (with Vat. lat. 2063)
- VII. London Royal 12.B.xxii.

I (William of Conches' glosses) and III (our *Glosæ super Platonem*) are, indeed, 'distinct works'. II is but a fragment and, therefore, difficult to judge: see Jeauneau, 'Gloses marginales sur le *Timée* de Platon du manuscrit 226 de la Bibliothèque municipale d'Avranches', *Sacris erudiri* 17 (1966) 71-89 (rpt. in Jeauneau, '*Lectio philosophorum*', pp. 209-27). IV remains to be critically studied. The remaining three, V, VI, and VII, all show heavy, but not exclusive, dependence on III, our *Glosæ super Platonem*: see above nn. 38-41.

<sup>46</sup> M 39v-43v contains three fragments from William's glosses on the *Timæus*: see Jeauneau, *Guillaume de Conches, Glosæ*, p. 42. V 32v-64v contains a copy of William's *Philosophia*, ed. Gregor Maurach (Pretoria, 1980); also ed. in PL 172.41D-102A.

<sup>47</sup> The text has been edited, or rather transcribed as it stands with few emendations, by Toni Schmid, 'Ein Timaioskommentar in Sigtuna', *Classica et mediaevalia: Revue danoise de philologie et d'histoire* 10 (1949-51) 220-66. The edition has been much criticised, but it should be remembered that the text is corrupt: see Brian Stock, *Myth and Science in the Twelfth Century: A Study of Bernard Silvester* (Princeton, 1972), p. 36 n. 42.

<sup>48</sup> See Schmid, *ibid.*, 221-25 and Gregory, *Anima mundi*, pp. 15-16.

<sup>49</sup> See Southern, *Platonism*, p. 16 n. 17 and pp. 22-23.

<sup>50</sup> See Jeauneau, *Guillaume de Conches, Glosæ*, pp. 13-14 and '*Lectio philosophorum*', p. 150 n. 1.

contains as much of our *Glosae super Platonem* as it does of William's. To take but one of many cases of dependence:

*Epulum: Timaeus* 17A, Waszink 7.2

*Glosae super Platonem*

id est conuiuuium dicitur disputatio philosophorum per simile,<sup>a</sup> quia sicut in conuiuio multa habentur fercula, ita in eorum disputatione multae et uariae tractantur sententiae. Mos enim erat philosophorum ut in conuentu<sup>b</sup> de rebus necessariis differerent, quod in conuentu isto factum est. *Normulam* (*Timaeus* 17B, Waszink 7.10): uocat rem publicam quam depinxit secundum posituam iusticiam. *Cardo hesternae disputationis* (*Timaeus* 17C, Waszink 8.1): id est materia circa quam uersatur intentio, ut hostium circa cardinem.<sup>51</sup>

Uppsala *Timaeus* commentary

id est conuiuuium dicitur disputacio philosophorum per simile, quia sicut in conuiuio habentur fercula, ita in disputatione philosophorum multe et uarie tractantur sentencie. *Cardo*: id est materia circa quam uersatur intencio, sicut ostium circa cardinem.<sup>52</sup>

The Uppsala commentary, in this case, repeats exactly, though not entirely, what is to be found in the *Glosae*; in other cases passages from the *Glosae* are reworked. But with the *Glosae* in hand, one can reconstruct many of the badly mangled passages in the Uppsala manuscript. It seems likely that the scribe of the exemplar of the Uppsala commentary or the Uppsala manuscript itself was in possession of a copy of the *Timaeus* which had at least two sets of glosses, one deriving from the *Glosae super Platonem* and another from William of Conches. We have already noted that some manuscripts possess both these glosses side by side. Thus the scribe would have transferred these glosses into an independent commentary, mixing both and reworking as he went. We must wonder, moreover, if scholars have not seen so much influence of William in this commentary because of a common influence of the *Glosae* on both the Uppsala commentary and on William's glosses on Plato.

It seems highly likely that William of Conches himself was aware of our *Glosae super Platonem*. Twice, for instance, William quotes lines of Virgil also quoted at the same point in the *Glosae*, even though neither the *Glosae* nor William introduces many such lines of poetry into their respective glosses on the *Timaeus*.<sup>53</sup> More striking evidence of influence could be obtained if one subjected to systematic study all of William's references to anonymous

<sup>51</sup> D 42va; M 4r; O 178; P 43v; V 20v; <sup>a</sup>per similitudinem *V* <sup>b</sup>om. *V*.

<sup>52</sup> Schmid, 'Ein Timaioskommentar', 230.

<sup>53</sup> At *Timaeus* 17D, Waszink 8.10, both quote Virgil, *Aeneid* 6.853 and at *Timaeus* 34B, Waszink 26.17, both quote Virgil, *Aeneid* 6.731.

contemporary sources. William almost never names modern authors, but buries their ideas in his glosses with such phrases as 'quidam dicunt' and 'quidam dissentiunt'. Among these nameless others, the author of the *Glosæ* is probably to be found. William notes, for instance, that certain men argued that Pythagoras had maintained that the same soul passes from man into woman, into the brute animals, and finally into the worms. In his edition of William's glosses on Plato, Jeauneau was unable to locate a source for this reference to Pythagoras, but the author of the *Glosæ* was one of those who knew of this Pythagorean doctrine and perhaps passed it along to William:

*Timæus* 42B, Waszink 37.11

*Glosæ super Platonem*

*Victas uero ab illis passionibus mutare sexum. Sententia Pictagoræ fuit quod realiter animæ<sup>a</sup> hominum<sup>b</sup> in alia animalia transirent. Sed Plato, teste Calcidio, hanc mutationem incorporationis noluit, immo quod in eodem corpore diuersa animalia uiuerent, ut si quis mollitus uiuat, mulierem uiuat; si immunde porcum et similia.<sup>54</sup>*

William of Conches

Non enim credendum est eandem animam prius esse in uiro et post transire in mulierem, deinde in bruta animalia usque in uermes ut affirmant quidam Pitagoram uoluisse. Nec credendum est quod ipsa anima in se aliquem sexum habeat, sed secundum mores hec mutatio est tenenda. Dum igitur uiriliter agit anima, pro uiro reputatur. Sed dum uoluptatibus quibusdam mollitur, aliquid tamen rationis adhuc retinens, mulier creditur.<sup>55</sup>

Notice that William's explanation of the same passage in the *Timæus* seems to be simply a sophisticated amplification of the opinion found in the *Glosæ*.

On almost every page of William's glosses on Plato, one finds parallels of the same kind. The following are but a few examples:

*Glosæ super Platonem*

William of Conches

*quartum: Timæus* 17A, Waszink 7.1

Hunc quartum dicunt fuisse in re Platonem, qui pro magistri reuerentia se subtraxit.<sup>56</sup>

Quartus ille Plato fuit qui quasi ab hoc opere se subtraxit.<sup>57</sup>

*intellectu: Timæus* 27D, Waszink 20.17

et ratione inuestigata<sup>a</sup> ducente nos ad illud uel ad intellectum.<sup>58</sup>

Et sic, ducente ratione, ad intellectum incorporeorum homo peruenit.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>54</sup> D 46va; M 26r; O 199; P 54r: <sup>a</sup>om. O      <sup>b</sup>bonum O.

<sup>55</sup> Jeauneau, *Guillaume de Conches, Glosæ*, p. 218, and on the unidentified source, see p. 338.

<sup>56</sup> D 42va; M 4r; O 178; P 43v; V 20v.

<sup>57</sup> Jeauneau, *Guillaume de Conches, Glosæ*, p. 72.

<sup>58</sup> D 43rb; M 8r; O 182; P 45v; V 23r: <sup>a</sup>inuestigante M.

<sup>59</sup> Jeauneau, *Guillaume de Conches, Glosæ*, p. 101.

*alterum: Timaeus 28A, Waszink 20.18*

id est quod caret generatione semper est id est quod semper est carens generatione.<sup>60</sup><sup>61</sup>

*Nam si: Timaeus 29A, Waszink 21.15*

probat mundum factum esse ad immutabile exemplar ...<sup>62</sup> Probat exemplum mundi fuisse immutabile ...<sup>63</sup>

*et aquiremum: Timaeus 34B, Waszink 26.15*

id est equaliter<sup>a</sup> in omni parte se mouentem: hoc dicitur ad similitudinem naui quasi habeat<sup>b</sup> equos remos<sup>c</sup> ex utraque parte equaliter promouetur.<sup>64</sup> id est equaliter se mouentem – et est tractum a nauī in qua, si sint equi ordines remorum equaliter se mouet.<sup>65</sup>

*priores ... posterioribus: Timaeus 45A, Waszink 41.9*

Vultus ideo dicitur persona, quia ibi<sup>a</sup> sunt instrumenta omnium sensuum<sup>b</sup>.<sup>66</sup> propter instrumenta sensuum ... Et nota quod eadem pars diuersis causis dicitur persona, uultus, facies.<sup>67</sup>

*cuius speculi: Timaeus 46C, Waszink 43.4*

id est oblongi et concaui ...<sup>68</sup> id est concaui et oblongi.<sup>69</sup>

*Visus enim: Timaeus 47A, Waszink 44.4*

Vere utilitas operis oculorum est praecipua, quia confert nobis philosophiam.<sup>70</sup> Hic ostendit precipuam utilitatem uisus cuius precipua utilitas est philosophia.<sup>71</sup>

*ut qui odora: Timaeus 50D, Waszink 49.1*

alia similitudo in medicina quod nulla est propria forma hiles.<sup>72</sup> Aliam similitudinem quare ile propriam non habeat formam.<sup>73</sup>

Clearly William's glosses are not exact quotations from the *Glosae super Platonem*, but the use of vocabulary, images, and arguments is strikingly

<sup>60</sup> D 43rb; M 8r; O 182; P 45v; V 23r.

<sup>61</sup> Jeauneau, *Guillaume de Conches, Glosae*, p. 102.

<sup>62</sup> D 43va; M 9v; O 183; P 46v; V 23v.

<sup>63</sup> Jeauneau, *Guillaume de Conches, Glosae*, p. 111.

<sup>64</sup> D 44va; M 14v-15r; O 188; P 49ra; V 26r-v: <sup>a</sup>scilicet add. DMP <sup>b</sup>habeatur qui nos O <sup>c</sup>pares remos, id est equos P.

<sup>65</sup> Jeauneau, *Guillaume de Conches, Glosae*, p. 144.

<sup>66</sup> D 47ra; M 29r; O 203; P 55v: <sup>a</sup>tibi P <sup>b</sup>om. M.

<sup>67</sup> Jeauneau, *Guillaume de Conches, Glosae*, p. 236.

<sup>68</sup> D 47va; M 31r; O 206; P 56v.

<sup>69</sup> Jeauneau, *Guillaume de Conches, Glosae*, p. 248.

<sup>70</sup> D 47vb; M 32r; O 207; P 57r.

<sup>71</sup> Jeauneau, *Guillaume de Conches, Glosae*, p. 252.

<sup>72</sup> D 48vb; M 36r; O 211; P 59r.

<sup>73</sup> Jeauneau, *Guillaume de Conches, Glosae*, p. 277.

similar. Even when William does change terms, what he is talking about often remains the same. William preferred, for instance, to employ the word *figura*, where the *Glosæ* would have used *forma*:

*Ideoque: Timæus 51A, Waszink 49.7*

quia nullam habet propriam formam.<sup>74</sup>

Quandoquidem ille nec propriam figuram  
nec proprias habet qualitates.<sup>75</sup>

Moreover, the individual words glossed by both William and the author of the *Glosæ* correspond closely, which suggests a common tradition of reading the *Timæus* and explaining specific difficulties.

The structure of presentation in the two texts is also similar; on many points, in other words, the two glossators follow the same line of argument:

*quæ nec locum optinent sillabarum: Timæus 48B, Waszink 45.25-26*

quia si uere uolumus examinare, sicut in constitutione uocis littera est primum elementum, secundum sillaba, dictio tercio loco constituit [*sic*], ita in huius mundi constitutione hile est primum elementum, secundum illa quattuor elementa<sup>a</sup> pura, tercium hæc quattuor mixta.<sup>76</sup>

In humana enim uoce littera optinet primum locum, sillaba secundum, dictio tercium, oratio quartum. In compositione mundi Deus optinet primum locum, secundum archetipus mundus, tercium primordialis materia, quartum elementa. Et ita non optinent locum secundum. Vel quantum ad materias: ille primum optinet locum, pura elementa secundum, ista uisibilia elementa tercium.<sup>77</sup>

In this case, as in many others, William's gloss is somewhat fuller. He was, it would seem, aware of the *Glosæ super Platonem*, but preferred to add to its basic outline, heaping up examples in an effort to attain completeness and extending what the *Glosæ* had begun.

For a variety of reasons the *Glosæ super Platonem* seems to have been prior to William's own glosses and, indeed, to have influenced his. William's mature *Timæus* glosses were written in the second quarter of the twelfth century,<sup>78</sup> whereas our *Glosæ super Platonem* dates from the first quarter of the twelfth century and certainly not later than 1125. Additional evidence for these dates is supplied by the different sources employed by the glossators. One of the chief virtues of William's treatment of Plato in the 1130s was to have been one of the first to have introduced new sources such as the *Isagoge ad Thegni Galeni* of

<sup>74</sup> D 49ra; M 36r; O 211; P 59r.

<sup>75</sup> Jeauneau, *Guillaume de Conches, Glosæ*, p. 278.

<sup>76</sup> D 48va; M 34r; O 209; P 58r: <sup>a</sup>om. DMP.

<sup>77</sup> Jeauneau, *Guillaume de Conches, Glosæ*, p. 264 and see note c.

<sup>78</sup> See Jeauneau, *Guillaume de Conches, Glosæ*, pp. 11-16.

Johannitius and the *Pantegni* of Constantinus Africanus.<sup>79</sup> No evidence whatsoever of these sources is to be found in our *Glosae*. The glossator of this work invokes authorities familiar to men at the start of the twelfth century: Boethius, Macrobius, Martianus, Augustine, and Aristotle (as known through the *Logica uetus*) are his sources. Moreover, William's additive approach to glossing the *Timaeus* suggests a prior tradition into which our *Glosae super Platonem* falls. William felt called upon to update his generation's understanding of the *Timaeus*, but he could not hide his fundamental debt to the *Glosae*. Indeed he says as much in the prologue to his set of glosses. In acknowledging a prior tradition of commenting on and glossing the *Timaeus*, William claims that he will 'prune the unnecessary parts of the others, add what they have left out, elucidate their obscurities, remove what has been badly said, and imitate what has been well said.'<sup>80</sup> The *Glosae super Platonem* is one of the sets of glosses which William knew and set out to improve upon. Written in the first quarter of the twelfth century and connected with Chartres, the *Glosae* is a text which exerted a formative influence on William of Conches' own approach to the *Timaeus*.

### III

But who wrote this important and influential set of glosses on the *Timaeus*? William of Conches was not alone, as we have seen, in employing the *Glosae super Platonem*. A series of twelfth-century scribes also knew and copied the *Glosae*. One of these names his source. Oxford, Bodleian Library Auct. F.3.15 is a manuscript written entirely by twelfth-century Irish hands.<sup>81</sup> The text of the *Timaeus* (fols. 1r-19v) is written in a large and elegant Irish script from around

<sup>79</sup> See Jeuneau, *Guillaume de Conches, Glosae*, p. 29 and n. 3. On the place of William and Chartres in the reception of these new texts, see Heinrich Schipperges, 'Die Schulen von Chartres unter dem Einfluss des Arabismus', *Sudhoffs Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin und der Naturwissenschaften* 40 (1956) 193-210 and *Die Assimilation der arabischen Medizin durch das lateinische Mittelalter* (Sudhoffs Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin und der Naturwissenschaften, Beihefte ..., Heft 3; Wiesbaden, 1964), pp. 111-23; and Peter Dronke, 'New Approaches to the School of Chartres', *Anuario de estudios medievales* 6 (1969) 124-27 [117-40].

<sup>80</sup> Jeuneau, *Guillaume de Conches, Glosae*, prologus, p. 57: 'aliorum superflua recidentes, pretermissa addentes, obscura elucidantes, male dicta remouentes, bene dicta imitantes.'

<sup>81</sup> On this ms., see F. Madan et al., *A Summary Catalogue of the Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford* 2.2 (Oxford, 1937), pp. 666-67 (no. 3511). This ms., as we are informed on fol. 1r, came to the Bodleian by way of Thomas Allen, the mathematician: see Andrew G. Watson, 'Thomas Allen of Oxford and His Manuscripts' in *Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts and Libraries: Essays Presented to N. R. Ker*, ed. M. B. Parkes and Andrew G. Watson (London, 1978), pp. 295 and 310 [279-313]. See also E. A. Lowe, *Codices latini antiquiores* 2, 2nd edition, p. 32 (no. 232); Klibansky, *The Continuity*, p. 30; and Waszink, *Timaeus a Calcidio translatus*, p. cxix.

1100 and the name of the individual who was probably the scribe, 'Salmon', is found at the end of the text. Around the middle of the century, the text of the *Timaeus* was joined together with a work *De temporibus* (fols. 21r-30v) and a series of extracts from John Scottus Eriugena's *Periphyseon* (fols. 31r-68v, but composed of two separate sections: fols. 31r-53v and 54r-68v) which have been extensively studied by I. P. Sheldon-Williams.<sup>82</sup> The hand of one scribe is to be found in all four sections of the manuscript: he corrected the main text of the *Timaeus*, added the glosses which interest us, and made comments throughout the other sections. In Old Irish, he may even tell at one point where he wrote a certain leaf, though the place (Cúalge?) has not been identified.<sup>83</sup> It has been suggested that the name of this scribe, and the director of the combined manuscript, may well be a certain Tuilecnad, since another scribe laments the absence of his teacher and later rejoices at the return of his teacher Tuilecnad on the feast of Saint Benedict.<sup>84</sup>

Whatever the name of this Irish scribe, he knew some interesting texts, both of the *Periphyseon* and of glosses on the *Timaeus*. When glossing the latter in the left margin of column a of fol. 9r, he concluded with the statement: 'Lege Bernardum et Calcidium et multas formas inuenies'. The longer gloss in the right margin of column b of the same folio finishes with a similar acknowledgement of his source: 'Hic lege Bernardum et adhuc inuenies.' And indeed the glosses which precede these statements derive directly from the *Glosæ super Platonem* under consideration here. The first is a gloss of *Itaque* (*Timaeus* 34c, Waszink 27.6):

*Glosæ super Platonem*

Oxford, Bodl. Auct. F.3.15, left margin,  
fol. 9ra

... significat. Secundum quosdam uero  
triplicem animæ substantiam, scilicet in-

Secundum quosdam significat triplicem  
substantiam animæ, scilicet indiuiduum,

<sup>82</sup> 'An Epitome of Irish Provenance of Eriugena's *De diuisione naturæ* (ms. Bodl. Auct. F.3.15)', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 58, Section C (1956) 1-16.

<sup>83</sup> The Old Irish glosses were first edited by Whitley Stokes in *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 29 (1887) 372-80. They were reedited and translated by F. Shaw in an appendix to Sheldon-Williams' article: 'The Irish Glosses and Marginalia in Bodl. ms. Auct. F.3.15', 17-20. For the reference to Cúalge, see Shaw, 19 and 20 no. 23. On the Irish character of the ms., see J. F. Kenney, *The Sources for the Early History of Ireland. An Introduction and Guide* 1 (New York, 1929; rpt. 1966), p. 679 (no. 539).

<sup>84</sup> For the references to Tuilecnad, see Shaw, *ibid.*, 19-20 (nos. 27-28). In the catalogue *A Thousand Years of Irish Script: An Exhibition of Irish Manuscripts in Oxford Libraries Arranged by Francis John Byrne* (Oxford, 1979), pp. 14-15 (no. 5), Tuilecnad is identified as the 'director' of the volume. I should here like to thank Dr. B. C. Barker-Benfield, Assistant Librarian of the Bodleian, for arranging, under unusual circumstances, for me to spend some time with mss. Auct. F.3.15 and Digby 23.

diuiduam, diuiduam, mediam, et trifor-  
mem naturam, eandem scilicet, diuersam,  
mixtam considerat. Quae sex tandem  
miscet in efficientia animae. Indiuiduae  
substantiae dicitur anima in prima crea-  
tione attenta, scilicet ante incorporatio-  
nem; diuiduae<sup>a</sup>, secundum<sup>b</sup> quod distrahi-  
tur ad incorporandum; mediae, secundum  
quod attenditur incorporata. Eiusdem na-  
turae putatur<sup>c</sup>, secundum quod tractat<sup>d</sup> de  
diuinis; diuersae, dum appetit haec ca-  
duca; mixtae, secundum quod utrorum-  
que habens noticiam praefert haec illis uel  
illa istis. Et ita substantia ad esse animae  
respicit<sup>e</sup>; natura ad discretionem quam  
habet in rebus.<sup>85</sup>

diuiduum, medium, et triformem natu-  
ram, eandem scilicet, diuersam, mixtam.

Indiuiduae substantiae dicitur anima in  
prima creatione attenta, scilicet ante cor-  
porationem; diuiduae, secundum quod  
distrahitur ad incorporandum; mediae,  
secundum quod ait non dicitur incorpo-  
rata. Eiusdem naturae, secundum quod  
tractat de diuinis; diuersae, dum appetit  
quae caduca; mixtae, secundum quod  
utrorumque habens noticiam praefert haec  
illis uel illa istis. Et ita substantiam ad esse  
animae respicit, naturae ad discretionem  
quam habet in rebus. Lege Bernardum et  
Calcidium et multas formas inuenies.

The gloss of the Oxford manuscript has been transcribed exactly as it stands with its omissions, incorrect case endings, and grammatical confusions. Though it is possible that the scribe simply possessed a faulty text of the *Glosae*, it is equally plausible to suppose that his errors arose from some difficulty he may have had in reading a manuscript written in a late Caroline script. We know that in reversed circumstances continental scribes were often sorely pressed when it came to copying Insular manuscripts. It seems likely, for instance, that when the Irish scribe wrote the nonsensical 'ait non dicitur' he was looking at an abbreviated form of 'attenditur' which he could not unravel. Even though the scribe also directs us to Calcidius' commentary, the passage in question does not derive from Calcidius,<sup>86</sup> but, as demonstrated, directly from our *Glosae super Platonem*.

In the case of the second gloss, no doubt at all can be left about either the source or the scribe's acknowledgement of it. Here the word *portionem* (*Timaeus* 35B, Waszink 27.19) is being glossed:

*Glosae super Platonem*

Oxford, Bodl. Auct. F.3.15, interlinear  
and right margin, fol. 9rb

*Portio* proprie dicitur de rebus incorporeis  
in quibus non est uere pars, sed instar  
partis. Pars proprie est<sup>a</sup> in<sup>b</sup> rebus corpo-  
reis. Per integumentum huius diuisionis,

Id est portio dicitur proprie de rebus  
incorporeis in quibus uere non est pars,  
sed instar partis. Pars proprie in rebus  
corporeis. Per integumentum huius diui-

<sup>85</sup> D 44va; M 15r; O 189; P 49rb; V 26v: <sup>a</sup>scilicet add. O, id est add. P  
<sup>c</sup>reputatur V <sup>d</sup>tractata D <sup>e</sup>tendit D.

<sup>b</sup>hoc add. O

<sup>86</sup> Cf. Calcidius, *Commentarius* 1.27-28, Waszink 77.21-80.5.



notantur diuersae uires<sup>c</sup> et actus animae. Per unitatem in principio positam, quae uicem puncti obtinet et est eadem et indiuisibilis, notatur anima consimilis uerae identitati, quia aeterna est, et ab eo<sup>d</sup> creata a quo procedunt omnia uariabilia.<sup>e</sup> Per lineares, superficiales et cubicos numeros qui subduntur, notatur animae et corporis coniugium, scilicet quia ipsa penetratura erat corpus, in quo longum, latum, altum consideratur; et ideo anima ex longo, lato, alto componi dicitur, quia similibus<sup>f</sup> similia facile iunguntur. Septem limites ideo ponit, ut per septenarium puritatem et dignitatem animae notet.<sup>g</sup> Septenario enim conceptio puerorum et procreatio et aetas hominum et cursus syderum et multa alia distinguuntur.<sup>h</sup><sup>87</sup>

sionis, notantur diuersae uires et actus animae. Per unitatem in principio positam, quae uicem puncti optinet eadem et indiuisibilis, notatur anima consimilis uerae identitati, quia aeterna est, et ab eo creata a quo procedunt omnia inuariabilia. Per lineales, superficiales et cubicos numeros qui subduntur, notatur animae et corporis coniugium, scilicet quia ipsa penetratura erat corpus, in quo longum, latum, altum consideratur; et ideo anima ex longo, lato, alto componi dicitur, quia si tribus III similia facile iungantur. Ideo ponit, ut per senarium puritatem et dignitatem animae notet. Per septenarium enim conceptio puerorum et procreatio et aetas hominum et cursus siderum et multa alia distinguuntur. Hic lege Bernardum et adhuc inuenies.

Again a comparison of the two texts reveals omissions and confusions in the Oxford manuscript, some of which may have been misreadings on the part of the Irish scribe.

Despite the imperfect state of his gloss, the Irish scribe is not in any doubt about the first name of the author of the *Glosae*. He directs readers who wish to find the full text of the gloss to read Bernard. Thus the author of our *Glosae super Platonem* is a certain Bernard. Although he acknowledges his dependence upon Bernard for only the two long glosses, he draws upon the *Glosae* extensively, but not exclusively. Even on the same folio, for instance, many of the interlinear glosses can be located in Bernard's *Glosae* at the same point. It is tempting, albeit premature, to wonder whether the corrections to Salmon's copy of the *Timaeus* made by the Irish scribe do not also derive from the same manuscript in which he found the *Glosae*. How exactly this scribe came by Bernard's *Glosae* is not easy to say. He might, indeed, have had direct access to a copy of the separate *Glosae*, as in the main manuscript tradition, or to a copy of the *Timaeus* which possessed Bernard's glosses in the margins. Or perhaps this scribe or his teacher had frequented the continent and there come into contact with the newest ideas which the schools had to offer and which he hoped to carry home. In the first of the two glosses transcribed above, the scribe

<sup>87</sup> D 44vb; M 16v; O 190; P 50r; V 27v: <sup>a</sup>om. O    <sup>b</sup>de M    <sup>c</sup>uirtutes P    <sup>d</sup>posita add. M  
<sup>e</sup>inuariabilia O    <sup>f</sup>similitudinibus M    <sup>g</sup>notaret P    <sup>h</sup>designantur V.

throws out Bernard's name alongside Calcidius' as though both would be equally recognizable to his readers. Moreover, the scribe, who was writing around the middle of the twelfth century, is another witness to the fact that the Bernard he names lived in the first half of the twelfth century. But who was this famous Bernard, whose name was known and whose glosses on Plato were both popular and authoritative by the mid-twelfth century?

Of the few Platonising Bernards who were active in the early twelfth century, one who obviously deserves consideration is Bernard Silvestris, and even he could not have written a set of glosses by 1125. The reason he merits consideration at all is that it is possible that he wrote a commentary on the *Timaeus*. In an article of 1964, Édouard Jeaneau demonstrated that a commentary on the *De nuptiis* of Martianus Capella found in Cambridge, University Library Mm.1.18, fols. 1ra-28ra was probably written by the author of the celebrated commentary on the first six books of Virgil's *Aeneid*.<sup>88</sup> Although the latter work had long been attributed to Bernard Silvestris, some doubt about his authorship of the work has recently arisen.<sup>89</sup> Scholarly consensus on this question is still wanting and probably will remain so until some additional piece of the puzzle is supplied. The author of the commentary on the *De nuptiis*, whoever he might be, does provide us with some tantalizing information. In five different places in the commentary, he refers his readers to a commentary on the *Timaeus* which he had written.<sup>90</sup> What had allowed Jeaneau to draw a firm connection between the *Aeneid* commentary and the *De nuptiis* commentary was that references in the latter to the former could be exactly found in it.<sup>91</sup> Nothing of the kind exists with respect to the *Glosae super Platonem*. In spite of the specific nature of the references to the *Timaeus* in the *De nuptiis* commentary, none of these references finds any correspondence in the *Glosae*.<sup>92</sup> The words glossed and the terms employed are different. More

<sup>88</sup> See Jeaneau, 'Note sur l'École de Chartres', *Studi medievali*, 3rd Ser., 5 (1964) 844-65 [821-65] (rpt. in 'Lectio philosophorum', pp. 28-36 [5-49]). Haijo Jan Westra has prepared a critical edition of this work.

<sup>89</sup> Stock, *Myth and Science*, p. 36 n. 42, originally questioned the attribution and has been followed by Julian Ward Jones and Elizabeth Frances Jones, eds., *The Commentary on the First Six Books of the 'Aeneid' of Virgil Commonly Attributed to Bernardus Silvestris: A New Critical Edition* (Lincoln, Neb., 1977), pp. x-xi. Peter Dronke, ed., *Bernardus Silvestris, Cosmographia* (Textus minores 53; Leiden, 1978), pp. 3-5, and Édouard Jeaneau in a review of this edition which appeared in *Medium aevum* 49 (1980) 112-13 [111-16], however, argue that the commentary on the *Aeneid* is still a work of Bernard or, at least, they see no reason at present for denying the attribution.

<sup>90</sup> See Jeaneau, 'Note sur l'École de Chartres' in 'Lectio philosophorum', p. 30, where the references are transcribed in full.

<sup>91</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 29-30.

<sup>92</sup> For instance, on fol. 11rb of this ms., one finds the following, ed. Jeaneau, *ibid.*: 'Vincit Mercurius apud Egiptios. Tempore enim estiuo exuberat Nilus: cuius rei causam super Platonem

important, the interests of the two authors are strikingly different: the Bernard of the *Glosæ* is interested in technical philosophical questions which did not appear to concern the author of the *De nuptiis* commentary. Even if the author of the commentary on Martianus were Bernard Silvestris, it is unlikely that he could be identified with the Bernard of the *Glosæ*. For one thing, no substantial parallels can be drawn between the *Glosæ* and the many direct references made to the *Timæus* in the *Aeneid* commentary and in the *Cosmographia* of Bernard Silvestris.<sup>93</sup> One must, therefore, conclude that the *Timæus* commentary written by the author of the commentary on the *De nuptiis* of Martianus Capella still remains to be identified; it is not our *Glosæ super Platonem*.

#### IV

Since the *Glosæ super Platonem* was composed by 1125 by a Bernard of considerable fame whose work had connections with Chartres and was known to William of Conches, the only plausible candidate for author<sup>94</sup> would seem to be the most famous Platonist of the first quarter of the twelfth century: Bernard of Chartres. As suggested in part I above, it is extremely likely that Bernard of Chartres composed a set of glosses on the *Timæus*. In addition, if Bernard of Chartres is the author of the *Glosæ super Platonem*, William of Conches' intimate knowledge of this work becomes understandable. Not only would William have probably owned a copy of Bernard of Chartres' glosses, but he would certainly have followed Bernard's lectures on the *Timæus* as one of his students. Since William's first exposure and solid grounding in the *Timæus* had come in Bernard's classroom, the similarity of their fundamental approaches to Plato would not be surprising. The circle between Bernard of Chartres and John of Salisbury is complete when we realize that John himself probably learned of Bernard's Platonism in the classroom of William of Conches.

aperuimus.' The author of the *Glosæ super Platonem* does not enter into an explanation of the summer flooding of the Nile at *Timæus* 22E. The other references in the *De nuptiis* commentary seem to refer to specific places in the *Timæus*: the comment on fol. 8ra to *Timæus* 40c, on 13vb to 41D, on 18vb to 36A-B, and on 22rb to 34B-35A. Neither at these points in the *Glosæ super Platonem* nor throughout the work could any correspondence be found.

<sup>93</sup> For detailed reference to the citations of the *Timæus* in the *Aeneid* commentary, which were compared in vain with the *Glosæ*, see Dutton, 'Illustre ciuitatis et populi exemplum', 103-104. For treatments of the influence of the *Timæus* on Bernard Silvestris, see Mary F. McCrimmon, *The Classical Philosophical Sources of the 'De mundi uniuersitate' of Bernard Silvestris* (Diss. Yale, 1952) and Stock, *Myth and Science*, pp. 106-12. No correspondence was discovered.

<sup>94</sup> Häring, 'Chartres and Paris Revisited', 295-99, reviews in another context the various Bernards who were scholastically active in the twelfth century. With the exception of Bernard of Chartres, it should be noted, all of these appeared on the scene too late to have been the author of a major *Timæus* commentary from the first quarter of the twelfth century.

If much of the evidence up until this point for tying together the *Glosae super Platonem* and Bernard of Chartres has been circumstantial, final proof must rest in the correspondence between what John of Salisbury tells us about Bernard's Platonic doctrines and what the *Glosae* actually says. We should not, however, expect John to be a mere reporter; he was, after all, one of the great Latin prose stylists of the twelfth century and his *Metalogicon* is a carefully conceived tapestry, in which Bernard is only a bit of background detail. Moreover, as suggested earlier, John was most likely only a second-hand recipient of Bernard's Platonic teachings. If he once knew the *Glosae* directly, nothing in the *Metalogicon* suggests that he consulted it while writing. Rather, he provides us with only a fragmentary account of Bernard's Platonism, especially with reference to what was considered distinctive about it. But in the *Metalogicon*, which was composed by the fall of 1159, John sees such issues as the Platonic ideas in the more highly charged and controversial circumstances which surrounded this notion in the 1130s and 40s. At certain points, he relates Bernard's teachings in terms of new combatants. Bernard's ideas are, furthermore, portrayed from John's later standpoint as somewhat old-fashioned. John himself preferred to take a more moderate Aristotelian position, and openly disagreed with some aspects of Bernard's philosophy.<sup>95</sup> Indeed, if we understand by the phrase 'Bernardus quoque Carnotensis, perfectissimus inter Platonicos seculi nostri' that John considered Bernard of Chartres to be the most complete or thoroughgoing Platonist of the age, we may be dealing with a rather pointed epithet: Bernard, John may have been suggesting, was too deeply committed to a Platonic view of the world which in the late 1150s seemed somewhat uninformed. But, in spite of these cautionary qualifications of the value of John's witness to Bernard's philosophy, the degree of correspondence between John's description and the actual *Glosae* is quite striking.

In the chapter of the *Metalogicon* which chiefly deals with Bernard's Platonism, John writes that Plato divided true existence into its three principles: God, matter, and idea.<sup>96</sup> Each of these, in its own nature, is immutable; God absolutely so, while the other two are unchangeable, but vary from each other in effects. Bernard of Chartres' two elegiac distichs on the idea and hyle, which John includes after a discussion of forms, express the same division into three first principles:

<sup>95</sup> See *Met.* 2.20, ed. Webb, pp. 97-116. See also Gilson, 'Le platonisme de Bernard de Chartres', where John's disagreement with aspects of Bernard's Platonism is investigated.

<sup>96</sup> *Met.* 4.35, ed. Webb, p. 205, ll. 6-8: 'Hanc autem ueram existentiam partiebatur in tria, quae rerum principia statuebat; Deum scilicet, materiam, et ideam.'

Non dico esse quod est, gemina quod parte coactum  
 materie formam continet implicitam;  
 sed dico esse quod est, una quod constat earum;  
 hoc uocat Idean, illud Acheus ilen.<sup>97</sup>

In the *Glosæ super Platonem*, the same distinct Platonic division is preserved: 'principia prima ... tria, scilicet deus, hyle, et ideae.'<sup>98</sup> Curiously enough, both John and the author of the *Glosæ* present the three principles in the same order: God, matter or hyle, and the ideas. This Platonic scheme of three kinds of existence is the fundamental and working concept of the *Glosæ*, but with a novel twist: the introduction of the *formae natiuae*.

First we should note that John of Salisbury particularly identifies the doctrine of the Platonic ideas with Bernard of Chartres.<sup>99</sup> He tells us that Walter of Mortagne, emulating Plato and imitating Bernard of Chartres, had taken up the doctrine of the ideas and maintained that genus or species was nothing other than the ideas: 'Ille ideas ponit, Platonem emulatus et imitans Bernardum Carnotensem, et nichil preter eas genus dicit esse uel speciem.'<sup>100</sup> And, indeed, the Bernard of the *Glosæ* holds the same opinion:

*Atque ut mens hominis contemplatur genera idearum (Timæus 39E, Waszink 32.18-20): id est ideas quae sunt genera omnium rerum in intelligibili mundo, sicut sensu comprehenderemus<sup>a</sup> ea quae sunt in hoc sensili.<sup>101</sup>*

Thus the generic essences of all things are the ideas, but genus is more perfect than species because it is more self-contained.<sup>102</sup> Now, according to John, Bernard of Chartres believed that the ideas were eternal, but not coeternal with God, for this coeternity was restricted to the three persons of the Trinity.<sup>103</sup> The

<sup>97</sup> *ibid.*, ll. 24-27.

<sup>98</sup> See the full quotation in n. 122 below. Note that the same tripartite scheme is to be found in the gloss on p. 215 below.

<sup>99</sup> *Met.* 2.17, ed. Webb, p. 93, ll. 14-16. In addition, when John of Salisbury says at *Met.* 2.20, ed. Webb, p. 115, ll. 25-27: 'Vnde licet Plato cetum philosophorum grandem et tam Augustinum quam alios plures nostrorum in statuendis ideis habeat assertores ...', he probably had Bernard of Chartres along with his followers in mind.

<sup>100</sup> *Met.* 2.17, ed. Webb, p. 93, ll. 14-16. Before this, John informs us, Walter of Mortagne used to hold a different notion of the universals: see *Met.* 2.17, p. 93, ll. 9-13. *De generibus et speciebus*, a work which contains this previous position, has been attributed to Walter: see B. Hauréau, ed., *Notices et extraits de quelques manuscrits latins de la Bibliothèque Nationale* 5 (Paris, 1892), pp. 298-325.

<sup>101</sup> D 45va; M 21v; O 195; P 52r; V 29v: <sup>a</sup>comprehendemus D.

<sup>102</sup> Note the following gloss on *Timæus* 30c, Waszink 23.11: '*Speciali*: ideo dicit hunc<sup>a</sup> mundum factum similem generali non speciali naturae, ut ex generis similitudine doceat eum esse perfectum. Genus enim perfectius est specie quia contentius' (D 43vb; M 11v; O 185; P 47v; V 24v: <sup>a</sup>sensilem *add. P*).

<sup>103</sup> *Met.* 4.35, ed. Webb, p. 206, ll. 1-15.

idea, for Bernard, was posterior in nature to the divinity and remained in the inner recesses of the divine mind; thus Bernard dared to call it eternal, but not coeternal.<sup>104</sup> This is the exact line of argument to be found in the *Glosae super Platonem*, where the archetypal ideas are said to be eternal and to exist in the mind of God.<sup>105</sup> Although all things in time are born and die and, therefore, are temporal, the works of God are not temporal for they have neither beginning nor end and do not suffer from the things brought about by time:

Omnia in tempore nascuntur et occidunt, et ideo dicuntur<sup>a</sup> temporalia. Est igitur mundus opus<sup>b</sup> dei: opera uero dei non sunt temporalia, quia nec principium nec finem habent in tempore. Vocantur quidem causatiua quia<sup>c</sup> habent causas ante tempus soli deo et non nobis cognitae. Quae<sup>d</sup> ita sunt fundamenta dei operum sicut semina naturae operum<sup>e</sup> naturalium, et ideo nichil patiuntur ex his quae infert tempus, scilicet nec morbum nec senium nec similia, sed sunt sine necessitate incommodi. Per exemplum quoque propagatur mundus aeternitati, quia cum archetipus qui est eius exemplum sit aeternus ex ipso similitudinem aeternitatis trahit<sup>f</sup>.<sup>106</sup>

By eternal, the Bernard of the glosses denotes what is perpetual and indissoluble.<sup>107</sup>

Thus the Bernard of the *Glosae super Platonem* draws an essential distinction between those things which precede time and those which follow it: the works of God exist *cum tempore*, the works of nature and of man *ex tempore*.<sup>108</sup> The ideas are, moreover, the eternal reasons of all things.<sup>109</sup> But our Bernard is

<sup>104</sup> *ibid.*, ll. 15-19: 'Ideam uero, quia ad hanc parilitatem non consurgit, sed quodammodo natura posterior est et uelut quidam effectus, manens in archano consilii, extrinseca causa non indigens, sicut eternam audebat dicere, sic coeternam esse negabat.'

<sup>105</sup> At *Timaeus* 51A, Waszink 21.23 one finds the following gloss: 'figuris aeternae uitae: id est idearum quae aeternaliter consistunt' (D 49ra; M 36r; O 211; P 59r). Still later at *Timaeus* 51E, Waszink 50.10, one reads: 'Quod cum ita sit, scilicet quia intelligibilia semper sunt cum uera ratione nec permutantur. Fatendum est esse<sup>a</sup> speciem, proprie intelligibilem semotam et cetera, et hic accipiuntur pura archetipa, quae consistunt in mente dei' (D 49rb; M 37v; O 213; P 59v: <sup>a</sup>deest in O).

<sup>106</sup> *Timaeus* 28A, Waszink 20.20. D 43rb; M 8v; O 182-183; P 46r; V 23r: <sup>a</sup>dicunt V <sup>b</sup>opus om. DMPV <sup>c</sup>quae V <sup>d</sup>sed quae D <sup>e</sup>operis ... operis P <sup>f</sup>habent uel trahit M.

<sup>107</sup> *ibid.*: 'Nec dicimus aeternum quod careat principio, sed intelligimus perpetuum et indissolubilem' (D 43rb-va; M 9r; O 183; P 46v; V 23v).

<sup>108</sup> *Timaeus* 28B, Waszink 21.7: 'Operibus enim dei non conuenit esse<sup>a</sup> ex tempore, sed cum tempore. Operibus uero naturae et hominis non conuenit cum tempore, sed ex tempore, quia ea praecedunt<sup>b</sup> tempus, haec sequuntur' (D 43va; M 9r-v; O 183; P 46v; V 23v: <sup>a</sup>om. O <sup>b</sup>praecedit O).

<sup>109</sup> A gloss at *Timaeus* 29B, Waszink 21.23 reads: 'Et quoniam. Dixit hunc mundum esse imaginem archetipi. Vellet autem<sup>a</sup> aliquis sibi reddi rationes<sup>b</sup> utriusque; Plato uero ostendit de archetipo se non posse reddere rationes, quia cum omnium rerum rationes rebus ipsis cognatae sint, sicut archetipus aeternus est, ita eius rationes aeternae sunt, et ideo hominum<sup>c</sup> ingenio nequeunt comprehendi' (D 43va; M 9v-10r; O 184; P 46v; V 24r: <sup>a</sup>etiam O <sup>b</sup>rationem P <sup>c</sup>rationem P).

careful, as was Bernard of Chartres, to state that the ideas are in the mind of God which is inferior or, if you will, posterior to God:

Nota archetipum nec principium nec finem habere et tamen secundum philosophos<sup>a</sup> diuersum esse a deo et inferiorem; diuersum quia colligit in se omnium rerum ideas, quae sunt unum de tribus principiis a Platone consideratis; est quippe unus deus omnium opifex; alterum ideae, id est originales formae omnium quae numquam admiscuntur creaturis; tertium<sup>b</sup> hile, materia, scilicet corporum. Inferior est, cum Macrobius dicat ideas esse in mente dei, quae inferior est deo.<sup>110</sup>

Later the author of the *Glosæ* remarks that Plato speaks of the birth of the soul in order that no one might assert that the soul is coeternal with God.<sup>111</sup> For both Bernard of Chartres and the Bernard of the *Glosæ* only God can be coeternal with himself; everything else is in some sense posterior and inferior, even the eternal ideas in the divine mind.

The most original element of Bernard's philosophy was doubtless the concept of the *formae natiuae*. According to John, the forms entering into matter dispose it and make it subject to change. Since the ideas are immutable and remain separate from matter, which is incapable of self-movement, an intermediate form was necessary. From the ideas proceed the native forms, which are the images of the exemplars or ideas, and these are created together with individual things by nature. According to John, Bernard of Chartres subscribed to this Boethian philosophy of forms.<sup>112</sup> Indeed, Bernard may well be, as some have suggested, the inventor of the actual formulation of the *formae natiuae*.<sup>113</sup> At the very least, he was its chief proponent in his day. With Gilbert of Poitiers, Bernard argued that the native forms were universals or, rather, that they were original examples which inhered in created things, not in the mind of God. The native form is related to the idea as the example is to the exemplar.<sup>114</sup> In addition, John informs us that, in commenting on Porphyry, Bernard drew a distinction between the twofold work of the divine mind: one created from subjected matter or created with it and the other made and contained within the

<sup>a</sup>horum *O*). Perhaps this passage with its identification of the reasons with the causes shows the influence of John Scottus Eriugena, an influence often suspected because of what John of Salisbury tells us in *Met.* 4.35. For the reference in question, see n. 115 below.

<sup>110</sup> *Timaeus* 31b, Waszink 24.2. D 44ra; M 11v-12r; O 185; P 47v; V 25r: <sup>a</sup>sophos *MO* <sup>b</sup>initium *O*.

<sup>111</sup> *Timaeus* 34b, Waszink 27.1: '*Nec tamen ... Animae genituram ideo docet,<sup>a</sup> ne quis eam fuisse deo coaeternam contenderet*' (D 44va; M 14v; O 188; P 49rb; V 26v: <sup>a</sup>docetur *V*, dicit *M*).

<sup>112</sup> *Met.* 4.35, ed. Webb, p. 205, ll. 21-23.

<sup>113</sup> David Knowles, *The Evolution of Medieval Thought* (New York, 1962), p. 132, speaking of Bernard of Chartres: 'It was he who originated the phrase "native forms" (*natiuae formae*).'

<sup>114</sup> John of Salisbury, *Met.* 2.17, ed. Webb, pp. 94, l. 26-95, l. 7.

divine mind, requiring no external support.<sup>115</sup> Here the difference is again between the native forms and the ideas or between two aspects of being: one outside of God, the other inside.

In the *Glosae super Platonem*, the doctrine of the *formae natiuae* assumes a predominant importance. The phrase itself is employed nineteen different times which is remarkable for a set of glosses written in the first quarter of the twelfth century. It is difficult to believe that anyone but Bernard of Chartres, the chief proponent of the *formae natiuae*, could have laid such great stress on the doctrine of the native forms early in the twelfth century. The definition of the *formae natiuae* provided by both John of Salisbury and the author of the *Glosae* is virtually identical:

*Glosae super Platonem*

John of Salisbury, *Metalogicon* 4.35, ed. Webb, p. 205, ll. 15-19

*At uero unde obuenerit* (*Timaean* 50D, Waszink 48.16): id est archetipus mundus<sup>a</sup>, uicem *patris*, non quod<sup>b</sup> *ideae* commisceantur hile in efficientia sensilis, sed *natiuae*<sup>c</sup> *formae* quae sunt *imagines* *idearum*.<sup>116</sup>

Ideas tamen, quas post Deum primas essentias ponit, negat in seipsis materie admisceri aut aliquem sortiri motum; sed ex his forme prodeunt natiue, scilicet *imagines exemplarium*, quas natura rebus singulis concreauit.

The *formae natiuae* are *imagines* of the exemplary ideas. Since the ideas are not mixed with matter, it is the native forms which, created together with individual things, allow matter to reflect the ideas.

The Bernard of the *Glosae* distinguishes between three modes of things: *res formata* (the body), *informis materia* (hyle), and the idea which remains unchanged in the divine mind.<sup>117</sup> Without the *formae natiuae* bodies could not, in Bernard's philosophy, exist at all, since the stuff of which they are made is unformed matter. Hyle was a creation of God, but existed as a chaotic mass in a state of pure potency. In hyle, however, God introduced through the native forms a nursery of bodies (*seminarium corporum*):

<sup>115</sup> *Met.* 4.35, ed. Webb, p. 206, ll. 19-23: 'Vt enim ait in expositione Porphyrii, duplex est opus diuine mentis, alterum quod de subiecta materia creat aut quod ei concreatur; alterum quod de se facit et continet in se, externo non egens adminiculo.'

<sup>116</sup> D 48vb; M 35v; O 211; P 59r: <sup>a</sup>om. P <sup>b</sup>quia M.

<sup>117</sup> At *Timaean* 50c, Waszink 48.12-13 one reads the following gloss: '*At uero: dixi quod ostendemus quomodo sint inde formata, sed nunc prius trinum genus, id est tres maneriae*<sup>a</sup> *rerum sumendae sunt animo, scilicet res formata, quae est corpus, informis materia, scilicet*<sup>b</sup> *hile, et idea, quae semper manet eadem in mente*<sup>c</sup> *diuina*' (D 48vb; M 35v; O 211; P 59r: <sup>a</sup>materie O <sup>b</sup>om. P <sup>c</sup>manente O). John of Salisbury, *Met.* 2.17, ed. Webb, p. 95, ll. 15-18, scorns the modern, and he thinks unusual, use of the word *maneries*: 'Hoc autem nomen in quo auctorum inuenerit uel hanc distinctionem, incertum habeo, nisi forte in glosematibus, aut modernorum linguis doctorum.'



Illud uero seminarium natiuis formis deus formauit, per quas discreta a se ipsa<sup>a</sup> quattuor elementa liquida et elimata inuenta sunt, nondum sensu comprehensibilia. Et inde dicunt philosophi non ex nichilo deum fecisse mundum, sed tantum exornasse.<sup>118</sup>

According to our Bernard, hyle is a divisible substance because of the native forms, while the ideas remain indivisible and untouched by the contamination of bodies:

Item quidam philosophi dicunt Platonem intellexisse per indiuiduam substantiam, ideas; per diuiduam, hilen; per haec duo mixta<sup>a</sup>, natiuas formas, per quas item notatur anima sensum habere et intellectum. Natiuae enim ideis similes sunt, quia ex earum similitudine in substantia<sup>b</sup> processerunt. Affines etiam sunt hile, quia incorporantur et ibi mutantur<sup>c</sup>, sicut hile. Merito uero dicitur anima constare ex natiuis<sup>d</sup> formis, quia<sup>e</sup> secundum Aristotelem anima<sup>f</sup> est endelichia, id est forma corporis, quae corpus uiuificando quodammodo informat. Alii autem philosophi<sup>g</sup> dicunt Platonem intellexisse per indiuiduam substantiam<sup>h</sup> ideam animae, quae<sup>i</sup> est purus intellectus et mens, cuius ueneranda puritas nullius corporis contagione uiolatur.<sup>119</sup>

The native forms, therefore, mediate between the pure ideas in the mind of God and hyle or unformed matter. It is, indeed, the native forms which lead hyle to enter into sensible bodies.<sup>120</sup> The native forms are said to descend into hyle, but withdrawing from it hyle still persists.<sup>121</sup> In order not to posit more than the first three principles, namely, God, hyle, and the ideas, the Bernard of the *Glosae* asserts that before the creation of the world all the native forms which would later enter into hyle existed potentially in it.<sup>122</sup>

It is by the formulation of the doctrine of the *formae natiuae* that the Bernard of the *Glosae super Platonem* tries to reconcile Plato and Aristotle: hyle is

<sup>118</sup> *Timaeus* 30A, Waszink 22.23. D 43vb; M 11r; O 185; P 47v; V 24v: <sup>a</sup>ipsis O.

<sup>119</sup> *Timaeus* 34c, Waszink 27.6. D 44va; M 15v; O 189; P 49v; V 27r: <sup>a</sup>per haec duo mixta om. O, quia incorporantur add. O <sup>b</sup>substantiam V <sup>c</sup>ibi mutantur om. O, inmutantur V <sup>d</sup>naturali V <sup>e</sup>deest in VM <sup>f</sup>animam P <sup>g</sup>per hilem O <sup>h</sup>om. O <sup>i</sup>quia P.

<sup>120</sup> *Timaeus* 52A, Waszink 50.14: 'Quidam hoc secundum uocant natiuas formas, quae dicuntur sensibiles,<sup>a</sup> quia ad hoc ducunt hilen, ut possit sentiri, et *sustenabiles*, quia ab hile sustentantur' (D 49rb; M 37v; O 213; P 59v: <sup>a</sup>sensiles O).

<sup>121</sup> *Timaeus* 52A, Waszink 50.16: '*Tertium genus est loci*: id est hile quae dicitur locus, quia in eam descendunt natiuae formae, quibus recedentibus, hile non interit' (D 49rb; M 37v; O 213; P 60r).

<sup>122</sup> *Timaeus* 52D, Waszink 51.7: '*haec tria fuisse existens*: id est archetipas formas, *locum* scilicet hilen, *generationem*, id est natiuas. Et nota quoniam, licet<sup>a</sup> ante constitutionem mundi omnes natiuae formae quae post in hilen uenerunt in ipsa hile tantum potentialiter existerunt, illae tamen quae ipsam ad quattuor mundi elementa procreanda formabant, actualiter<sup>b</sup> ante mundi exornationem in ipsa constiterunt: non tamen ut carentes origine, ne sint plura principia prima quam tria: scilicet deus, hile, et ideae' (D 49va; M 38r; O 214; P 60r: <sup>a</sup>om. MP <sup>b</sup>exstiterunt ... actualiter deest in O).

indeterminate and passive, yet the native forms, these images of the ideas, lead it into particular things. In the *Metalogicon*, John of Salisbury informs us that, in fact, Bernard of Chartres and his students had laboured to reconcile Plato and Aristotle.<sup>123</sup> This programme in part, of course, reflects the Chartrian debt to Boethius. Despite John's vagueness about just how they tried to accomplish this reconciliation, it is worth noting that John immediately follows this statement with a description of the doctrine of the *formae natiuae* of Bernard of Chartres and his student Gilbert of Poitiers. Thus for both Bernard of Chartres and the Bernard of the *Glosae super Platonem* the way to reconcile the two Greek philosophers was by the formulation of the concept of the *formae natiuae*.

Throughout the *Glosae super Platonem*, one finds numerous references to and sensitive treatments of the ideas, hyle, and the native forms. These do not disagree in any particular with what John of Salisbury describes of Bernard's philosophy, though shades of meaning remain to be studied. In addition, one finds a series of less tangible but still suggestive links with Bernard of Chartres in the *Glosae*. Several times in the *Glosae*, for instance, the author uses the colour white as a way of demonstrating some truth about bodies, and this is reminiscent of Bernard of Chartres' famous analogy of the white virgin.<sup>124</sup> Moreover, even from John's account, we should expect a strong infusion of moral values into any work of Bernard of Chartres, and, indeed, references of this kind, particularly to the vices and virtues, dot the *Glosae*.<sup>125</sup> The author of the *Glosae* has as well a real concern with the moral upbringing of boys. At one point, he somewhat humourously says that boys think that the greatest goods are things that please them.<sup>126</sup> One senses that the author of the *Glosae* is a teacher, particularly when he says of '*amatorem intellectus et disciplinae* (*Timaeus* 46D, Waszink 43.19-20): *id est eum qui amat ita docere, ut plene<sup>a</sup> intelligatur.*'<sup>127</sup> Like Chartrian thinkers of the early twelfth century, our Bernard utilises such explanatory techniques as *per inuolucrum* and *per integumentum*, particularly when faced with some of Plato's more obscure or outrageous doctrines.<sup>128</sup> He also points out rhetorical figures and types of genre as they pertain to his material, a feature which John again associates with the

<sup>123</sup> *Met.* 2.17, ed. Webb, p. 94, ll. 22-26: 'Egerunt operosius Bernardus Carnotensis et auditores eius ut componerent inter Aristotilem et Platonem, sed eos tarde uenisse arbitror et laborasse in uanum ut reconciliarent mortuos qui, quamdiu in uita licuit, dissenserunt.'

<sup>124</sup> See John of Salisbury, *Met.* 3.2, ed. Webb, pp. 124, l. 21-125, l. 10.

<sup>125</sup> At least six major references to the virtues and vices are to be found in the *Glosae*.

<sup>126</sup> *Timaeus* 44B, Waszink 40.6: 'pueri putant summa bona<sup>a</sup> esse quaecumque sibi placent' (D 47ra; M 28v; O 202; P 55r: 'pueri ... bona deest in P').

<sup>127</sup> D 47vb; M 31v; O 206; P 56v: 'om. M.'

<sup>128</sup> *Per inuolucrum* is employed four different times in the *Glosae*; *per integumentum* three times, and *fabula* is mentioned twice.

teaching of Bernard of Chartres.<sup>129</sup> Our Bernard also speaks at several points in the *Glosæ* about the *quadrivium* and *trivium* as one would expect of the master of Chartres.<sup>130</sup> Moreover, there is a similarity between what John tells us about Bernard's teaching of texts and what we actually encounter as a system of reading an actual text in the *Glosæ*.<sup>131</sup> Subjects such as the ideas and *formae natiuae* are dealt with gradually, never abruptly, so that the student might in his own time acquire understanding of difficult matters. And although the *littera* of the *Timæus* is carefully treated, the Bernard of the *Glosæ* prefers, as we know Bernard of Chartres did, to concentrate on key themes such as the *formae natiuae* rather than to exhaust himself and his listeners in exhausting the text.<sup>132</sup>

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In conclusion, the evidence for attribution is as follows. In the first quarter of the twelfth century, a certain Bernard wrote the *Glosæ super Platonem* which commences 'Socrates de re publica decem libris disputavit'. This work was extremely popular in the twelfth century as its influence is to be found reflected in a number of dependent glosses, in the commentary found in the Uppsala manuscript, and in William of Conches' own set of glosses on the *Timæus*. Indeed the Irish scribe, who names Bernard, puts him on equal footing with Calcidius as a recognized authority on Plato. Few Bernards with this authoritative and popular voice on the *Timæus* can be found in the first quarter of the twelfth century. But Bernard of Chartres, whom John of Salisbury called 'the most complete Platonist' of his time, was surely one of these. On both codicological and doctrinal grounds, the Bernard of the *Glosæ* can be linked with Chartres: not only is the *Glosæ* found with William of Conches' works in some early manuscripts, though always in first position, but it shares a concern with central Chartrian concepts. Furthermore, the degree of consonance between what John of Salisbury tells us in the *Metalogicon* about Bernard of Chartres' Platonism and what we actually discover in our Bernard's *Glosæ* is very high. To take but one point mentioned by John: Bernard of Chartres is the chief proponent and perhaps the original formulator of the doctrine of the

<sup>129</sup> See *Met.* 1.24, ed. Webb, p. 55, ll. 14-19. The author of the *Glosæ* begins at *Timæus* 17A by identifying: 'tria genera poematum: enarratiuum, quando ex propria persona auctor loquitur; actiuium, quando per introductas<sup>a</sup> agit; commune, quando per utrasque. Hic Plato insistit actiuium genus' (D 42rb-va; M 3v; O 177; P 43r; V 20r: <sup>a</sup>personas add. MV).

<sup>130</sup> In at least six different places in the *Glosæ* one finds references to the various liberal arts, with specific references to the *quadrivium* and *trivium* occurring in the glosses on Calcidius' letter-preface (Waszink 5.8-9).

<sup>131</sup> *Met.* 1.24, ed. Webb, pp. 55-57.

<sup>132</sup> See *Met.* 1.24, ed. Webb, pp. 56, l. 28-57, l. 6.

*formae natiuae*. Although it was a concept derived from a sensitive reading of Boethius, it was not a widely held idea even in the early twelfth century. John leads us to believe that the idea was developed by Bernard of Chartres and adopted by his student Gilbert of Poitiers. Since the idea of the *formae natiuae* holds a predominant position in the philosophy of the Bernard who wrote the *Glosae*, the conclusion seems inescapable: the Bernards are one and the same. The author of the *Glosae super Platonem* is Bernard of Chartres.

What a real text of Bernard of Chartres will do to our conception of the school of Chartres and its central concern with Platonism remains to be seen. Bernard of Chartres has for so long been spoken of in reverential tones that a genuine work may come as either a revelation or a disappointment.<sup>133</sup> An edition of the *Glosae super Platonem* is presently being prepared by the author of this article and, then, Bernard of Chartres who has for so many centuries been heard only through the words of John of Salisbury will speak for himself. Admittedly, extravagant claims have been made about the school of Chartres, as Southern argues, in the absence of facts, but by the same token extravagant criticism has been levelled in the absence of texts. In the recent discussion about the importance of the school of Chartres, one does not have to strain very hard to detect a renewed debate between Platonists and Aristotelians, argued in the present, but set in the past.<sup>134</sup>

In Bernard of Chartres and William of Conches, we have the two most influential medieval commentators on the *Timaeus*. Together they lead us back to the early years of the twelfth century and to Chartres, where one was the preeminent master of his day and the other an enthusiastic student being exposed for the first time to the profound teachings of the *Timaeus*. No wonder, then, that William, in the prologue to his own set of glosses on the *Timaeus*, acknowledges a previous tradition of *Timaeus* glosses and presents himself as its corrector. Perhaps it was because Bernard was the original metaphysician of

<sup>133</sup> If the conclusion drawn here is correct, others should follow. Bernard of Chartres cannot, for instance, be the author of the commentary on the *Aeneid* of Virgil and the one on the *De nuptiis* of Martianus, as was recently speculated: see Jones and Jones, *The Commentary on the First Six Books of the 'Aeneid'*, p. xi, who quote André Vernet to this effect.

<sup>134</sup> On the one side, there is R. W. Southern, who has not only questioned the importance of the school of Chartres, but has also argued that the *Timaeus* was a hindrance to the opening up of medieval perspectives, one which could only be surpassed with the advent of new Aristotelian texts: see especially *Medieval Humanism*, p. 77 and *Platonism*, pp. 8-10. On the other, stands a much larger number of scholars, the defenders of the school of Chartres or at least the idea of it, who see in it an almost magical blending of Platonism and poetry. Chartres stood, according to Peter Dronke, for the freshest in thought and the most adventurous in learning that the twelfth century had to offer. And the *Timaeus* stood, without doubt, at the centre of Chartrian Platonism. See Dronke, 'New Approaches', 117 and Winthrop Wetherbee, *Platonism and Poetry in the Twelfth Century: The Literary Influence of the School of Chartres* (Princeton, 1972).

Chartres, as the *Glosæ* clearly reveals him, that William charted a new course for himself, one which led him to investigate the world of nature and to acquire new texts in the field of natural philosophy. In this regard, it is Gilbert of Poitiers who more clearly followed in the footsteps of his master. It is William, however, who devoted himself, as his master had done, to understanding the *Timæus*. If a master and a generation of his students may make a tradition and define a school, then this was one of the richest, for Bernard and Gilbert posed in a fresh and stimulating way a Platonic view of the world and Bernard and William touched and transformed the way in which men up until the Italian Renaissance would read the *Timæus*.<sup>135</sup>

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<sup>135</sup> I would like once again to thank the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada without whose generous support my many and varied researches in Toronto and in the libraries of Europe could not have been carried out.

# POSSIBLE SOURCES FOR GODFREY OF FONTAINES' VIEWS ON THE ACT-POTENCY 'COMPOSITION' OF SIMPLE CREATURES\*

*John F. Wippel*

ON a number of occasions I have examined Godfrey of Fontaines' views on the relationship between essence and existence in creatures.<sup>1</sup> Without repeating this research in detail it will be enough for me to recall that throughout his career as a Master in Theology Godfrey rejected both real distinction and intentional distinction between essence and existence. His argumentation against the first position seems to be directed primarily against the views of Giles of Rome. His criticisms of the second view are certainly directed against Henry of Ghent.<sup>2</sup>

In setting forth his own defense of real identity of essence and existence in creatures, Godfrey was forced to consider the case of simple created beings whose essence is not composed of matter and form: the angels of the Christian tradition, or the lesser separate entities of an earlier philosophical tradition. In his first full discussion of the essence-existence relationship, Godfrey shows that he is aware of argumentation for real distinction of essence and existence in

\* I would like to express my appreciation to Professor Stephen F. Brown of Boston College for his careful reading of my text and for his helpful comments concerning some difficult readings in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale ms. lat. 16096.

<sup>1</sup> See my 'Godfrey of Fontaines and the Real Distinction between Essence and Existence', *Traditio* 20 (1964) 385-410, 'Godfrey of Fontaines and Henry of Ghent's Theory of Intentional Distinction between Essence and Existence' in *Sapientiae procerum amore. Mélanges Médiévistes offerts à Dom Jean-Pierre Müller O.S.B. à l'occasion de son 70ème anniversaire (24 février 1974)*, ed. T. W. Köhler (*Studia anselmiana philosophica theologica* 63; Rome, 1974), pp. 289-320, and *The Metaphysical Thought of Godfrey of Fontaines. A Study in Late Thirteenth-Century Philosophy* (Washington, D.C., 1981), pp. 39-99 (chap. 2).

<sup>2</sup> For his argumentation against the real distinction, especially as presented by Giles of Rome, see the first item mentioned in n. 1, as well as *The Metaphysical Thought*, pp. 46-66; for his argumentation against Henry of Ghent's intentional distinction see the second item mentioned in n. 1, and *The Metaphysical Thought*, pp. 66-89. On Giles and Henry and the essence-existence question also see my 'The Relationship between Essence and Existence in Late-Thirteenth-Century Thought: Giles of Rome, Henry of Ghent, Godfrey of Fontaines, and James of Viterbo' in *Philosophies of Existence, Ancient and Medieval*, ed. P. Morewedge (New York, 1982), pp. 131-64; especially pp. 134-42, and for secondary literature, nn. 22, 23, 24, 66.

such entities based on the fact that they would otherwise be absolutely simple and not distinguished from God.<sup>3</sup> In this discussion of 1286 (Quodlibet III, q. 1, shorter version), he counters that, in order to protect the simplicity of the divine and to account for some kind of act-potency composition in such creatures, one need not postulate really distinct principles in these entities. Any finite essence may be regarded as participated and as more composite or as less simple than the divine merely by being compared with something that is more perfect, on the one hand, and with any less perfect creature, on the other. A less perfect essence is always potential when compared with one that is more perfect (or with God); yet that same essence is also actual insofar as it is viewed in itself (or insofar as it actually exists).<sup>4</sup>

In q. 3 of this same Quodlibet III Godfrey develops this thinking somewhat more fully. Here he is directly concerned with refuting the application of matter-form composition to angels.<sup>5</sup> It is not by multiplying principles within a created being that one accounts for its composition and its distinction from the

<sup>3</sup> Godfrey's major contribution to philosophical and theological literature consists of fifteen Quodlibetal Questions which he disputed at Paris from 1285 until c. 1303/1304. These have been edited in the series *Les philosophes belges* (hereafter cited as PB) in volumes 2 (1904), 3 (1914), 4 (1924, 1928, 1931), 5 (1932, 1935), and 14 (1937). Both longer and shorter versions of Quodlibets III and IV have been edited. Godfrey presents argumentation in support of the real distinction based on the situation of created separate substances in both the longer and shorter versions of Quodlibet III, q. 1, although his personal answer appears in the shorter version. For this argumentation see PB 2.159, 301-302. For more on Godfrey's works see my *The Metaphysical Thought*, pp. xxi-xxxiv.

<sup>4</sup> 'Ad illud quod dicitur quod esse creaturae esset non participatum et esset aequae simplex sicut esse Dei, non sequitur. Quia, sicut alias declaratum est, ponendo essentiam creaturae minus simplicem quam sit essentia Dei, non oportet quod hoc fiat ponendo plura in creatura quae sint esse et essentia sive [etiam] accidens et subiectum, licet in omni creatura sit aliquod accidens praeter substantiam eius, quia hoc non poneret compositionem in essentia creaturae. Sed dicitur ipsamet essentia creaturae participata et etiam compositior quam essentia divina non includendo diversas res, sed per unam et eandem rem quae habet quod sit actus et potentia respectu diversorum, quia semper essentia minus perfecta est quasi quaedam potentia [vel quodammodo potentiale] respectu magis perfecti, et est tamen quidam actus in se, sicut alias magis diffuse dictum est' (PB 2.306). The texts in brackets are to be omitted according to A. Pattin, who here follows another manuscript (Vatican Library Borghese 298, fol. 138r-v). See his 'La structure de l'être fini selon Bernard d'Auvergne, O.P. (†après 1307). Introduction et textes', *Tijdschrift voor filosofie* 24 (1962) 691. The two references to Godfrey's discussion of this elsewhere (*alias*) are also missing from ms. Borghese 298, but are interesting because of the dispute concerning whether it was Godfrey himself who drew up this abbreviated version of Quodlibets III and IV or perhaps Hervé de Nedellec, who has been proposed. For reference to Lotin and Stella concerning this see *The Metaphysical Thought*, pp. xxviii-xxix. Since this is the first discussion of this theory in Godfrey's surviving Quodlibets, the 'elsewhere' could refer to another work by Godfrey which is now lost; or it could have been added at a later date as a part of Godfrey's or perhaps someone else's revision of the text. It will be recalled that the longer versions of Godfrey's Quodlibets I through IV are *reportationes*.

<sup>5</sup> 'Utrum natura angelica sit composita ex vera materia et vera forma' (PB 2.179-86). For the shorter version see PB 2.307-309.

divine simplicity, whether this be by appealing to a composition of essence and esse or of matter and form. It is not the composition of an essence with something else that is at stake here, but the composition or simplicity of an essence viewed in itself. If it were enough to appeal to the composition of such an essence with something else, it would suffice to appeal to substance-accident composition of all such beings in order to distinguish them from the divine simplicity. But, as Godfrey had already pointed out in *Quodlibet* III, q. 1, substance-accident composition of such a creature does not imply that its essence itself is composed.<sup>6</sup>

Hence, Godfrey continues in q. 3, one does not account for the non-simple character of such beings by regarding them as aggregates of other things. In that case, either the form of such a separate entity would not itself be less simple than the divine essence, or else that form itself would be further composed of distinct factors, each of which would also be composed in turn *ad infinitum*. Moreover, it would then follow that whatever is more composed would be farther removed from the divine simplicity and therefore less perfect. Hence a man would be more composed and less perfect than a simple element. Against this, Godfrey harks back to his earlier discussion and insists that one is to account for the fact that such a being recedes from the divine simplicity by appealing to one and the same thing which includes both potentiality and lesser actuality without being really composed of different things.<sup>7</sup>

A few years later in his *Quodlibet* VII, q. 7 (c. 1290/91), Godfrey returns to and develops this theory, this time in addressing himself to the question whether the essence of an angel is composed of genus and difference.<sup>8</sup> In brief, he answers this question by distinguishing between a real or natural genus, on the one hand, and a logical or rational genus, on the other. If different entities are composed of matter and form, they will fall into the same natural genus.<sup>9</sup> Because created simple entities lack matter or any intrinsic principle of potentiality which is distinct from their form, they will not be included in any real or natural genus. Nonetheless, argues Godfrey, they will be included within a logical genus because a minimum degree of potentiality is present in them. It is here that he appeals to the theory which is of interest to us in this study. Any such creature may be regarded as potential insofar as it is less

<sup>6</sup> See PB 2.186 and 2.309 (short version). For earlier reference to this see *Quodlibet* III, q. 1 (PB 2.306) as cited above in n. 4.

<sup>7</sup> PB 2.186 and 2.309. Note in particular from the latter text: 'Et ideo dicendum quod ille recessus, sicut alias dictum est, non est includere diversas res sed includere potentialitatem cum actualitate defectiva in eadem re simplici quantum ad compositionem realem.' On all of this see *The Metaphysical Thought*, pp. 62, 91-92.

<sup>8</sup> 'Utrum essentia angeli sit composita ex genere et differentia' (PB 3.349-63).

<sup>9</sup> On the distinction between a logical genus and a real or natural genus see PB 3.354-56.



perfect than higher beings and, of course, less perfect than God. But to the extent that any such being is more perfect than another, it may also be viewed as enjoying actuality.<sup>10</sup> Granted that there is no composition of really distinct principles of potentiality and actuality within any such essence, the act-potency 'composition' which he has postulated will suffice, maintains Godfrey, to place angels within a logical genus.<sup>11</sup>

In support of this position Godfrey now explicitly appeals to proposition 2 of Proclus' *Elementatio theologica*: 'That which participates in the One is both one and not one.' Godfrey comments that Proclus proves that anything that is not identical with the One itself is something other than the One because it can recede from the One only by approaching the not-One. In like fashion, that which participates in the One is not the One itself but is one only in a secondary fashion by receding from the One and falling short of it. In a word, it is both one and not one. Godfrey also likens the different degrees of being to the different kinds of numbers. If a given number does not fall short of the unit except by approaching multitude, different beings do not fall short of the One except by approaching other things which include multitude to a greater or lesser degree.<sup>12</sup>

As Godfrey also explains, the simple essence of an angelic being possesses a kind of intermediary nature in that it may be likened to these different points of reference – to that which is higher and more actual, and to that which is lower and more potential. In order to illustrate this he offers another analogy. Air is said to have an intermediate nature in that it falls between the heavy and the

<sup>10</sup> See PB 3.357-59. Note in particular: 'Ratio ergo determinatae speciei quam complet differentia consistit in hoc quod in determinato gradu entis collocatur; ratio vero generis sumetur ex eo quod, cum natura sua secundum se sit quid imperfectum propter limitationem suae entitatis et deficiens ab actualitate pura et sic ut recedens ab illa actualitate respectu illius quandam potentialitatem includit, sicut ex eo quod illa eadem natura respectu imperfectionis ab eo deficientis actualitatem quasi suam potentialitatem determinantem includit et secundum hoc in uno et eodem quantumcumque simplici et perfecto creato, tamen poterit accipi ratio potentialitatis et indeterminati et ratio actualis et determinantis' (p. 357). Also see 3.355: '... ita etiam in separatis est accipere unum et idem secundum rem sub ratione potentialitatis et sub ratione actualitatis; et sic etiam omnia conveniunt in ratione potentialitatis sic quod unumquodque secundum se potentialitatem includit in quantum non est ens primum quod sit actus purus, sed est ens per participationem ex se non habens entitatem vel esse in actu sed in potentia tantum ....'

<sup>11</sup> PB 3.359: 'Verumtamen hic modus existendi nequaquam arguere potest in eis esse rationem generis nisi supposita compositione ex actu et potentia ad eorum essentias pertinentibus. Quae quidem compositio quomodo intelligi debeat etiam in substantiis separatis ex praedictis patet.'

<sup>12</sup> PB 3.359-60. For the medieval Latin translation of Proclus' *Elementatio theologica* see C. Vansteenkiste, 'Procli Elementatio theologica translata a Guilelmo de Moerbeke (Textus ineditus)', *Tijdschrift voor filosofie* 13 (1951) 265 (prop. 2). For the Greek text see the edition by E. R. Dodds, *The Elements of Theology*, 2nd revised edition (Oxford, 1963), p. 2 (prop. 2).

light. It is not composed of the heavy and the light but, when compared with fire, air is said to be heavy; when compared with earth, it is said to be light. So too, then, as regards the essence of an angel; because it can be compared with that which is higher and with that which is lower, it may be said to be both potential and actual and therefore to be 'composed'. While Godfrey denies that such an essence is composed of really distinct principles or that there is real composition in it in this sense, he insists that its composition of act and potency is not purely imaginary. If it is a composition of reason (*rationis*), it is not a composition of purely fictitious reason (*fictae rationis*); this 'composition' really pertains to such an essence because of that essence's relationship to that which is higher and to that which is lower. No such composition can be assigned to the First Being, however, since nothing is higher than it. Hence, while the mode of existing in itself (which is the mode of substance) does apply to the First Being, the First Being does not fall into any kind of genus.<sup>13</sup>

In what follows I propose to investigate somewhat more fully some possible sources for Godfrey's views concerning this act-potency 'composition' of such simple created beings.

#### SIGER OF BRABANT

Siger of Brabant seems to be one likely source.<sup>14</sup> In at least three versions of his *Quaestiones* on the *Metaphysics* Siger addressed himself to the issue of the essence-existence relationship in creatures.<sup>15</sup> While in these discussions he steadfastly rejects any kind of real distinction between essence and *esse*, he was forced to meet an argument for the real distinction based on the claim that

<sup>13</sup> PB 3.360. Also see *The Metaphysical Thought*, pp. 94-97.

<sup>14</sup> *The Metaphysical Thought*, pp. 97-99. For the similarity between Godfrey and Siger concerning this also see my discussion in chapter 19 of *The Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy*, ed. N. Kretzmann, A. Kenny, J. Pinborg (Cambridge, 1982), pp. 399-400.

<sup>15</sup> Two versions of the questions, those found in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 9559 and in Godfrey's student notebook (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 16297), have been edited by C. A. Graiff, *Siger de Brabant. Questions sur la Métaphysique. Texte inédit* (Philosophes médiévaux 1; Louvain, 1948). The version in the Munich ms. has recently been revised and reedited by W. Dunphy, *Siger de Brabant. Quaestiones in Metaphysicam. Édition revue de la reportation de Munich. Texte inédit de la reportation de Vienne* (Philosophes médiévaux 24; Louvain-la-Neuve, 1981). A third set, consisting of three questions and contained in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 16133, has been edited by J. Vennebusch, 'Die *Quaestiones metaphysice* tres des Siger von Brabant', *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie* 48 (1966) 163-89. For discussion of the dating of these questions see F. Van Steenberghen, *Maitre Siger de Brabant* (Philosophes médiévaux 21; Louvain-Paris, 1977), pp. 218-20. It seems safe to place all of them in the early 1270s, perhaps c. 1273. For the essence-existence discussion in each of these see Graiff, pp. 11-22 (Munich ms.) with the version from Godfrey's notebook appearing at the bottom of the page, beginning with p. 15; Dunphy, pp. 41-49 (Munich ms.); Vennebusch, pp. 175-83.

everything apart from the First Being must be composed. Since some such entities are not composed of matter and form, the argument concludes that they must be composed of essence and *esse*.<sup>16</sup> Siger comments that this argument was decisive for Thomas Aquinas (*frater Thomas*).<sup>17</sup> In replying to it Siger offers two possible responses. One reminds the reader of Godfrey's solution. Things that are distinct from the First Being fall short of it and are multiplied by approaching the potential. Potency is to be assigned to all such things because they do not attain to the pure actuality proper to the First Being. This does not imply that they are composed of distinct essences. It is by their receding from the First Being that the kinds or species of entities are multiplied. The more closely they approach the First Being, the more fully do they participate in the first unity. This first unity is the measure of the being of all else. And again in terms which may remind the reader of Godfrey, Siger concludes that, just as the species of number are diversified by participating to a greater or lesser extent in unity, so too is it impossible for two things to differ (in species, presumably) and yet to stand in equal relationship to the First Being.<sup>18</sup>

Siger's solution reminds one of Godfrey's, first of all, because like Godfrey's discussion in *Quodlibet* III, qq. 1 and 3, it is offered as an alternative to the admission of an essence and existence composition in creatures. The notion of approaching (*accessus*) and receding from or falling short of (*recedendo*) the First Being is also present in both authors. Moreover, both draw an analogy between the different levels of being and the different kinds of numbers. Nonetheless, Siger does not develop his solution in detail. It remains for the reader to surmise that he is allowing for some kind of act-potency 'composition' in such simple creatures because of the twofold way in which they may be viewed. Unlike Godfrey, however, Siger does not say this in so many words.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>16</sup> The argument appears explicitly in the Munich version (see Graiff, p. 13.50-54 / Dunphy, p. 42.48-52). It is clearly implied by the reply in the version in Godfrey's notebook (Graiff, p. 21.60-61). For the same in the *tres questiones* see Vennebusch, p. 177.51-59 (arg. 7).

<sup>17</sup> See the Munich version (Graiff, p. 20.24-25 / Dunphy, p. 47.5-6).

<sup>18</sup> The fullest argumentation appears in the Munich version, for which see Graiff, pp. 20.25-22.46 / Dunphy, pp. 47.6-48.25. For the other versions see Vennebusch, p. 182.219-229; Graiff, p. 21(61)-(69). Since the last-mentioned version appears in Godfrey's notebook and is relatively brief, I shall quote it here: '... non oportet tamen quod sit ibi compositio realis esse et essentiae, quia recedunt omnia a Primo recedendo ab actualitate Primi et per accessum ad potentiam. Unde per recessum a Primo diversificantur species entium et per participare plus vel minus unitatem primam, quae cum sit mensura entitatis in rebus, non potest esse quod aliqua duo aequaliter se habeant ad suam mensuram et quod sint diversa. Sicut species numeri diversificantur per participationem plus vel minus unitatis, quae est numeri principium.'

<sup>19</sup> In fact, in both the Munich version and in the *tres questiones* Siger explicitly questions the assumption that if things are to recede from the simplicity of the First Being they must be composed (really composed, I assume he has in mind). See Graiff, p. 21.28-33 / Dunphy, pp. 47.8-48.13; Vennebusch, p. 182.219-223.

Moreover, Siger does not seem to be as committed to this solution. In some contexts he proposes this as only one possible reply and suggests that if one insists that what falls short of the First Being must be composed, one may appeal to the fact that any such being understands only by means of species that are distinct from it. In other words, one may fall back on substance-accident composition in order to resolve this difficulty; this is a solution which Godfrey explicitly rejects.<sup>20</sup>

The notion that creatures enjoy a greater or lesser degree of being or participate more fully in being insofar as they approach or fall short of the First Being is a fundamental Neoplatonic theme, and was well known in Latin scholasticism by Siger's time. It is found in other thinkers of that era, some of whose metaphysical views differed considerably from those of Siger and Godfrey. The names of Albert the Great, Thomas Aquinas, Henry of Ghent, and Giles of Rome come to mind. The *Liber de causis* and the writings of Pseudo-Dionysius were available and served as important channels for transmitting this Neoplatonic tenet to the Latin West; and in 1268 William of Moerbeke completed his translation into Latin of Proclus' *Elementatio theologica*.<sup>21</sup> As we have already seen, in Quodlibet VII, q. 7 Godfrey himself

<sup>20</sup> Note his remark in the Munich version regarding the first solution: 'non assero' (Graiff, p. 21.27 / Dunphy, p. 47.7). In both the Munich manuscript and in the *tres questiones* he falls back on substance-accident composition as another reply to this objection. See Graiff, p. 22.47-52 / Dunphy, p. 48.26-30; Vennebusch, p. 182.229-231. Interestingly, this second proposed solution does not appear in the version in Godfrey's notebook (see the text cited in n. 18 above). It should be noted in passing that certain remarks in Siger's later *Quaestiones super Librum de causis* suggest that by then he had moved much closer to Thomas' doctrine of real composition of essence and *esse* in separate intelligences. See *Les Quaestiones super Librum de causis de Siger de Brabant. Édition critique*, ed. A. Marlasca (Philosophes médiévaux 12; Louvain-Paris, 1972), pp. 21 n. 20, 183-84; Van Steenberghen, *Maître Siger de Brabant*, p. 292. There is no evidence in Godfrey's texts to lead one to believe that he ever relented in rejecting both real and intentional distinction of essence and existence in creatures.

<sup>21</sup> For this general metaphysical scheme in the *Liber de causis*, pseudo-Dionysius and Proclus, and then in Albert the Great, Thomas Aquinas, Siger, Henry, Giles of Rome, and in Godfrey himself, see the wide-ranging and richly documented study by E. P. Mahoney, 'Metaphysical Foundations of the Hierarchy of Being according to Some Late-Medieval and Renaissance Philosophers' in *Philosophies of Existence* (cited in n. 2 above), pp. 165-257, especially pp. 166-79. As Mahoney rightly points out, many thinkers who accepted this general scheme differed widely on the question of the essence-existence relationship in creatures (p. 207). This may be because, while such authors were in agreement in holding that creatures participate in the divine being more or less fully insofar as they approach more closely to or recede to a greater degree from God, this would not of itself be enough for them to account for the intrinsic structure of creatures, especially of purely spiritual ones, viewed in themselves. As we have now seen, both Godfrey and Siger (in his first proposed solution) argue for the presence of potency in such beings by reason of the fact that they fall short of God, the First Being. Both have proposed this as an alternative to a composition of essence and existence (or of any other distinctive natures or essences) in such beings. Godfrey has gone on to postulate a logical act-potency 'composition' of such entities by reason of the different ways in which the same simple essence may be viewed.

explicitly turns to Proclus as his authority in developing his views on the act-potency 'composition' of simple creatures. And he cites Proclus in other contexts as well.<sup>22</sup> While Siger has not explicitly cited Proclus in presenting his first alternative to essence-existence composition of simple creatures, he does refer to Proclus frequently enough in other contexts.<sup>23</sup> Mention of the name of Siger and of Proclus' *Elementatio theologica* suggests that, in pursuing our search for other proximate sources for Godfrey's theory of act-potency 'composition' of separate entities, we would be well advised to concentrate on other Masters from the Faculty of Arts at Paris, say from c. 1268 until the late 1270s.<sup>24</sup>

#### JOHN OF DACIA

One Master who lectured at Paris during this general period was John of Dacia.<sup>25</sup> In his *Sophisma de gradibus formarum* he examines certain questions relating to the principles of substance.<sup>26</sup> The third of these is this: since in every genus there is some first which serves as the measure for all that is found in that genus, in the case of substance is this minimum or measure matter, or form, or some composite substance, or God?<sup>27</sup> After offering arguments pro and contra

<sup>22</sup> See Quodlibet IV, q. 3, where Godfrey hesitantly rejects the idea that ever more perfect species of beings could be created to infinity. In this discussion (PB 2.244-46; 326-27 [shorter version]) he cites a number of propositions from Proclus' *Elementatio theologica*, viz., 2, 21, 28, 29, and 36 as well as from pseudo-Dionysius (*De divinis nominibus* 5.1). See *The Metaphysical Thought*, pp. 148-52; Mahoney, 'Metaphysical Foundations', 177-78.

<sup>23</sup> See the various references under the name 'Proclus' in the indices of the editions of Siger's questions on the *Metaphysics* by Graiff and Dunphy.

<sup>24</sup> Godfrey's interest in works produced by Masters in Arts at Paris of the 1260s and 1270s is well known and is amply attested to by the various works from these Masters contained in manuscripts from his personal library, especially his student notebook (Paris lat. 16297), and, for instance, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 15819 and 16096. For discussion of these and a listing of some works contained in his library which have been edited see *The Metaphysical Thought*, pp. xvi-xviii. Also see P. Glorieux, 'Un recueil scolaire de Godefroid de Fontaines (Paris, Nat. lat. 16297)', *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 3 (1931) 37-53; J. J. Duin, *La doctrine de la providence dans les écrits de Siger de Brabant. Textes et étude* (Philosophes médiévaux 3; Louvain, 1954), pp. 130-35, 167-70 and 'La bibliothèque philosophique de Godefroid de Fontaines', *Estudios Lulianos* 3 (1959) 21-36, 137-60; and most recently, R. Wielockx, 'Le ms. Paris Nat. lat. 16096 et la condamnation du 7 mars 1277', *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 48 (1981) 227-237. This interest is readily understood if one bears in mind that in all likelihood Godfrey himself had studied in the Arts Faculty at Paris in the early 1270s (see *The Metaphysical Thought*, pp. xvi-xviii).

<sup>25</sup> See A. Otto, ed., *Johannis Daci opera* 1.1 (Copenhagen, 1955), p. x. He places John's career as a Master in Arts at Paris c. 1280 and dates the *De gradibus formarum* from before 1280 (see p. xxxv).

<sup>26</sup> See *Johannis Daci opera* 1.2 (Copenhagen, 1955), p. 516. Also see 1/1. xxxiv-xxxv. As the editor points out, only the first part of this work has survived.

<sup>27</sup> 'Tertio queritur ... quod, cum in quolibet genere sit dare aliquod primum, quod sit mensura omnium aliorum illius generis, propter hoc queritur, utrum illud minimum seu

for these proposals, John spells out in some detail six conditions which are required for something to serve as the principle or measure for all that is found in a given genus.<sup>28</sup> He then distinguishes between a common measure (which serves as the measure for all beings) and a proper measure (which serves as the measure for a given genus or species of being).<sup>29</sup> He immediately notes that God is the common measure for all substances and universally for all beings, and develops this point in some detail.<sup>30</sup>

Here I shall pass over this discussion and concentrate on John's effort to explain how all beings are compared to and ordered to the first measure (God). Since the first measure is most simple and pure act and the first cause, anything else which falls short of the actuality of its cause may be understood as not being pure act and as including some potentiality. Given this, the first essential division of being is in terms of act and potency, and the first composition is *of* act and potency.<sup>31</sup> Because anything which is understood to be composite is understood as falling short of the unity of the first and simple cause even while participating in it, it follows that being is therefore divided into the one and the many. In other words, anything that first participates in unity is one insofar as it participates in unity; but it is also many insofar as it falls short of unity.<sup>32</sup> Since God himself is pure act, he is not composed in this way (of act and potency). Moreover, John continues, if the divine essence were composed of act and potency, it would be caused and would not be the first cause. From this John concludes that he has shown that God is pure act. If God participated in actuality in any way, unity itself would be prior to that actuality, as Proclus points out. Any such suggestion must be rejected as false.<sup>33</sup>

*mensura sit principium substantie, quod est materia vel forma vel substantia aliqua composita vel deus*' (ibid. 1/2.516-17; see p. 556).

<sup>28</sup> ibid., pp. 556-59 (for the arguments pro and contra); pp. 559-60 (the six conditions required for something to serve as *mensura et minimum*). It should be noted that the fifth condition requires that an effect be conformed to its measure in some way, and notes that things that are measured are of a more composite nature than their measure (p. 560).

<sup>29</sup> ibid., p. 560.

<sup>30</sup> ibid., pp. 561-63.

<sup>31</sup> ibid., p. 565. Note in particular: '... cum mensura prima sit simplicissima et actus purus et causa prima, tunc omne, quod desinit ab actualitate sue cause, intelligitur ut [actus] non purus, et sic habet aliquid de potentia. Ideo prima divisio essentialis entis est per actum et potentiam et prima compositio est ex actu et potentia.'

<sup>32</sup> ibid., p. 566. Note in particular: '... ideo ens dividitur in vnum et multa: vnde primo participans vnitatem est vnum, in quantum ipsam participat, et multa, in quantum deficit ab vnitatem.' Though explicit reference is not made to Proclus in this passage, the reader will note the similarity with proposition 2 of his *Elementatio theologica* as cited by Godfrey (see above, n. 12). John does explicitly refer to Proclus a few lines farther on, but without identifying the proposition. See the following note.

<sup>33</sup> ibid. Note especially: 'Ex quo necessario deus probatur esse actus purus: si enim haberet actualitatem participatam, esset ante eam vnitatem secundum Proclum, quod falsum est, ideo etc.'

John goes on to show that participated beings are also composed in a number of other ways, for instance, of essence and *esse*, of supposit and essence (or of quiddity and *ens*), of supposit and *esse*, of matter and form, of *esse* and operation, etc.<sup>34</sup> Here it will be enough for us to recall the similarity between the first mode of 'composition' singled out by John (that of act and potency) and that to which Godfrey has appealed. Insofar as a thing participates in the first unity, that thing itself is one. But in falling short of the first unity, that same thing is many. Hence anything other than God is potential in that it falls short of the actuality of God or pure actuality. This is enough for John to say that everything other than God is 'composed' of actuality and potentiality, and that because God is pure actuality he is not so composed. John immediately goes on to cite other compositions, as has just been noted, including that of essence and *esse*. If by this he has in mind anything more than logical composition of essence and *esse*, he and Godfrey diverge considerably on this point.<sup>35</sup> But in singling out a prior act-potency composition of all created beings in the terms we have just seen, John's reasoning there does remind one of Godfrey. This is not to say, however, that John is clearly one of Godfrey's sources, but only that he could be.

PARIS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE MS. LAT. 16096

In continuing to search for other likely sources for Godfrey's theory of act-potency composition in simple creatures, my attention was recently captured by an interesting study by R. Wielockx. There Wielockx examines in some detail the contents of a manuscript originally belonging to Godfrey of Fontaines (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 16096), and briefly discusses an anonymous

<sup>34</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 566-69.

<sup>35</sup> Some of John's remarks would make one think that he has in mind some kind of real composition of essence and *esse*. See, for instance, *ibid.*, p. 566.14-19, and especially: 'Item quia essentia participata non est suum esse, quod subponatur ad presens, ideo recipit esse ab alio.' But as his references to Algazel and Avicenna indicate, which follow immediately and are not very precise, John is especially interested in showing that every such being is caused. His fourth composition, of supposit and *esse*, might also lead one to believe that he has in mind some kind of real composition. See p. 566.27-31: 'Et quia subpositum acquirit esse a producente et ipsum non est suum esse ... ideo quarta compositio est ex supposito et esse.' But in discussing the fifth kind of composition (that of matter and form) John seems to identify *esse actuale* with *form*: 'Quia autem res non habet esse a se et esse est actus entis, ideo consequitur principium actuale, quo fiunt et sunt entia in actu. Nam creature siue causata sunt in quantum participant esse primi per suum esse actuale, quod dicitur forma' (pp. 566.32-567.2). Some clarification is needed in fitting together John's first composition (of act and potency) with his second (essence and *esse*), his fourth (*suppositum* and *esse*), and his fifth (matter and form). In the first part of this work he had defended plurality of substantial forms; and, it will be recalled, only a small part of the complete treatise has survived.

commentary (or set of questions) on Aristotle's *Posterior Analytics* contained therein. Both in a section which Wielockx has transcribed and in other parts of this anonymous treatise one finds reasoning closely resembling that which we have examined in Godfrey's texts.<sup>36</sup>

In the first question the anonymous author seeks to determine whether there is any existing entity which is nothing but *esse* itself without the addition of anything else whatsoever. It is interesting to observe that in Quodlibet III, q. 1, Godfrey introduces his effort to show that essence and existence do not really differ in creatures by addressing himself to this very same issue. Like our unnamed author, Godfrey resolutely rejects this suggestion and denies that anything, including the first cause, simply exists as pure *esse* without enjoying a particular and determined mode of being. Even the first cause is not to be regarded as pure *esse* (*esse solum*) but as a given being (*aliquid ens*).<sup>37</sup> While our two authors do not use identical argumentation to support their respective conclusions, they do formulate the positions which they defend in fairly similar terms. For example:

Godfrey, PB 2.160

... declarandum est quod extra intellectum in rebus non est aliquid quod sit ens ipsum sive esse existens ens vel esse solum, cuius ratio sit ratio essendi sola, absque appositione alicuius particularis et determinatae rationis essendi ...

Anonymous, fol. 172vb20-23

... Dicendum est quod aliquid non est ens quod sit esse ipsum solum et cuius ratio sit essendi ratio solum sine appositione et determinatione.

Both comment that universality is a condition on the part of the intellect that knows but not on the part of any existing thing, since the universal is not some third nature apart from the particulars of which it is predicated:

Godfrey, PB 2.160

Universale enim est condicio intellectus sic intelligentis et non rei sic existentis, cum universale non sit tertia natura a partibus de quibus praedicatur, sed in essendo est alterum eorum indeterminate.

Anonymous, fol. 172vb36-39

Universalitas enim conditio est a parte intellectus sic intelligentis, non rei sic existentis, cum universale non sit tertia natura a particularibus sed in essendo alterum eorum indeterminate.

The anonymous text develops this point more fully, in large measure because it includes a number of objections and fairly extended replies.<sup>38</sup> After a response

<sup>36</sup> See Wielockx, 'Le ms. Paris Nat. lat. 16096' (cited above in n. 24).

<sup>37</sup> See PB 2.160-61; 302-303 (short version). For discussion see *The Metaphysical Thought*, pp. 53-54.

<sup>38</sup> Central to the anonymous author's reply to objections 2 and 3 is the distinction between that which is universal in the order of predication, such as being, and that which is universal in



to the final objection the anonymous text takes up the question of unity, both as it applies to the First Being and to derived or participated instances of unity. Both Aristotle and Proclus are cited as defending the supreme and primary unity of the First Being. After arguing at some length for the perfect unity of the First Principle,<sup>39</sup> the anonymous writer draws an analogy between beings and numbers. Beings are like numbers in that, just as the unit which is completely free from multiplicity serves as the principle for all other numbers, so among beings there is one that is primarily one and from whose unity all others recede.<sup>40</sup>

Our anonymous writer then turns to the unity of other things. Here in language which reminds the reader very much of Godfrey's, he states that everything which participates in the One is both one and not one. The first One is, on the contrary, completely free from multiplicity. Then he cites Proclus in proof. Everything which is not the One itself is something other than the One; but what participates in the One is not the One itself; therefore, whatever participates in the One is something other than the One. In support of the major he argues that something recedes from the One only by tending to the not-one.

the order of causality, i.e., the First Being. Note his comment at the end of his reply to objection 2: 'Et ideo si Plato vellet dicere quod ens quod est esse ipsum universali ratione causaliter, non secundum existentiam, esset causa omnium entium, veritatem diceret Plato' (fol. 173ra). Also see his remark near the end of his reply to objection 3: 'Immo necesse est illud quod est causa omnium entium esse aliquod ens particulare, ratione et distincta ab aliis existens, non solum ratione universali; cum nihil sit sic existens, nihil etiam sic est causa. Unde universalitas rationis non tribuit universalitatem causalitatis, sed perfectio entitatis. Unde in tota entium universitate est aliquod ens et particularem habens entis rationem, perfectissimum existens, quod omnium aliorum particulariter existentium est causa' (fol. 173rb). Compare with Godfrey's reasoning in *Quodlibet* III, q. 1 (PB 2.161). There are some similarities as well as differences in Godfrey's procedure.

<sup>39</sup> fol. 173rb-vb.

<sup>40</sup> 'Unde entia sunt sicut numeri ut quemadmodum in numeris est unitas sine multitudine principium totius numeri, sic in entibus est unum prime a cuius unitate recedunt omnia entia sicut et in numeris' (fol. 173vb6-9). The abbreviation *p<sup>e</sup>* recurs repeatedly in this treatise in connection with the One (*unum*), and poses something of a problem. Thus in his transcription of the title of the next part of this same work, Duin has rendered it as *primarie*. See his 'La bibliothèque philosophique de Godefroid de Fontaines', 156: 'a primarie uno' and 'primarie unum'. For the complete transcription of this passage see my n. 41 below. While this rendering may seem preferable from the standpoint of Latin style, there seems to be both historical and palaeographical justification for preferring the reading *prime*. Thus in the Latin translation of Proclus' *Elementatio theologica* by William of Moerbeke, one finds repeated usage of *prime* to modify the supreme Good (see propositions 8 and 9) and the supreme Being (see proposition 22). For this see C. Vansteenkiste, 'Procli Elementatio theologica' (see n. 12), 268, 274-75, and also 272 (prop. 18). It is interesting to note that in Godfrey's citation of a parallel passage from Proclus the expression is rather rendered as *primo* (see the text cited by Godfrey and the parallel from our treatise as cited below, p. 235). Because of the usage in the Latin translation of Proclus' *Elementatio theologica* and the abbreviation itself, I have decided to read the abbreviation as *prime*. For confirmation see fol. 174ra34: *p'me unum*.

It is for this reason that he can hold that whatever is not the One itself is other than the One and therefore not one. In support of the minor he argues that what participates in the One cannot be the One itself, for then it would be one by its essence, not by participation.<sup>41</sup>

The anonymous writer then offers some interesting precisions. If this argument is taken literally, it will not hold; for it would then follow that even the First Being is both one and not one. According to the argument everything which is not identical with the One itself is both one and not one; but even the First Being (*prime unum*) is not the One itself because it is a given one (*aliquod unum*) and not the one taken without qualification and abstractly.<sup>42</sup> What the anonymous author has done here is to apply to the case of the one his earlier denial that even the First Being is pure *esse* rather than a given being. As he explains, the statement that everything which is not the One itself is both one and not one can be understood in two different ways. It may be taken to mean that anything which is not the One itself is a distinct thing from the One and therefore both one and not one. In this case the statement will be true. But it may also be taken to mean that something is not the One because it is not an

<sup>41</sup> 'De unitate autem aliorum a prime uno postea dicamus quod omne quod participat uno est unum et non unum; e contra, prime unum, quod est ab omni multitudine exemptum. Hoc autem Proclus sic probat. Omne quod non est unum ipsum est aliquid aliud existens quam unum. Sed quod participat uno non est ipsum unum. Ergo quod participat uno est aliud aliquid existens quam unum. Maior apparet quia non est recedere ab ipso uno nisi tendendo in non unum. Omne igitur quod non est ipsum unum est aliud aliquid quam unum, et sic non unum. Minor etiam manifesta est: quia si quod participat uno esset unum ipsum, iam esset unum per essentiam, non participative' (fol. 173vb23-35).

<sup>42</sup> 'Si haec probatio intelligatur ad litteram non est efficax quia per eam sequeretur quod prime unum sit unum et non unum. Cuius oppositum visum est. Et hoc apparet quia arguam sic. Omne quod non est ipsum unum est unum et non unum. Sed prime unum non est ipsum unum cum sit aliquod unum et non unum ipsum absoluta et abstracta ratione unius per se existentis. Sequeretur ergo, si ratio bona sit, quod prime unum sit unum et non unum. Propter quod dicendum quod propositio quae dicit quod omne quod non est unum ipsum est unum et non unum non est usquequaque (fol. 174ra) vera quia quod aliquid non sit unum ipsum hoc potest contingere vel quia est aliud quam unum et sic proceditur, vel quia licet non sit aliud ab uno sive multum, tamen non est unum ratione universali et abstracta existens propter quod non est ipsum unum. Unde prime unum in quo nulla multitudo non est ipsum unum universali et abstracta ratione existens, sed est aliquod unum et tamen prime unum; non ideo non est ipsum unum quia sit aliquo modo multum sed quia etsi sit unum et nichil aliud ab uno nec aliquo modo multum, tamen non est unum sub ista ratione qua dicitur universaliter et abstracte. Unde prime unum non est ipsum unum non propter multitudinem quae sit in ipso sed quia prime unum non existit in rerum natura sub ratione universali qua dicitur ipsum universale. Patet igitur quod probatio Procli sic intellecta non procedit secundum quod per unum ipsum intelligimus rationem unius abstracte existentem, sed intelligendo per ipsum unum prime unum et maxime quod dicitur ipsum unum per quamdam distinctionem ab aliis de quibus dicitur unum, non propter eius universalitatem sicut in prima expositione, sed est prime unum ipsum unum quia nichil aliud ita unum sicut ipsum cum sit maxime unum ab omni multitudine exemptum' (fols. 173vb35-174ra24).

abstract and universally existing one. In this case the statement will not hold since even the first One cannot be identified with the one taken abstractly and universally; and the first One cannot be said to be both one and not one.

It is in this context, in the course of spelling out the proper understanding of Proclus' argumentation, that the anonymous text reveals close textual similarities with Godfrey's *Quodlibet* VII, q. 7. First of all the anonymous text repeats the argument taken from Proclus:

Godfrey, PB 3.359

... ubi dicitur quod omne quod participat uno est unum et non unum; quia, ut ibi probatur, omne quod non est ipsum unum, id est primo unum quod est Deus quod est actus primus et purus, est aliquid aliud existens quam unum, eo quod a primo uno non est recedere nisi per accessum in non unum seu in aliquid aliud quam unum ...

Anonymous, fol. 174ra24-29

Sic autem efficaciter probatur quod omne quod participat uno est unum et non unum, quia omne quod non est unum ipsum, id est unum prime, est aliud existens quam unum. Cuius probatio est: quia a prime uno non est recedere nisi accedendo in non unum seu in aliud aliquid quam unum ...

The most notable difference between these two passages is Godfrey's explicit identification of the first One with God who is *actus primus et purus*. In both texts the point is made that something does not recede from the first One except by approaching the not-one. Then both texts argue that what participates in the first One is both one and not one, since it falls short of and recedes from the One:

Godfrey, PB 3.359

... quia omne participans uno non est ipsum unum sive primo unum, sed secundario et per quendam defectum et recessum ab eo. Ergo est unum et non unum, id est non sic unum quin aliquo modo multa, quia est unum uno modo et non unum alio modo.

Anonymous, fol. 174ra33-43

Sed quod participat uno non est ipsum unum sive prime unum, sed secundario et per defectum. Ergo quod participat uno est aliud quam unum sive non unum. Et idem etiam sic patet: quod enim participat uno est unum per submissionem unitatis et cum quodam defectu .... Sed cum non unum sit non ens vel multum, utroque modo est dicere quod illud quod participat uno tendit in non unum quia et in defectum entis et in multitudinem.

Godfrey's version is considerably briefer than the anonymous text. In another part not found in Godfrey the anonymous text explains that it would be contradictory for something to be one and not one in the same way. Hence what participates in the One is one in one way, and not one in another.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>43</sup> fol. 174ra-rb.

Then, as in Godfrey's text, the anonymous text draws a parallel between beings and numbers:

Godfrey, PB 3.359-60

Est enim in entibus sicut in numeris quia, sicut non contingit recedere ab unitate nisi accedendo ad multitudinem et est recedere ab unitate plus et minus, sic in entibus non est recedere a primo uno nisi accedendo in ea quae multitudinem habent secundum plus et minus et illa quae sunt magis unialia<sup>44</sup> sunt diviniore et in ordine entium superiora.

Anonymous, fol. 174rb6-14

Est igitur in entibus sicut in numeris, quia sicut in numeris non contingit recedere ab unitate nisi tendendo in multitudinem et est recedere ab unitate plus et minus ita quod est multitudo unita vel etiam multitudo dispersa, sic in entibus non est recedere a primo uno nisi accedendo in ea quae multitudinem habent secundum plus et minus. Et illa quae sunt magis unialia (unitalia ms.)<sup>44</sup> sunt diviniore et in ordine entium suprema.

The similarity between these two passages speaks for itself. While some of the earlier parallels between the two texts could, perhaps, be partially accounted for by appealing to their common dependence on Proclus, both go beyond what one finds explicitly stated in Proclus' proposition 2, and maintain their similarity in doing so. Any such common dependence on Proclus will hardly be enough to account for the similarities between the present passages or, for that matter, between the anonymous text's earlier rejection of any kind of universal subsisting *esse* and Godfrey's critique of the same in his *Quodlibet* III, q. 1. In other words, the evidence increasingly points to some kind of interdependence between Godfrey's *Quodlibet* III, q. 1 and *Quodlibet* VII, q. 7, on the one hand, and the anonymous text contained in his library, on the other.

In good Neoplatonic fashion the anonymous text goes on to conclude from all of this that the nature of Soul is superior to that of all bodies, and that above souls there is Intelligence. Above all of these there is the One itself which is

<sup>44</sup> This unusual term recurs farther on in the same column ('et haec est multitudo magis unialis'). It appears in William of Moerbeke's translation of Proclus' *Elementatio theologica*. See for instance, prop. 122: 'neque providentia submittente suam immixtam et unialem excellentiam' (Vansteenkiste, 'Procli Elementatio theologica', 499); also see prop. 121 (p. 498). It is accordingly cited by Aquinas in his commentary on prop. 20 of the *Liber de causis*. See *Sancti Thomae de Aquino super Librum de causis expositio*, ed. H. D. Saffrey (Fribourg-Louvain, 1954), p. 109. Given Godfrey's evident dependence upon the text of our anonymous writer in the present passage, it seems likely that Godfrey's text may also have originally read *unialia* instead of *universalia* as appears in the edited version (PB 3.360). As is indicated there, one manuscript (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 15842) reads: *uni alia*. Although not indicated by the editors, codex V (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 14311), which has served as the base text for the edited version (see p. iv), reads: *unialia*.

entirely free from multiplicity. This, the author comments piously, is God himself (*Deus ipse benedictus in saecula saeculorum*).<sup>45</sup>

From this the author notes that two conclusions may be drawn. First, there is a first One which is devoid of all multiplicity and which is not both one and not one. Secondly, all that participates in the One is both one and not one, or the one which in some way is multiplied. Perhaps in anticipation of our immediate concern, he adds that he will set aside for the moment the question whether this plurality or plurification requires composition of different natures in everything which merely participates in the One.<sup>46</sup>

The anonymous text then suggests that it may be that something can recede from the first One either by being composed of distinct natures (this would be a more dispersed kind of multitude) or else by having an intermediary nature which falls between other natures. Thus it would fall below the first One and would be intermediary not by being composed but by assimilation to different points of reference, just as air is intermediary and falls between that which is heavy without qualification and that which is light without qualification without itself being composed of the heavy and the light.<sup>47</sup> Here again Godfrey's text parallels the anonymous text to some degree. In an intervening sentence Godfrey explicitly turns to the case of the angels and notes that they recede from the first One without being really composed of distinct elements in their essence but by having a kind of intermediary nature. Then the two texts continue:

Godfrey, PB 3.360

... in habendo naturam quodammodo  
mediam, non per compositionem, sed per  
assimilationem aliquam secundum unam  
naturam ad diversa, scilicet ad id quod est  
superius et actualius et ad id quod est  
inferius et potentialius. Sicut enim aer  
dicitur mediam naturam habere quodam-  
modo inter grave et leve simpliciter, non  
secundum naturam compositam ex  
utraque, sed secundum unam simplicem  
quae respectu ignis levissimi dicitur gra-  
vis, respectu terrae gravissimae dicitur  
levis ...

Anonymous, fol. 174rb30-34

... medium, inquam, non per compositio-  
nem existens sed secundum assimilatio-  
nem aliqualem ad utrumque secundum  
eandem naturam, sicut aer medium est  
inter grave simpliciter et leve simpliciter  
secundum simplicem naturam non com-  
positam ex gravi et levi.

<sup>45</sup> 'Ita quod secundum hoc omnibus corporibus superior est animae natura. Et super animas est intelligentialis natura. Et super haec omnia est unum ipsum ab omni multitudine exemptum, quod est Deus ipse benedictus in saecula saeculorum' (fol. 174rb14-18).

<sup>46</sup> *ibid.* Note in particular: 'Si tamen ista pluralitas vel plurificatio compositionem ex diversis naturis arguat in omni quod uno participat ad praesens relinquimus' (ll. 23-26).

<sup>47</sup> fol. 174rb.

As we have already seen, Godfrey develops this view of the act-potency 'composition' of such entities more fully, and goes on in the immediately following context to apply it to the case of angels. The anonymous writer, on the other hand, simply notes that this second kind of multitude shares more in unity (*magis unialis*) than does the first (which does so by postulating really distinct natures within entities). Then the anonymous writer comments in rather disarming fashion that he has written this in a light vein and without having examined it thoroughly. Nonetheless, he adds, he believes that what he has written is true.<sup>48</sup>

In the next part of this text the anonymous writer takes up some issues having to do with definition and also with the composition of a thing that is to be defined. In connection with this he considers a series of questions. The second of these is of greatest interest to us here: are separate substances – the immaterial substances of the philosophers – composed of *esse* and essence (of act and potency) or of matter and form so as to be really composed, or are they rather completely simple and totally devoid of composition?<sup>49</sup>

In examining this question the anonymous writer first presents some argumentation to show that such entities are composed of essence and *esse* as of potency and act. Without such composition these entities would not be caused. This follows, runs the first argument, because a cause is required to account for the fact that one thing is in another. But no cause is needed to account for the fact that something is identical with itself. Hence, anything which is nothing but *esse* and completely without potentiality to *esse* will be uncaused.<sup>50</sup>

It is interesting to note that this is the first of the arguments to be offered in support of composition of essence and *esse* or of act and potency in separate entities by the anonymous text. Giles of Rome, surely the best-known advocate of real composition and distinction of essence and existence at Paris in the later 1270s and again in the 1280s, had explicitly stated that the primary reason for defending such distinction in all creatures is to account for the fact that they are truly caused, truly created.<sup>51</sup> And Godfrey of Fontaines, a leading opponent of

<sup>48</sup> *ibid.* Note in particular: 'Haec scripta fuerunt leviter et sine multa consideratione; credo tamen quod vera' (ll. 35-37).

<sup>49</sup> 'Secundo utrum substantiae separatae a materia sensibili citra primam et mathematica quas philosophi dixerunt substantias immateriales sint compositae ex esse et essentia, actu et potentia, vel aliquali materia et forma, ita quod in sua substantia cadat aliqua realis compositio, aut omnino simplicem habeant substantiam' (fol. 174va10-15).

<sup>50</sup> See fol. 176ra. Note in particular the opening remark: 'Ad secundum sic proceditur. Nisi in omnibus quae citra primum differret esse ab essentia sicut actus a potentia, et nisi in eis esset actus admixtus potentiae, ipsa non essent causata' (ll. 26-29).

<sup>51</sup> See Aegidii Romani *Theoremata de esse et essentia. Texte précédé d'une introduction historique et critique*, ed. E. Hocedez (Louvain, 1930), p. 129 (Th. xix): 'Quia tota causa quare nos investigamus quod esse sit res differens ab essentia ex hoc sumitur ut possimus salvare res creatas esse compositas et posse creari et posse esse et non esse ....' Cf. his *Quaestiones disputatae*

real distinction and composition of essence and *esse* in creatures as we have seen, had in his *Quodlibet* III, q. 1 remarked that almost all of the arguments offered in support of this distinction were based on the need to account for the fact that creatures are indeed produced or created.<sup>52</sup> Reference will be made below to the anonymous text's rather unusual way of replying to this kind of argumentation for such distinction and composition of essence and *esse* in separate entities.

Subsequent argumentation is offered by the anonymous text to prove that everything apart from the First Being is truly caused and produced by something else. Both Plato and Aristotle hold that the most perfect among beings is the cause of all others; but there can only be one most perfect being. After supporting arguments are offered for the major and minor of this reasoning, the point is again made: if everything with the exception of the First Being is caused, then every other being must be composed of potency and act. No such being will be pure *esse*, but in each of these essence and *esse* will be composed as potency and act.<sup>53</sup>

A number of arguments are then offered against admission of such composition of essence and *esse* in such entities. One of these is based on Aristotle's discussion in *Metaphysics* 8 to this effect, that things which lack sensible and mathematical matter are free from sensible *passiones* and enjoy being and unity immediately rather than by receiving their *esse* and unity from anything else. From this the argument infers that Aristotle here seems to be stating explicitly that such substances are simple and that each of them is its own *esse*. Averroes is cited in support of this in that he comments that in such beings there is no distinction between *quod est* and *esse*, or *quod est* and *quod quid est*. More difficult (to accept), comments the argument, is Aristotle's apparent view that such separate entities do not depend on any other cause for their *esse*.<sup>54</sup>

*de esse et essentia* (Venice, 1503; rpt. Frankfurt am Main, 1968), q. 9 (fol. 21ra-b): '... sic creatio facit scire quod essentia est (esset *ed.* 1503) aliud ab esse quia ex hoc est creatio inquantum essentia acquirit esse.'

<sup>52</sup> 'Et ulterius consequenter et quarto declarandum est quod ratione productionis rei per quam ipsa res potest recipere esse, non oportet ponere compositionem ipsius esse ad rem sive essentiam rei sicut quibusdam videtur oportere dicere. Nam ad hanc rationem possunt fere omnes rationes reduci quibus probatur diversitas ipsius esse ad essentiam secundum rem aut[em] per intentionem, et necessitate huius rationis amota videntur dissolvi omnes aliae rationes pro illa parte aut saltem difficiliore' (PB 2.160).

<sup>53</sup> fol. 176ra-b. Note in particular: 'Sic igitur videtur si omnia citra primum sunt causata quod ipsa omnia sint ex potentia et actu composita, et quod nullum eorum sit esse purum, sed quod in eis essentia cum esse componitur ut potentia cum actu' (fol. 176rb34-38).

<sup>54</sup> fol. 176va. Note in particular: 'Et quod difficilius est, Aristoteles videtur velle quod quia in dictis substantiis nichil est quod habeat esse ab alio, quod ideo dictae substantiae non habeant causam aliam quae faciat eas esse. Quod enim est esse non requirit causam aliam per quam fiat

In introducing his own solution the anonymous writer takes it as established that there are certain separate substances which are completely free from magnitude, and that they are also immobile. Hence they do not include matter in their essential structure, whether physical or the kind assigned to mathematical (intelligible matter). He notes that one may wonder whether some kind of potency is to be assigned to the essences of such separate substances which would be proper to their substantial acts. He rejects this suggestion and argues that in such substances there is no real composition of *esse* and essence or of act and potency, since such forms are not really composed of these. He finds confirmation for this in the text from Aristotle's *Metaphysics* to which reference was made in the preceding paragraph.<sup>55</sup>

Nonetheless, the anonymous writer must in some way defend the uniqueness of the First Being on metaphysical grounds and show how other separate entities fall short of it. It is here that he returns to the theory we have already seen him foreshadowing above. Since something cannot recede from or differ from the most perfect being and from Pure Act except by tending to that which is imperfect and to potency, some admixture of potency and act must be assigned to such beings. This, he quickly points out, is not a real composition, but only a composition imposed by our thought (*secundum rationem nostrae conceptionis*).<sup>56</sup>

In developing this he notes that certain forms simply taken in themselves may be more perfect than others. This may happen without our assuming that there is any real composition within such forms, just as air recedes from the nature of the light and tends to the nature of the heavy without itself being

ens et esse eius substituentem' (ll. 38-43). For Aristotle see *Metaphysics* 8.6 (1045a33-b23); for Averroes see *In 8 Metaph.* (1045a36-b6), c. 8 text. 16 (Venice, 1562), 8.224vL. The citation from Averroes is not quite literal.

<sup>55</sup> fol. 176va-b; also transcribed by Wielockx ('Le ms. Paris Nat. lat. 16096', 233) who has edited the solution for this question. Note in particular: 'Sed dubitabit aliquis si ad essentiam substantiarum insensibilium et immobilium pertineat potentia propria actui earum (eorum ms.) substantiali. Et dicendum quod non: potentia enim ad substantiam seu in substantia, cum non habeat unde determinetur, contradictorium est, quamvis subiectum accidentis possit esse proprium .... Et cum in substantia non sit compositio ipsius esse ad essentiam nisi quia praeter actum in rebus est aliquid in potentia quod non de sui ratione est ens, ideo nec in huiusmodi substantiis insensibilibus immobilibus semper actu existentibus est compositio realis ex esse et essentia vel ex potentia et actu, cum forma ex hiis realiter non componatur. Et huic sententiae concordat illud Aristotelis VIII<sup>o</sup> Metaphysicae quod prius ad huiusmodi intentionem argutum est' (fol. 176vb6-11, 14-22).

<sup>56</sup> 'Quia tamen a perfectissimo et actu puro quod unum est in universitate entium, sicut prius est oppositum, non contingit recedere seu differre nisi tendendo in imperfectum et potentiam, hinc est quod substantiae cuilibet immobili citra primam est admixta potentia actui, non compositione reali, ut prius determinatum est, sed compositione secundum rationem nostrae conceptionis' (fol. 176vb22-28).



composed of the heavy and the light.<sup>57</sup> The reader will recall that our anonymous writer had previously used this same illustration, and that it is also to be found in Godfrey's text.<sup>58</sup> The anonymous text notes that this composition in immobile substances of potency and act is not to be regarded as merely imaginary (*fictae rationis*) but rather as pertaining to such entities by reason of their comparison both to the First Being and to lower beings. Not even this kind of act-potency composition (*secundum rationem*) can be admitted of the First Being:

Godfrey, PB 3.360

Anonymous, fol. 176vb35-42

... ita etiam in natura angeli, recedendo ab actualitate primi et accedendo ad potentialitatem simpliciter habet quodammodo compositionem, non rei, sed rationis ex potentia et actu; non quidem fictae rationis, sed rei convenientem secundum comparisonem ad superius, sicut minus actualis et in hoc potentialioris et secundum comparisonem ad inferius sicut magis actualis. Hoc autem primo enti convenire non potest ...

Nec est ista compositio in immobilibus citra primam ex potentia et actu fictae rationis sed rei conveniens cum secundum comparisonem ad primam sint minus causales et formales, respectu tamen inferiorum actualiores, dictis potentia et actu eis convenientibus secundum eandem naturam. Primae autem substantiae non convenit secundum rationem nisi fictitiae componi ex potentia et actu vel ex essentia et esse.

While there are evident differences between the language of the two texts, the similarities are noteworthy. Godfrey, of course, has explicitly introduced the theme of the angels, while the anonymous writer continues to speak of immobile substances. This is not surprising both because Godfrey is discussing the question of the presence of angels in a genus, and because the anonymous text may have resulted from or at least reflect its author's teaching as a Master in the Faculty of Arts.<sup>59</sup> In the part of the anonymous text just analyzed, reference is made to a 'composition' of potentiality and actuality of separate substances based on comparing them to higher and to lower points of reference. This, of course, is central to Godfrey's treatment both here in *Quodlibet VII* and in his earlier *Quodlibet III*. Moreover, both authors insist that the 'composition'

<sup>57</sup> 'Quod sic considerandum est: nichil enim prohibet in formis secundum seipsas formas quasdam perfectiores et quasdam esse minus perfectas ut quae universaliores causae minus universalibus, hoc tamen contingente in ipsis formis sine aliqua earum (eorum ms.) reali compositione; sicut et aer recedens a natura levissimi tendit ad naturam gravis simpliciter per naturam simplicem sine compositione ex gravi et levi' (fol. 176vb28-35).

<sup>58</sup> See the texts cited on p. 237 above.

<sup>59</sup> See Wielockx, 'Le ms. Paris Nat. lat. 16096', 235 (where he seems to imply that the text is by a Master in Arts); Duin, 'La bibliothèque philosophique', 155 ff. (who refers to these as 'Quaestiones super librum Posteriorum').

of such substances is not purely fictitious, granted that it is not real. It applies to the entities in question by reason of the twofold comparison to the higher and the lower.

The anonymous writer goes on to criticize those who hold that such separate entities are really composed of essence and *esse* or of potency and act. He has even harsher words for those (*plus delinquentes*) who hold that such entities are composed of matter and form.<sup>60</sup> But then, in a surprising turn for a Christian of that period, the writer argues that, in the case of substances in which there is no real distinction of potency and act, there is no reason for holding that such entities are efficiently caused! They will, nonetheless, be subject to the final causality of the First Principle.<sup>61</sup> In short, the anonymous writer accepts the position mentioned in one of the opening arguments against real composition of essence and existence or of potency and act in such entities, based on the fact that Aristotle denies that such substances are efficiently caused. The author agrees that they are not efficiently caused, and finds this view confirmed by Proclus.<sup>62</sup> This, too, is his answer to the first argument proposed in this *quaestio* in support of the real distinction – the argument grounded on the need to account for the efficiently caused character of such entities. To repeat, according to the anonymous text such entities are not efficiently caused. Our writer comments that he has adequately dealt with argumentation for real composition of such entities based on the fact that they fall short of or recede from the most perfect being and from Pure Actuality. Implied in this comment is the author's theory of act-potency composition of such entities, a composition which is of reason rather than real.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>60</sup> 'Quidam autem non attendentes actum et potentiam praedicto modo existere in substantiis insensibilibus et immobilibus actu semper existentibus dixerunt praedictas substantias esse realiter (*post realiter canc.* esse ms.) compositas ex essentia et esse vel potentia et actu; et quidam plus delinquentes, ex materia et forma' (fols. 176vb43-177ra3).

<sup>61</sup> 'Et cum illud ad quod pertinet potentia et materia et universaliter aliquid quod non de se est ens requirat aliquid aliud quod ipsum ens faciat seu causam effectivam, similiter etiam natura deficiens a puro actu – unde tendit in potentiam, licet non per compositionem realem ex potentia et actu – requirit aliud quod sit causa eius ut sit ens cum non sit esse purum sine potentia, licet non requirat causam ut fiat ens. Et cum causa effectiva requiratur in fieri magis et in hiis in quibus potentia realiter differt ab actu, finis autem non solum in fieri sed in esse quaeratur, unde non solum fit domus sed et est domus ut defendat nos a pluviis et caumatibus, hinc est quod in quorum substantia potentia realiter non differt ab actu non est proprie causa effectiva alia ab eis sed finalis, potissima causarum primum decens principium' (fol. 177ra3-18). For discussion see Wielockx, 'Le ms. Paris Nat. lat. 16096', 234-35.

<sup>62</sup> fol. 177ra.

<sup>63</sup> 'Per hoc patet quod praedictae substantiae sunt compositae licet non realiter cadunt in rationem causatorum, ut petebat prima ratio. Et patet qualiter recedunt a perfectissimo et pure actu, tendendo in imperfectionem et potentiam ut petebat secunda et tertia ratio, et qualiter multiplicantur huiusmodi substantiae per admixtionem potentiae ut dicit Averroes, et qualiter recedunt a primordialii unitate per disgregationem in multitudinem ut dixit LXII<sup>a</sup> Procli' (ibid., ll. 28-37). For Proclus see Vansteenkiste, 'Procli Elementatio theologica', 288. For the earlier

Near the end of this same work, while replying to the third objection of the final question, the anonymous writer returns once more to the issue of separate entities. He notes that some say they are composed of essence and *esse*, a theory which our author rejects as untrue.<sup>64</sup> Others hold that they are composed of matter and form. This he dismisses as laughable (*ridiculum*).<sup>65</sup> He refers to the third theory, according to which such substances are composed in their essence (*substantia*) in another way. Contained therein is a potency which is proper to the actuality of each, and which differs from matter which rather serves as a common subject. This view is also rejected by the anonymous author because, he argues, any potency found in a substance which is not in any way determined in itself will be common to form and to privation. In other words, the proposed potency will in fact be matter.<sup>66</sup> Once more the anonymous text concludes by defending the view that act and potency are to be assigned to one and the same simple nature of any such entity by a composition of reason alone, granted that it is not a purely imaginary or fictitious composition.<sup>67</sup>

Godfrey of Fontaines has distanced himself from our anonymous text's denial that lesser separate substances are truly efficiently caused or created. In fact, Godfrey goes to considerable lengths to show how, by appealing to his own theory of act and potency and by applying this to the causal order, he can account for the caused and created character of anything other than God.<sup>68</sup> At

reference to Averroes see fol. 176rb45-va4: 'Omnia igitur praeter unum composita sunt ex potentia et actu; et ideo vult (s.s. ms.) Commentator super tertium De Anima quod substantias intellectuales et immateriales non contingeret esse multas nisi esset admixtio potentiae cum actu.' For Averroes see *Commentarium magnum in Aristotelis De anima libros*, ed. F. S. Crawford (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), pp. 409-10.

<sup>64</sup> '... ideo huiusmodi substantias sine magnitudine diversi diversimode composuerunt et componere studuerunt. Quidam ex esse et essentia, esse dicentes aliquid praeter essentiam, quod non est verum. Esse enim est actualitas essentialis ipsius entis. Unde differre non potest ab essentia nisi differentia actus ad potentiam, quorum utrumque ad essentiam alicuius pertinet' (fol. 177vb26-32).

<sup>65</sup> 'Alii eas compositas in essentia sua compositas esse (omne? ms.) dixerunt ex materia et forma, quod est ridiculum, cum huiusmodi substantiae sint immutabiles ut de eis demonstratur. Materia autem sit subiectum alicuius transmutationis' (ibid., ll. 32-36).

<sup>66</sup> 'Et ideo alii dixerunt eas esse compositas in substantia sua ex potentia et actu, quae quidem potentia propria est ad actum uniuscuiusque earum in quo differt a materia quae est subiectum commune. Sed nec hoc videtur verum, quia potentia in substantia, cum non habeat unde determinetur, est communis ad formam et privationem, non differens a materia' (ibid., ll. 36-42). Marginal notation, perhaps in Godfrey's hand: 'ergo in caelo non est materia'.

<sup>67</sup> 'Actus tamen et potentia in huiusmodi substantiis citra primam fundantur super eandem naturam simplicem ita quod in eis faciunt solam rationis compositionem, non fictitiam sed convenientem rei, ut alias dixi' (fols. 177vb43-178ra2).

<sup>68</sup> See his division of being into actual being and potential being, and his further subdivision of potential being into that which is potential by reason of an intrinsic cause, and that which is potential by reason of one or more extrinsic causes. According to Godfrey, all things have enjoyed potential being from all eternity by reason of God, their extrinsic efficient cause. See Quodlibet VIII, q. 3 (PB 4.38-40). Also see his treatments in Quodlibet II, q. 2 (PB 2.63-65) and Quodlibet IV, q. 2 (PB 2.237-38). For discussion see *The Metaphysical Thought*, pp. 16-18, 78,

the same time, Godfrey has developed the theory of act and potency 'composition' of separate entities more extensively than has the anonymous text. Nonetheless, both have traced this theory back to Proclus' *Elementatio theologica*. Both have offered it as an alternative to any kind of real essence-existence composition or real act-potency composition of such entities; and a number of textual similarities have already been noted between Godfrey, on the one hand, and the anonymous text, on the other.

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In summing up the results of this study, I should first note that the verbal similarities between Godfrey's texts and this anonymous text are greater than between Godfrey's texts and those of Siger. At the same time, however, it should also be pointed out that Siger's theory is not presented in such a way as to eliminate the created or efficiently caused character of such separate entities.<sup>69</sup> From this standpoint, therefore, Godfrey's solution is really closer to that proposed by Siger than to that offered by the anonymous writer. It is also true, nonetheless, that this is only one of the two solutions originally proposed by Siger, and that in his final discussion in his *Quaestiones* on the *Liber de causis* he seems to come much closer to Aquinas' theory of real composition of essence and *esse* in such entities. Granting all this and bearing in mind the fact that both the anonymous text and the shorter version of Siger's *Quaestiones* on the *Metaphysics* were contained in Godfrey's library, it seems to me that this anonymous work, along with Proclus, and along with Siger's *Quaestiones*, are the most likely sources upon which Godfrey drew in constructing his own theory of the act-potency composition of created separate entities and his own alternative to real composition of essence and *esse* in such beings. John of Dacia's *De gradibus formarum* may be regarded as another possible source for Godfrey, although the evidence for this is less persuasive. All three of these possible sources antedate Godfrey's discussions in Quodlibet III (1286) and in Quodlibet VII (c. 1290/91) by a number of years.<sup>70</sup>

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137, 143; also, my 'The Reality of Nonexisting Possibles according to Thomas Aquinas, Henry of Ghent, and Godfrey of Fontaines', *Review of Metaphysics* 34 (1981) 753-56.

<sup>69</sup> For this see Van Steenberghen, *Maître Siger de Brabant*, pp. 281-91. Also note that q. 7 of the introduction to Siger's *Quaestiones* on the *Metaphysics* is entitled: 'Utrum esse in causatis pertineat ad essentiam causatorum' (Graiff, p. 11 / Dunphy, p. 41). Throughout this discussion the assumption on Siger's part is that all such beings, with the exception of the First Being, are efficiently caused by that First Being. The corresponding question in the *tres quaestiones* edited by Vennebusch reads: 'Queritur, utrum esse et ens, que inponuntur ab actu essendi, sint aliquid in entibus causatis quod pertineat ad essentiam et quiditatem ...' (p. 175).

<sup>70</sup> On the dating of Siger's *Quaestiones* on the *Metaphysics* see n. 15 above, and also Dunphy, *Siger de Brabant*, pp. 20-25. Wielockx argues for 1278 as the *terminus ad quem* for the scribe's completion of the concluding part of the manuscript which contains the anonymous questions we have examined here. For a pre-1280 date for John of Dacia's *De gradibus formarum* see n. 25 above.

# THE YEAR OF ELEANOR OF CASTILE'S BIRTH AND HER CHILDREN BY EDWARD I

*John Carmi Parsons*

WITH the possible exception of Philippa of Hainaut, no medieval English queen enjoys a better reputation as wife and mother than Eleanor of Castile, the first consort of Edward I. While recourse to contemporary records has shown that Eleanor was a woman of considerable vitality and an attentive wife,<sup>1</sup> much of what is still repeated in modern works about her personal life is found to rest upon early authorities, such as Francis Sandford's *A Genealogical History of the Kings and Queens of England* (London, 1677), or upon uncritical works, principally Agnes Strickland's fulsome *Lives of the Queens of England*, 12 vols. (London, 1840-48). Hence there remains some confusion about certain aspects of Eleanor's life, among them the year of her birth and the number of children she bore Edward.

The difficulties inherent in determining relatively secure dates of birth and death for individuals in the medieval period are well known to anyone who has ever attempted anything in this direction, which perhaps explains a general reluctance among scholars to invest the necessary time and effort in tackling such problems. Occasionally, however, the nature of a particular study demands attention to questions of this nature; and recent research into Queen Eleanor's life has provided a useful amount of pertinent material to shed fresh light on these obscure areas of her career.

## *The year of Eleanor's birth*

Eleanor of Castile was the daughter of Ferdinand III of Castile and León (1201-52) by his second wife Jeanne of Dammartin who became countess of Ponthieu in her own right (1251) and died in 1279. This couple were married

<sup>1</sup> See J. C. Parsons, *The Court and Household of Eleanor of Castile in 1290* (Toronto, 1977), especially pp. 3-55.

probably in October 1237,<sup>2</sup> after an earlier marriage projected for Jeanne with Henry III of England had collapsed in 1235.<sup>3</sup> Exact dates of birth for the five children Jeanne bore Ferdinand III are not recorded, and it is not surprising that authorities have variously stated that Eleanor of Castile was anywhere from ten to fifteen years of age at her marriage in the autumn of 1254.<sup>4</sup> The only contemporary Castilian chronicle of any immediate assistance is the so-called *Historia gótica*, otherwise (and more properly) *De rebus Hispaniae libri IX*, the work of King Ferdinand's friend and chancellor Rodrigo Ximenez de Rada, archbishop of Toledo from 1217 until his death in 1247. According to its first-person *explicit*, this chronicle was completed on 31 March 1243, by which time Queen Jeanne is stated to have borne three children: Ferdinand, Eleanor and Louis, the last two very young when the archbishop finished his work.<sup>5</sup> Since

<sup>2</sup> Jeanne's parents, Count Simon and Countess Marie of Ponthieu, called her 'queen of Castile and León' in August 1237, but the papal dispensation for the marriage is dated 31 August 1237; cf. Cl. Brunel, ed., *Recueil des actes des comtes de Ponthieu, 1026-1279* (Paris, 1930), no. 304, and L. Auvray, ed., *Les registres de Grégoire IX...*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1890-1955), no. 3847. The omission of any reference to a queen consort in Ferdinand III's formal charter of 2 September 1237 indicates that he was not married on that date; cf. M. de Manuel Rodríguez, *Memorias para la vida del Santo Rey Don Fernando III* (Madrid, 1800; rpt. Barcelona, 1974), pp. 437-38 (for Castilian diplomatic practice at this period, see authorities cited in n. 7 below). The earliest proof that the marriage had taken place comes from Ferdinand III's letter to Louis IX of France, 31 October 1237, contained in Louis' *vidimus* of January 1238, for which see E. Prarond, ed., *Le cartulaire du comté de Ponthieu* (Abbeville, 1898), no. 125.

<sup>3</sup> Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, 3 vols. (RS 57; London, 1872-83), 3.327-28; T. Rymer, ed., *Foedera, conventiones, literae...*, 4 vols. in 7 (London, 1816-69), 1.216, 217, 218-19, 231, 277, 284.

<sup>4</sup> A. Strickland, *Lives of the Queens of England...*, 12 vols., 2nd edition (London, 1851, reissued, 1854) 2.164 n., and J. Galloway, *Eleanor of Castile, Queen of England, and the Monuments Erected in Her Memory* (London, 1909), p. 3, allow her, respectively, ten and nine years of age in 1254. Among those who believe her to have been in her mid-teens are: B. Botfield and T. Turner, eds., *Manners and Household Expenses in England in the Thirteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (London, 1841), p. lxii; C. Dufresne du Cange, *Histoire des comtes de Ponthieu et de Montreuil*, ed. A. le Sueur (Abbeville, 1917), p. 168; and A. Ballesteros-Beretta, *Alfonso x el Sabio* (Barcelona, 1963), p. 102.

<sup>5</sup> Rodericus Ximenicus de Rada, *De rebus Hispaniae libri IX* in *Roderici Toletani Opera*, ed. F. Lorenzano (Madrid, 1793; rpt. Valencia, 1970), book 9, chap. 18 (unpaginated). The vernacular Castilian *Primera Crónica general de España*, 2 vols., ed. R. Menéndez Pidal, 2nd edition (Madrid, 1955), 2.735 (c. 1048), adds two more sons who died young (Simon and John), but interpolates them between Eleanor and Louis. Since de Rada does not mention them, although he does mention a daughter of Ferdinand III by his first marriage who died young (*ibid.* 9.12), it seems more likely that they were born after March 1243, as recently recognized by J. González, *Reinado y diplomas de Fernando III*, vol. 1: *Estudio* (Córdoba, 1980), p. 117. John cannot have been born before February 1244, since according to the *Primera Crónica*, c. 1048, he died only a few days after birth and was buried in Córdoba, and his mother Queen Jeanne was never in that city until February 1244 (see n. 14 below). The *Crónica*'s statement (*ibid.*) that Simon was buried in Toledo suggests that he was dead before his parents moved permanently to the South early in 1244, so that Simon may be supposed to have lived only a brief time in the last months of 1243. It is certain that on 20 May 1248, when Queen Jeanne donated property at

in March 1243 Ferdinand III and Jeanne had been married for slightly more than five years, de Rada's information is reasonable enough, and his veracity appears heightened by the fact that he gave the children in their real order of birth, rather than naming the sons first and Eleanor afterwards, as he did when discussing King Ferdinand's children by his first wife, Beatrice of Hohenstaufen.<sup>6</sup>

Documentary evidence is of limited value in controlling the narrative material. There are no surviving financial records from the king's household at this period, and the rudimentary chancery organization which then prevailed in Castile causes some difficulties with the *privilegios rodados*, the formal royal charters that are the principal diplomatic sources.<sup>7</sup> It will suffice here to remark only that the chancery clerks regularly based their products on previous charters, and in many cases it is clear that a scribe simply copied wholesale the witness list from his model without bothering to be sure that all the persons thus automatically named were really present, or even alive.<sup>8</sup> The witness lists are therefore noticeably repetitive, but this fact can be of some use to establish the relative ages of the kings' sons who, in the thirteenth century, were customarily named as a matter of form in a group at the head of the witness lists. The name of a particular *infante*, however, would not be accorded this distinction from the time of his birth, but only when he reached an age considered suitable. Thus Ferdinand III's son Philip, who was born probably in 1231, does not appear in the witness lists of his father's charters until 1243.<sup>9</sup> A comparison among the lists from a number of such charters should, then, reveal the period at which Eleanor's full brothers Ferdinand and Louis were first named in them, making it possible to deduce the approximate years of their

Carmona to the military order of Calatrava, her only living sons were Ferdinand and Louis; the document is printed in de Manuel Rodríguez, *Memorias*, pp. 497-98.

<sup>6</sup> De Rada, *ibid.* 9.12.

<sup>7</sup> E. S. Procter, 'Materials for a Study of the Reign of Alfonso X of Castile', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th Ser., 14 (1931) 39-64 (especially, for the *privilegios rodados*, 41-43) and 'The Castilian Chancery during the Reign of Alfonso X, 1252-1284' in *Oxford Essays in Medieval History Presented to Herbert Edward Salter*, ed. F. M. Powicke (Oxford, 1934), pp. 104-21, especially pp. 106-109.

<sup>8</sup> One easily proven example involves Eleanor's full brother Ferdinand, who appears among witnesses to Alfonso X's privilege to the monastery of Oña, 22 January 1255 (J. del Alamo, ed., *Colección diplomática de San Salvador de Oña*, 2 vols. [Madrid, 1950], no. 535). Ferdinand in fact had gone to Ponthieu with his mother in the autumn of 1254, and unquestionably was with her there in January 1255 (*CPR 1247-58*, pp. 311, 351, and Brunel, *Recueil des actes des comtes de Ponthieu*, no. 395). As late as March 1239 a scribe copied the name of Ferdinand III's first wife Beatrice in a privilege for the monastery of la Vid, although that lady had then been dead upwards of three years (Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, colección la Vid, no. 21).

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Ballesteros-Beretta, *Alfonso X el Sabio*, p. 193, and E. Florez, *Memorias de las reinas católicas*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1761), 1.435.

births; and since Archbishop de Rada's testimony places Eleanor's birth between those of her brothers, a *terminus post* and *ante quem* for her birth may be suggested.

The elder brother Ferdinand apparently witnessed no documents before the death of Ferdinand III in May 1252, but he is found as a witness to the earliest surviving act of his half brother King Alfonso X, in August of the same year.<sup>10</sup> A charter issued in Ponthieu by his mother in January 1255 states explicitly that young Ferdinand was then of age to give his consent to her acts there.<sup>11</sup> It seems likely, then, that Ferdinand was born a year or so after his parents' marriage, in the winter of 1238-39.

The name of Eleanor's younger brother Louis first appears in the witness lists in October 1255,<sup>12</sup> a date which tallies well with the fact that Louis was *parvulus* in March 1243. The year of his birth would seem to be about 1242, or else in the first three months of 1243.

The logical conclusion to be drawn from a straightforward examination of contemporary Castilian evidence is that Eleanor of Castile must have been born in 1240 or 1241. Since she did not arrive in England until 1255, it is not to be expected that English sources will be of further assistance, but in fact one small piece of evidence can be brought to bear on the question. The accounts kept by the queen's executors show that, on the first anniversary of her death, the number of paupers paid to carry candles in the procession was forty-nine,<sup>13</sup> an unusual number which may well correspond to Eleanor's age at her death in November 1290. If she was then aged forty-nine, the year of her birth would have been 1241, which accords exactly with the period indicated by the Castilian sources.

There is reason to suggest further that Eleanor was born late in 1241. For a period of thirteen months, from January 1240 until February 1241, Ferdinand III resided in the southern city of Córdoba to assist the beleaguered Christians of that city against the Moors of Seville. His wife was apparently not with him during those months; the *Primera crónica general*, a vernacular history of

<sup>10</sup> Cf. de Manuel Rodríguez, *Memorias*, pp. 528-46, where there appear documents of Ferdinand III from December 1251 until the month of his death, and Ballesteros-Beretta, *ibid.*, pp. 57-58.

<sup>11</sup> Brunel, *Recueil des actes des comtes de Ponthieu*, no. 395.

<sup>12</sup> Louis' name does not appear in Alfonso X's confirmation of an earlier privilege to the church of Cartagena, 17 April 1255 (de Manuel Rodríguez, *Memorias*, pp. 546-47), nor in a similar confirmation to the abbot of Valladolid on 10 September 1255, in M. Manueca Villalobos and J. Zurita Nieto, eds., *Documentos de la Iglesia colegial de Santa María la Mayor de Valladolid*, 3 vols. (Valladolid, 1917-20), 2, no. 50. Louis does appear as a witness to King Alfonso's privilege to the Premonstratensian canons of Our Lady at Retuerta, 26 October 1255 (Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, sección Clero, carpeta 3436, no. 12).

<sup>13</sup> Botfield and Turner, *Manners and Household Expenses in England*, p. 99.



Castile compiled under Alfonso x, states that husband and wife were reunited at Toledo only upon Ferdinand's return to the North, at the end of February or early March in 1241.<sup>14</sup> If Jeanne had conceived Eleanor before her husband's journey to and residence in Córdoba, Eleanor could not have been born much later than the summer of 1240, but this would have made her easily fifty years old at her death. On the other hand, if Eleanor was conceived about the time of her parents' reunion at Toledo in February or March 1241, she would have been born in the last weeks of that year, and thus was very close to her forty-ninth birthday when she died. The hiatus in Jeanne's childbearing caused by the king's absence might also account for Archbishop de Rada's distinction that Eleanor and Louis were very young in March 1243, in contrast to the first son Ferdinand who would have been nearly three years older than Eleanor.

### *Queen Eleanor's children*

There is a forbidding amount of disagreement among authorities as to the number of Queen Eleanor's children, the dates of their births and deaths, and even their names. While it is generally acknowledged that only six children survived childhood and that three other sons died young, for a total of nine, various writers expand this by adding more daughters, to total anywhere from fifteen to seventeen. The names given to these ephemeral daughters, however, do not agree from one authority to another, and if all the suggested names were combined into a single list, the total would reach as high as nineteen.<sup>15</sup>

As might be expected, the source problem here is acute. Surviving accounts from the queen's wardrobe date only from years after she had ceased to bear children, although information from King Edward's wardrobe documents is of crucial importance in some cases (see nos. 1 and 12 in the list below). Narrative sources are generally of value only for the children who were born, or died, after Edward's accession in 1272. Substantive information is available from

<sup>14</sup> J. Gonzalo, *Las conquistas de Fernando III en Andalucía* (Madrid, 1946), pp. 84-86; *Primera Crónica* 2.737 (c. 1053), 740-41 (c. 1057). The *Primera Crónica* 2.743 (c. 1063) indicates that Jeanne first accompanied the king to Córdoba only when he moved his military campaigns permanently to the South, at the beginning of 1244; see also Gonzalo, *ibid.*, p. 91, and González, *Reinado y diplomas de Fernando III*, p. 115.

<sup>15</sup> An earlier version of the material on 'Alice' was read at the Tenth Annual Conference on Medieval Studies, Kalamazoo, Michigan, May 1975.

The following works are those which appear to have had the greatest influence on subsequent writers: F. Sandford, *A Genealogical History of the Kings and Queens of England* (London, 1677), pp. 138-44; R. Gough, *Sepulchral Monuments of Great Britain*, 2 vols. (London, 1786-96), 1.65-66; Strickland, *Lives of the Queens* 1.418-51; Green, *Lives of the Princesses* 2.275-441 and 3.1-59; H. M. Lane, *The Royal Daughters of England*, 2 vols. (London, 1910), 1.172-209; J. H. Ramsay, *The Dawn of the Constitution, 1216-1307* (Oxford, 1908), pp. 540-51.

official records for some of the children (e.g., nos. 2, 3, 5, 6, 13), but difficulty of access kept these records beyond the ken of many earlier investigators. Epistolary evidence is of help in only two cases (nos. 9, 15). Monumental sources are nonexistent, as no tombs for any of the children have survived; the exquisite mosaic altar now in the south ambulatory of Westminster Abbey, long regarded as the common tomb for a number of children of Henry III and Edward I, is now thought to be the original altar from Edward the Confessor's chapel.<sup>16</sup>

In the process of sorting out the conflicting statements about Queen Eleanor's family, the example of a daughter supposedly named Alice has emerged as an interesting example of the methods necessary to such research, and of the pitfalls into which even the best-intentioned of investigators can tumble. It is usually stated that Alice was born at Woodstock on 12 March 1279, that she survived her mother and died in 1291 at the age of twelve, and that she was buried in Westminster Abbey.<sup>17</sup> For a royal lady in the thirteenth century, such a precise statement requires some unimpeachable evidence, but in this case it appears that nothing of the kind can be adduced and indeed, there are conflicting statements that raise some doubts almost at once. As far as the supposed date of Alice's birth is concerned, it will suffice to remark that other authorities date the birth of Queen Eleanor's daughter Mary on 11 or 12 March 1279, also at Woodstock, but these authorities make no mention of Alice.<sup>18</sup> Accounts from the royal wardrobes are unfortunately lacking for 1279, and can provide no immediate solution. Most oddly, however, this alleged blessed event was not recorded by a single contemporary chronicler. More will have to be said about this later, but a quick comparison with another member of the queen's family shows that the omission is suspicious. Most of the children borne by Eleanor as queen (i.e., after 1272) who lived to any age at all are duly noted by the chroniclers, among them Berengaria, who died in her second year (see no. 11 below), and it is distinctly odd to find that a sister who supposedly lived to the age of twelve should not have been mentioned at all.

<sup>16</sup> R. A. Brown, H. M. Colvin, and A. J. Taylor, *The History of the King's Works. The Middle Ages*, 2 vols. and plans (London, 1963), 1.478-79. The new identification of this monument renders unnecessary any extended discussion of the children supposedly commemorated by it, but for earlier literature reference may be made to J. D. Tanner, 'Tombs of Royal Babies in Westminster Abbey', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 3rd Ser., 16 (1953) 25-40.

<sup>17</sup> Lane, *Royal Daughters of England* 1.99; H. Montgomery-Massingberd, ed., *Burke's Guide to the Royal Family* (London, 1973), p. 197.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. the two editions of the Royal Historical Society's *Handbook of British Chronology* by F. M. Powicke, C. Johnson, and W. J. Harte (London, 1939), p. 37 and F. M. Powicke and E. B. Fryde (London, 1961), p. 35; the former gives the year of Mary's birth as 1279 and the latter as 1278, but neither mentions 'Alice'. Cf. Lane, *ibid.* 1.99 and Green, *Lives of the Princesses* 2.403, 405.

Of even greater importance, however, is the fact that 'Alice' does not appear once in the royal wardrobe accounts surviving from years in which she is said to have been alive. In the surviving book of the king's wardrobe for the thirteenth year of his reign (1284-85), there are numerous references to alms offered by the king and queen on behalf of their living children; in this, of all contexts, one would expect to find every child named, but there is never an Alice among them. For example, on 15 March 1285, the king offered 7s. apiece on behalf of the queen, their son Edward, and their daughters Eleanor, Joan, Margaret, Mary and Elizabeth. A later entry shows that in the following July the same six children were provided with 14s. each to make oblations.<sup>19</sup> Similar references from this and succeeding regnal years could be multiplied almost indefinitely,<sup>20</sup> but to do so would only confound the question (to which there can hardly be any satisfactory answer) why one child should consistently, indeed invariably, have been omitted.

It appears, then, that 'Alice' stands on little or no solid ground. The date often given for her birth is supported by no reliable evidence, and there is reason to question it because of conflicting statements about Mary's birth. Furthermore, there is no record of an 'Alice's' existence at any time during which she is stated to have been alive. To settle this confusion, it is necessary to answer two questions: how (and when) was the name 'Alice' first connected with Queen Eleanor's family, and in what way were the dates of her birth and death determined?

The name 'Alice' does not seem to have been associated with the daughters of Edward I before the mid-fifteenth century, during the reign of Henry VI, when a certain Thomas Pikering, said to have been a monk of Whitby, included among the king's daughters an Alice, who died at the age of twelve. Pikering's work, if still extant, cannot now be identified; his statement has been transmitted only by an anonymous Tudor compiler who dedicated his genealogical work to Elizabeth I in the last years of her reign.<sup>21</sup> Pedigrees of the royal lineage had proliferated in the mid-fifteenth century as the successive deaths of the childless younger sons of Henry IV made the succession increasingly insecure,<sup>22</sup> and one

<sup>19</sup> London, Public Record Office C 47/4/2, fols. 25r, 27v.

<sup>20</sup> Many examples can be seen in the notes to J. P. Trabut-Cussac, 'Itinéraire d'Édouard I<sup>er</sup> en France, 1286-1289', *Bulletin of the Institute for Historical Research* 25 (1952) 160-203.

<sup>21</sup> London, British Library Harley 1416, fol. 53r. The volume is dated 1595 but was apparently unfinished when Elizabeth died in 1603. Some sketchy efforts were made to continue the account of the peerage into the reign of James I, but the genealogy of the Stuart house makes no reference to the death of Prince Henry (1612).

<sup>22</sup> On this phenomenon see R. A. Griffiths, 'The Sense of Dynasty in the Reign of Henry VI', pp. 13-36 (especially pp. 24-25) and A. Allen, 'Yorkist Propaganda: Pedigree, Prophecy and the "British History" in the Reign of Edward IV', pp. 171-92 (especially pp. 172-73), both in C. Ross, ed., *Patronage, Pedigree and Power in Later Medieval England* (Gloucester, 1979).

such pedigree, which dates from the reign of Henry vi and is therefore roughly contemporary with Thomas Pikerings's lost work, does include among the children of Edward i an Alice who died at the age of twelve years and was buried at Westminster.<sup>23</sup> It seems to have been through such pedigrees that 'Alice' gradually established herself as a member of the family; her name was included in a Yorkist version of the early 1460s, and was accepted in 1530 by Norroy king-at-arms in the royal pedigree included in his visitation of the northern counties.<sup>24</sup>

This is not to say that such early pedigrees are altogether untrustworthy. Among the names given by them for daughters of Edward i and Queen Eleanor are a Katherine and a Joan, who are both said to have died young; the existence of these daughters can be proved from official records (see nos. 2 and 3 below). Since neither of the girls is mentioned in any surviving chronicle, it might be supposed that whoever first put their names into a royal pedigree had access to such records. This, in turn, would lend the pedigrees some authority; but as noted above, it is improbable that the name Alice would have been found in those records in connection with King Edward's family.

There is, however, an anomaly among the pedigrees themselves which provides a clue to solve this part of the puzzle. In such of the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century pedigrees as include 'Alice', the name of another of the queen's children is invariably omitted: that of Alphonso, who was born in November 1273 and died in August 1284. Although he was not quite eleven years old when he died, some chroniclers spoke of him as 'duodennis' when they recorded his death, so that to readers of a later century he would appear to have died at the age of twelve (see no. 9 below). Now the English had always had a difficult time with his name; chroniclers twisted it into Alfurnus, Aunfurs or even Amfulsus, Amphur or Amphunsus, and a roll of arms drawn up in the boy's lifetime calls him Aunfons.<sup>25</sup> Even the clerks of the Exchequer and

<sup>23</sup> London, British Library Harley Roll C 5; 'apud Westmonasterium' in this context is clearly a reference to the place of burial. This roll would seem to date from the period before Henry vi's marriage (1445).

<sup>24</sup> Respectively London, British Library Add. 24026 (apparently from the period between Edward iv's accession, 1461, and his marriage, 1464), and Harley 1499, fol. 59v.

<sup>25</sup> *Alfurnus*: appears in a contemporary list of the surviving children of Edward i and Queen Eleanor, written on a fly-leaf of a late twelfth-century ms. of Ralph of Diceto's chronicle (London, British Library Add. 40007, fol. 3v). This list gives the marriages of the second and third surviving daughters Joan and Margaret (both married in 1290), but does not mention the eldest daughter's marriage (1293).

*Aunfurs*: T. Stapleton, ed., *Liber de antiquis legibus* (Camden Society 34; London, 1846), p. 170.

*Amfulsus*: Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora* 5.449.

*Amphur*: this form occurs in the unpublished Hagnaby chronicle (London, British Library Cotton Vespasian B.xi, fol. 26v).

wardrobe were capable of such exotic variants as Alfundius, Anfours (Aufours?), Alfontis, Amphus or Aufons.<sup>26</sup> The mutations were obviously misleading in the extreme, and it is easily understandable that an early compiler of genealogies stumbled over some erratic form of the name and decided it must be 'Alice' – who was, therefore, thought to have died at the age of twelve. The significant point here is that, until the last part of the sixteenth century, 'Alice' and Alphonso were mutually exclusive: the pedigrees include one or the other but not both. Yet each is said to have died at the age of twelve, and to lie buried at Westminster.<sup>27</sup>

This at least suffices to explain the name 'Alice', her twelve years, and her interment at Westminster. It remains to account for the alleged dates of her birth and death. The former has already been shown questionable, but it must be explained fully in order to clear up the mystery entirely. Here it is necessary to step forward to the nineteenth century and examine Mary Anne Everett Green's *The Lives of the Princesses of England*, 7 vols. (London, 1849-55). The author was well acquainted with medieval records, and during long years of employment at the Public Record Office she edited several volumes of state papers for the Tudor and Stuart periods. Her *Lives of the Princesses*, though fulsome in the style of her time, are drawn almost exclusively from original materials, and for its day the work must stand as a remarkable piece of scholarship. In particular, given the chaotic organization in which the records were then preserved, Green's references to the royal wardrobe accounts are consistently accurate. These accounts were, however, dated by regnal years and present relatively few problems concerning the determination of dates. When it

*Amphunsus*: W. Stubbs, ed., *Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I and Edward II*, 2 vols. (RS 76; London, 1882-83), 2.cxvi (extract from the unpublished Barlings chronicle).

*Aumfons*: occurs on the 'Camden' roll of arms (1270-80?) (London, British Library Cotton Roll xv.8). See N. Denholm-Young, *History and Heraldry, 1254 to 1310* (Oxford, 1965), p. 62.

<sup>26</sup> (All the following mss. cited are in the Public Record Office, London.)

*Alfundius*: in an enrolled account of expenses for the king's works at Westminster in 7 Edward I, including a toy castle for Alphonso (Pipe roll 7 Edward I, E 372/123 m. 21).

*Anfours*: in an account of the king's jewels, 9-14 Edward I (E 101/372/11 m. 1).

*Alfontis*: a genitive form, found in mr Thomas Bek's petition for sums to be allowed him in his final account when leaving office as keeper of the king's wardrobe, 1280 (C 47/3/21/4 m. 1).

*Amphus*: in a list of various payments out of the king's wardrobe, 11 Edward I (E 101/351/6 mm. 1, 2).

*Aufons*: in an enrolled account of expenses in Alphonso's household, 8 Edward I (Pipe roll 8 Edward I, E 372/124 m. 30).

<sup>27</sup> A pedigree *temp.* Edward VI has Alice, but omits Alphonso (London, British Library Harley 1393, fol. 76r). The earliest genealogy containing both names that has come to hand so far is that from 1595 cited above (see n. 21). J. Stow, *The Annales of England* (London, 1600), p. 327, includes both names, as does T. Milles, *The Catalogue of Honour, or Treasury of True Nobility* (London, 1610), p. 151.

came to chronicles, Green's understanding of medieval time reckoning was hazy, and her references to narrative sources must be carefully checked. It was through an error resulting from such confusion that Green initiated much of the difficulty over the dates of Mary's and 'Alice's' births. Green's conclusions resulted from two separate errors, one deriving from her omission to observe the customary change of the Christian year in March, and the second from a simple misreading of a manuscript chronicle.

According to Green's *Lives of the Princesses*, Queen Eleanor's daughter Mary was born on 11 March 1278. Green's references on this point are all to chronicles then in manuscript, only one of which turns out to be of any real value; and in this one case it appears that since Mary's birth is virtually the last event recorded under A.D. 1278, the modern date might really be 11 March 1279, as it appears clearly in a number of other narratives now accessible in print, but which Green apparently did not search in manuscript (see further references under no. 13 in the list below). There is now sufficient additional evidence to disprove conclusively the suggested date in March 1278: a fragmented journal of the king's wardrobe accounts for his sixth regnal year (1277-78), not completely reassembled in Green's time, now shows that Queen Eleanor early in January 1278 bore a child who must have died within a very short time of birth (see no. 12 in the list below), and it is hardly likely that the queen could have borne another child three months later. The evidence of the king's itinerary is also pertinent: in 1286, King Edward recalled that he had issued an earlier writ at the time the queen bore her daughter Mary at Woodstock (quoted under no. 13 below), a statement consistent with his known residence in March 1279, but not in March 1278.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Green, *Lives of the Princesses* 2.405 cites the following mss., all in the British Library, London:

Add. 6913, fol. 241r. A nineteenth-century transcript of a Peterborough chronicle, in which the transcriber has altered all dates by one year (the alterations are clearly marked). Green accepted the alterations.

Cotton Nero A.vi, fol. 29v (new foliation). This is an unpublished chronicle from the coming of the Saxons down to 1289-90 (fol. 32r) in a late thirteenth-century hand, with a continuation to 1400 in an early fifteenth-century hand. At fol. 29v, Mary's birth follows Llywelyn of Wales' marriage (13 November 1278) and the arrest of the Jews for clipping the coin in the same month. The birth precedes Queen Eleanor's accession in Ponthieu in March 1279 (see below, n. 32).

Cotton Claudius D.vi, fol. 130r. Now published as the *Opus chronicorum* in H. T. Riley, ed., *Johannis de Trokelowe et Henrici de Blanford ... Chronica et Annales* (RS 28; London, 1866), p. 48. The passage cited gives no information about Mary's birth, but merely states that she was made a nun in childhood.

On Edward I's itinerary in March 1278 and March 1279 see E. W. Safford, *Itinerary of Edward I*, 3 vols. (London, 1974-77), 1.90-91, 107-108.

At all events, Green believed that Mary was born in March 1278, and she therefore accepted as referring to a different, unnamed daughter a narrative passage which in fact records Mary's birth at Woodstock in March 1279, though omitting the child's name.<sup>29</sup> Now it was not uncommon for the names of royal children to be left blank when their births were recorded by chroniclers; presumably, it was learned at first only that a child had been born at one of the royal residences on a particular day, and space was left for the name to be filled in later.<sup>30</sup> Since Green had concluded that Mary arrived in 1278, however, she decided that some other child must have been born in 1279; and she went on to compound the confusion by misreading 'Regina peperit filiam apud Wodestok' *iiij<sup>us</sup> idus maii*' instead of the actual reading, '*iiij<sup>us</sup> idus marcii*', so her final statement was that Queen Eleanor on 10 May 1279 bore a daughter who did not survive infancy.<sup>31</sup> (Had Green checked into the events of 1279 a little more closely, she would no doubt have been surprised to discover that on 10 May 1279 the queen was at Dover, preparing to cross the Channel to claim her inheritance in Ponthieu following her mother's death.<sup>32</sup>) Green made no attempt to guess at a name for this new daughter; she sensibly restricted herself to a list, without dates, of the shadowy daughters whose names were known to her only from the medieval pedigree rolls – Katherine, Joan, Beatrice, Blanche, and Alice.<sup>33</sup>

Thus by the late nineteenth century there were a tradition of some centuries' standing that Eleanor of Castile had a daughter named Alice who died at the age of twelve, and a new statement that there had been a daughter born at Woodstock on 10 May 1279. The two were not mated to produce a single daughter, however, until H. M. Lane's *The Royal Daughters of England*, 2 vols. (London, 1910), a work not without value by reason of its copious citations to earlier antiquarian and genealogical compendia. Lane took most of his statistics on medieval royal ladies from Green's *Lives of the Princesses*, and in some cases it is evident that he handled his material critically. He corrected the

<sup>29</sup> London, British Library Cotton Vespasian A.ii, fol. 66r. This is an unpublished chronicle described by T. D. Hardy, *Descriptive Catalogue of Materials Relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland, to the End of the Reign of Henry VII*, 3 vols. (RS 26; London, 1862-71), 3.274, as an abbreviation of the Worcester annals with a few insertions. The relevant passage, identical in both versions, may be seen in H. R. Luard, ed., *Ann. monastici*, 5 vols. (RS 36; London, 1864-69), 4.476 (Worcester).

<sup>30</sup> See also *Ann. monastici* 2.122 (Winchester), and A. Gransden, ed., *The Chronicle of Bury St Edmunds* (London, 1964), p. 77.

<sup>31</sup> Green, *Lives of the Princesses* 2.402-403. Note that '4 id. May' should be 12 May, not 10 May.

<sup>32</sup> H. Johnstone, 'The County of Ponthieu, 1279-1307', *English Historical Review* 29 (1914) 435-37.

<sup>33</sup> Green, *Lives of the Princesses* 2.402-403.

misreading whereby Green had dated the birth of an anonymous daughter in May 1279, and properly put the event in March of that year on the basis of another chronicle published since Green's time, but he did not realize the confusion that had led Green to differentiate between the supposed birth in 1278 and the real event in 1279. Lane's eagerness to tie up as many loose ends as possible further led him arbitrarily to assign dates of birth and death to individuals for whom such data were previously undetermined. It was Lane who in this way completed 'Alice's' long gestation by adding her name to the anonymous daughter thought to have been born in March 1279, adding her alleged twelve years to kill her off in 1291, and to follow tradition buried her in Westminster Abbey.<sup>34</sup>

While it is in this way possible to account for 'Alice', there is no easy way to explain most of the other names often included by modern authorities on the basis of the medieval pedigrees, although such exotica as Juliana and Euphemia can be disregarded with reasonable assurance.<sup>35</sup> It will be noted that the documented list of Queen Eleanor's family that follows includes at least three children who died so soon after birth that their names can be found in no existing source (see nos. 1, 7, 12). It is quite possible that the two daughters among these might have been given the names Beatrice and Blanche, both of which occur in many medieval pedigrees, and both of which (unlike 'Alice') are to be found in the immediate family circle of Edward I; his second sister was named Beatrice, and his brother's wife was Blanche of Artois. Unfortunately it is not feasible to suggest which of the anonymous daughters might have borne these names, as no surviving contemporary source can vouch for the existence of a Beatrice or a Blanche in this family.

One additional factor that may be mentioned as of value in calculating the dates of birth for Queen Eleanor's children is the length of her confinements after childbirth. Her mother-in-law Eleanor of Provence always lay in for forty days regardless of the sex of her child,<sup>36</sup> but there is some reason to suppose that Eleanor of Castile varied the length of her confinements depending on the

<sup>34</sup> Lane, *Royal Daughters of England* 1.198-99.

<sup>35</sup> See K. A. Patmore, *The Seven Edwards of England* (London, 1911), pp. 16-17, 24. Juliana, or Julian, seems to have surfaced for the first time in Stow's *Annales of England* (1600), p. 327. Cf. Lane's treatment of the name (*Royal Daughters of England* 1.181-82).

<sup>36</sup> Edward I was *b* on the night of 16-17 June 1239 (Matthew Paris, *Chron. majora* 3.539); the queen was already church'd on 4 August (CLR 1.404), so perhaps the *Chron. majora*'s statement (3.566) that she was church'd on 5 id. August is a slip for 5 kal. August, which would have been forty days after 17 June. Margaret was *b* 29 September 1240 (*Chron. majora* 4.48); the queen was church'd 4 November (CCIR 1237-42, p. 233). Edmund was *b* 16 January 1245 (*Chron. majora* 4.406); the queen was church'd between 21 and 24 February (CLR 2.289, 292). Katherine was *b* 25 November 1253 (*Chron. majora* 5.415); the queen was church'd 5 January 1254 (CCIR 1253-54, pp. 105-106).



child's sex. Certainly she lay in for forty days following the birth of her son John in July 1266,<sup>37</sup> but it would seem that after the births of daughters in 1275 and 1282, and perhaps in 1278, she was confined for only thirty days.<sup>38</sup>

The following list of Queen Eleanor's children is based entirely on the contemporary source material discussed above. Modern authorities are cited only when necessary to compare their interpretations, to suggest corrections, or to indicate works providing additional biographical information.

1. Anonyma, *d* 29 May (year unknown), before 1287; *bur* O.P., Bordeaux.

All that is known of this child comes from entries in a book of controller's accounts for the king's wardrobe in 15 Edward 1 (1286-87), showing that the queen provided a gold cloth for the anniversary of her daughter on 29 May at the Dominican priory in Bordeaux, where the child was buried (P.R.O. E 36/201, p. 93 *bis*); the relevant entries may be seen in Trabut-Cussac, 'Itinéraire d'Édouard 1<sup>er</sup> en France, 1286-1289', 178 n. 54, where it is further suggested that the child either was stillborn or died very shortly after birth in 1255. L. F. Salzman, *Edward 1* (London, 1968), p. 85, thought that this might have been the child known to have died an infant at Acre in 1271-72 (see no. 7 below).

The extensive wardrobe documentation for 14 Edward 1 (1285-86) gives no indication that the king and queen lost a daughter in May 1286; see B. F. and C. R. Byerley, eds., *Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1285-1286* (London, 1977).

In May 1255 Eleanor of Castile was only in her fourteenth year, and had been married just seven months, but this could account for an infant who survived only briefly. There seems little to recommend Salzman's suggestion, since it would presuppose either that the child lived long enough to return to Gascony with her parents and died there in May 1274, or else that the remains were carried all the way back to Europe from Palestine, in which case it is odd that she would have been buried at Bordeaux rather than in England. Furthermore, the enrolled account for the household of the king's children down to August 1274 (Pipe roll 5 Edward 1; P. R. O. E 372/121, m. 22) shows that there were only two children living with the king and queen in Gascony at that period, and these can only have been Joan 'of Acre' and Alphonso (nos. 8, 9 below). On balance of probabilities, therefore, Trabut-Cussac's suggestion seems the more likely.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. no. 4 in the following list of Eleanor's children, and *CLR* 5.299.

<sup>38</sup> In 1275 Eleanor cannot have lain in longer than thirty days after Margaret's birth on 15 March (see no. 10 below), since she arrived at Bury St. Edmunds on 17 April (*Chron. Bury*, p. 57). See also nos. 12, 14, 15. It is not certain, however, that Eleanor always lay in for forty days after the birth of a son and thirty days after a daughter was born. Certainly her attendant Ermentrude de Sackville was confined only thirty days after bearing a son in 1277 (cf. Parsons, *Court and Household of Eleanor of Castile*, pp. 14-15 and *CIPM* 3, no. 627). In 1304 Eleanor's daughter Elizabeth was churched thirty days after the birth of a son; see C. Peers and L. E. Tanner, 'On Some Recent Discoveries in Westminster Abbey', *Archaeologia* 93 (1949) 151-52.

2. Katherine, *b* (1261/63?) certainly no later than February 1264; *d* 5 September 1264, *bur* Westminster Abbey.

There is a reference to Katherine's burial expenses on 3 October 1264 (*CLR* 5.142-43), and the obituary of Katherine, daughter of King Edward, is noted on 5 September in a thirteenth-century necrology of Christ Church, Canterbury (London, British Library Arundel 68, fol. 40v); clearly this Katherine can only have been a child of Edward I. It may be noted that Henry III was at Canterbury throughout September 1264 (see *CPR* 1258-66, pp. 367-69), and presumably he had his granddaughter's obituary entered in the necrology.

The date of Katherine's birth is obscure. When Eleanor of Castile went to France with her parents-in-law in the late summer of 1262, she was accompanied by Alice de Luton, who is known to have been Edward's former nurse and who in November 1267 was receiving lands in consideration of long service to Eleanor of Castile (*CCIR* 1256-59, pp. 2-3; *CPR* 1258-66, p. 220; *CCIR* 2.84; *CPR* 1266-72, p. 530). It is not certain, however, that Alice de Luton's presence with Eleanor in 1262 is any proof that there was then a child living (or expected). There is a mysterious passage in one ms. of the *Flores historiarum*, ed. H. R. Luard, 2 vols. (RS 95; London, 1890), 2.474 n. 4, stating that Henry III's daughter Katherine died on 21 April 1261 when about eight years old; but although that child was certainly born in November 1253, Green had no difficulty proving from both narrative and record evidence that she died in May 1257 (*Lives of the Princesses* 2.272-74). Could the *Flores* passage possibly be a very garbled reference to the birth of Eleanor of Castile's daughter of the same name? At any rate, since Eleanor's next child Joan was almost certainly born in January 1265, Katherine can hardly have been born any later than February 1264.

3. Joan, *b* January 1265; *d* shortly before 7 September 1265, *bur* Westminster Abbey.

Preparations for Eleanor of Castile's confinement were underway on 7 December 1264, and her churching was imminent on 3 February 1265 (*CLR* 5.150, 160). On Sunday, the feast of the Conversion of St. Paul, 49 Henry III (25 January 1265), 13s. 4d. were paid for medicines for Eleanor's use; P.R.O. E 101/350/1, m.1, the entire document printed in G. E. Trease, 'The Spicers and Apothecaries of the Royal Household in the Reigns of Henry III, Edward I and Edward II', *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 3 (1959) 40-41 (although the account's 'Lady Eleanor' is mistakenly identified in the edition as Queen Eleanor of Provence, who was actually in France in January 1265, and who in any event would certainly have been styled 'domina Regina' by the wardrobe clerks).

The child born in January 1265 must have been the Joan for whose tomb in Westminster Abbey Henry III ordered a gold cloth on 7 September 1265, when the girl was recently dead (*CCIR* 1264-68, pp. 70-71).

4. John, *b* Windsor 13/14 July 1266; *d* Wallingford 3 August 1271, *bur* Westminster Abbey.

John *b* Windsor 3 id. July (13 July) 1266 (*Chron. of the Reigns of Edward I and Edward II* 1.71) (London); *b* Windsor at night on 2 id. July (14 July) 1266 (*Liber de*

*antiquis legibus*, p. 76); *b* Windsor 6 id. July (10 July, but perhaps 'uj' has been read for 'ijj') 1266 (*Ann. monastici* 4.457 [Worcester]); *b* on the night of St. Mildred (13 July) though s.a. 1267 (*Flores historiarum* 4.13). The Bury chronicle, when recording John's death in 1271, calls him John 'of Winchester', implying that he was *b* there, but all the record evidence is conclusive for Windsor; see, e.g., *CCIR* 1268-72, p. 617 and *CLR* 5.229. It would appear beyond much question that John was born at Windsor on the night of 13-14 July 1266.

John 'of Winchester' *bur* Westminster Abbey 8 August 1271 (*Chron. Bury*, p. 49); *d* Wallingford about the first of August 1271, *bur* Westminster Abbey (*Ann. monastici* 4.245 [Osney]); *d* about the feast of St. Peter's Chains (1 August) 1271 while in custody of Richard of Cornwall, at whose directions *bur* in Westminster Abbey (*Ann. monastici* 4.246 [Wykes]); *d* 'quinquennis' on the night of the Invention of St. Stephen (3 August) 1271 (*Flores historiarum* 4.23); *d* 1271, 'etate quinque annorum et non plene quatuor septimanarum', *bur* 8 August on north side of the Confessor's shrine in Westminster Abbey (*Liber de antiquis legibus*, p. 141). John's anniversary was observed on 3 August 1274 in the household of his brother Henry (H. Johnstone, 'The Wardrobe and Household of Henry, Son of Edward I', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 7 [1923] 36). The statement that John *d* at Wallingford is entirely consistent with the known facts that Edward entrusted his children to the care of his uncle Richard of Cornwall when he left on crusade in 1270, and that Wallingford was Richard's favorite residence. The date of John's death was undoubtedly 3 August 1271.

5. Henry, *b* shortly before 6 May 1268; *d* Guildford 14/17 (16?) October 1274, *bur* Westminster Abbey.

Henry's birth was not recorded by any chronicler, presumably because he was only the king's second grandson. Between 28 July 1267 and 23 March 1268, however, Henry III's writs of *liberate* for household expenses name only the first son John (*CLR* 5.286; 6, nos. 138, 205). On 6 May 1268 one of Eleanor of Castile's yeomen was to have 20 marks from Henry III for good news brought to the king about her childbearing (*CLR* 6, no. 272), and from 14 July 1268 young Henry appears with John in writs of *liberate* for their household expenses (*ibid.*, no. 377). Henry was presumably the child born around the beginning of May 1268.

Henry *d* about the feast of St. Calixtus (14 October) 1274, *bur* Westminster Abbey 20 October (*Ann. monastici* 4.261 [Wykes]); *bur* at Westminster Abbey 20 October 1274 (*Chron. Bury*, p. 57). The boy's heart was *bur* O.P., Guildford, on 21 October (Johnstone, 'Wardrobe and Household of Henry', 16 and n. 4). Henry was apparently alive on Sunday, 14 October 1274, when a writ of *liberate* issued for his household expenses (P.R.O., Exchequer *liberate* roll, Michaelmas term 2 and 3 Edward I, E 403/1235, m. 1). His household accounts give a very confused picture of the next few days. Johnstone thought that some funeral expenses entered in those accounts on 23 October gave the actual date of his death, but since Henry was apparently *bur* on 20 October, and his heart deposited at Guildford on 21 October, this is surely too late. The accounts do show beyond question that he was dead on the Wednesday, 17 October, when masses were first said for his soul, and that the funeral procession travelled at least as far

as Merton on 18 October. A partially cancelled entry in the accounts seems to indicate that Henry died on the Tuesday, 16 October, although the wrong saint's day was used to identify the date and was deleted (Johnstone, *ibid.*, 16, 27, 31, 37 *ter*).

6. Eleanor, *b* Windsor *c.* 18 June 1269; *d* (Ghent?) 29 August (1298?), said to be *bur* Westminster Abbey. She *m* (Bristol, 20 September 1293) Henry III, count of Barrois (*d* 1302), by whom she left two children.

Green, *Lives of the Princesses* 2.276, supposed that this Eleanor was the unnamed daughter mentioned when Henry III ordered Eleanor of Castile to leave Windsor Castle on 17 June 1264 (*CPR* 1258-66, p. 325), but Green appears to have been placing too strict an interpretation on the distinction 'primogenita' sometimes given this daughter in later documents. Most recent authorities have followed Green.

*Chron. Bury*, p. 47, however, states that young Eleanor was *b* 1270 at Windsor, while a writ of Henry III dated 18 June 1269 provides a gift of money to the yeoman who brought him the news that Eleanor of Castile had borne her daughter Eleanor (*CPR* 1266-72, p. 349). The chronology of the Bury chronicle is seemingly muddled at this point, for young Eleanor's birth is there reported in connection with the fatal wounding of Alan de la Zouche by the earl of Surrey on 1 July; this is reported by the chronicle as an event of 1270, but it seems rather to have happened in 1269 (G.E.C. 12/1.505). Since Eleanor of Castile in fact made a short journey to France in June 1270 (*CLR* 6, nos. 1162, 1133), it would appear that June 1269 is the correct date for young Eleanor's birth.

According to *Flores historiarum* 3.103, young Eleanor *d* Bristol, 12 October 1297, and was *bur* Westminster Abbey. The Bury chronicle, p. 150, however, indicates a date towards the end of the summer of 1298, and this is borne out, as far as the day is concerned, by Eleanor's obit on 29 August, in a psalter owned by her sister Elizabeth (London, British Library Add. 24686, fol. 8v). Young Eleanor was certainly living on 1 January, 26 Edward I (1298), when as a New Year's gift she gave her father a pocket vanity: the king's jewel inventory recording this gift may be seen in O. Lehmann-Brockhaus, *Lateinische Schriftquellen zur Kunst in England, Wales und Schottland (901-1307)*, 5 vols. (Munich, 1955-60), no. 6257. The statement in *Flores historiarum* is therefore questionable, but it cannot be explained on the basis of evidence presently available. Neither is there any satisfactory evidence to confirm or refute the tradition that she is buried in Westminster Abbey. The account of her life in Green, *Lives of the Princesses* 2.275-317, makes it appear likely that Eleanor was living in Ghent at the time of her death.

7. Anonyma, *b* Acre in Palestine 1271; *d* there an infant.

All that is known of this child comes from a passage in the *Liber de antiquis legibus*, p. 171: 'Nate vero fuerunt ei [Edwardo] due filie in Terra Sancta, quarum una mortua est, et altera venit cum eo et cum Regina usque in Vasconiam....'

The language of this passage, compared with the Pipe roll account cited earlier (see no. 1 above), leaves little room for doubt that this child must have died while Edward and Eleanor were still in Palestine, and she was most probably buried there.

8. Joan, *b* Acre 1272; *d* Clare (Suffolk) 23 April 1307, *bur* O.S.A., Clare. She *m* first (Westminster, 30 April 1290) Gilbert de Clare (1243-90), earl of Hertford and Gloucester, by whom she had a son and three daughters. Her second marriage, contracted secretly (January 1297?), was to Ralph de Monthermer (*d* 1325), formerly a squire in Earl Gilbert's household. By her second marriage Joan had three or four children.

None of the English narratives gives an exact date for Joan's birth, but the contexts of those that do mention her indicate clearly that the year was 1272: *Flores historiarum* 3.24; *Ann. monastici* 4.323-24 (Osney); *Chron. Bury*, p. 53.

For Joan's later life and marriages see Green, *Lives of the Princesses* 2.318-62. Green's mistaken assumption that Joan was raised in Castile is discussed in Parsons, *Court and Household of Eleanor of Castile*, p. 39 n. 146. Lane, *Royal Daughters of England* 1.182-92, adds some information of value. See further G.E.C. 5.702-12 and 9.140-43. Joan's obit is marked on 23 April in her sister Elizabeth's psalter (London, British Library Add. 24686, fol. 6v).

9. Alphonso, *b* Bayonne (Gascony) 23/24 November 1273; *d* Windsor 19 August 1284, *bur* Westminster Abbey.

Alphonso *b* the night after St. Clement's day (23 November) at Bayonne, 1273 (*Chron. Bury*, p. 56); *b* Bayonne s.a. 1275 (*Ann. monastici* 4.468 [Worcester]); *b* 24 November s.a. 1275, baptized by the bishop of Exeter, held at the font by the king of Castile for whom named (*Ann. monastici* 2.385 [Waverley]). The year cannot have been 1275, since neither the king nor the queen was then in France. According to *Liber de antiquis legibus*, pp. 170-71, Alphonso arrived in London 17 June 1274, and had been *b* Bordeaux about the feast of All Saints (1 November) preceding. The Pipe roll account cited earlier (see no. 1 above) proves that he was living in the spring of 1274, so the year of his birth must have been 1273. That the city was Bayonne and not Bordeaux is readily proved by a letter from Eleanor of Provence to her son Edward I, asking him to show favor to the impoverished Franciscans of Bayonne, 'por ce qe Alfons uostre fiz nasquit en la vile' (P.R.O. Ancient Correspondence, S.C. 1/47/109, dat. Lutgershall, 14 June). The probable date was on the night of 23-24 November.

Alphonso *d* 'fere duodennis' 14 kal. September (19 August) 1284, *bur* Westminster Abbey among brothers and sisters, next the shrine of St. Edward (*Flores historiarum* 4.61); *d* 'fere duodennis', 14 kal. September (19 August) 1284, *bur* Westminster Abbey next the shrine of St. Edward (*Ann. monastici* 2.401 [Waverley]); *d* Saturday after the Assumption, or 14 kal. September (19 August) 1284, *bur* Westminster Abbey the next Saturday (26 August) (*Ann. monastici* 4.296-97 [Osney], 297-98 [Wykes]); *d* shortly after the birth of Edward of Caernarvon (25 April 1284) (*Ann. monastici* 3.313 [Dunstable]); *d* Windsor on St. Magnus' day (19 August) 1284, *bur* Westminster Abbey on the vigil of the decollation of St. John Baptist (28 August) (*Chron. Bury*, p. 81). The date of his death can only have been 19 August 1284 (the tenth anniversary of his parents' coronation), and there is no reason to question Windsor as the place. On the date of his burial see further, D. L. Douie, ed., *The Register of John Pecham, Archbishop of Canterbury*, 2

vols. (Torquay, 1968), 2.233; the Primate on 27 August 1284 promised the abbot and convent of Westminster that whenever he officiated at royal ceremonies there at the request of the king, the queen consort or the queen mother, no infringement on the exemptions of Westminster was intended.

10. Margaret, *b* Windsor probably 15 March 1275; living 11 March 1333, *bur* Sainte-Gudule, Brussels. She *m* (Westminster, 9 July 1290) John II, duke of Brabant (1275-1312), by whom she left one son.

Green, *Lives of the Princesses* 2.363, dated Margaret's birth 11 September 1275 on the basis of the unpublished narrative in London, British Library Cotton Nero A.vi (cited above, p. 254 and n. 28), fol. 29v. The account given there of the year 1275 begins as follows:

Alianora regina peperit filiam nomine margaretam .iii. idus septembris . factus est terre motus per angliam. ...

Green's conclusion is understandable, but comparison with other chronicles to which she apparently did not have access shows quickly enough that it was the earthquake, and not the queen's delivery, that took place on 11 September: *Chron. Bury*, p. 57; *Ann. monastici* 2.119 (Winchester), 386 (Waverley), 3.266 (Dunstable), 4.264-65 (Osney, Wykes); *Flores historiarum* 3.46.

All these references likewise mention Margaret's birth, but it is clear from them that she was born much earlier in the year, around March, since it is generally the first event the chronicles mention in 1275. It seems not unlikely, then, that Margaret should be identified with the otherwise unknown 'Isabella' who is said to have been born at Windsor on 18 kal. (*sic*) April (15 March) 1275 (*Ann. monastici* 2.118 [Winchester], 384 [Waverley], and 4.466 [Worcester]). The king and queen cannot be shown to have had a daughter named Isabella, although some narratives occasionally use this form of the name for their youngest daughter Elizabeth. Official documents invariably call that child 'Elizabet', however, and it is at any rate certain that she was not born until 1282 (see no. 15).

Green, *Lives of the Princesses* 2.400, following a very late Flemish chronicle, stated that Margaret *d* 1318, and in this she has been followed by the majority of later authorities. References in official records, however, leave no doubt that Margaret was alive after 1318; see, e.g., *CPR* 1317-21, pp. 427, 523 and *CCIR* 1323-27, p. 652. Her brother Edward II addressed a letter to her on 9 June 1324 (P.R.O. S.C. 1/63/159), and Green, *ibid.* 2.390 n. 2, remarked with some mystification a published charter of Margaret's, dated by its editor to 1329. The last notice of Margaret in English records indicates that she was living in March 1333 (*CCIR* 1333-37, p. 96).

The sequence of events leading up to Margaret's wedding is discussed in Parsons, *Court and Household of Eleanor of Castile*, p. 109 n. 165. The sketch of Margaret's life in Green, *ibid.* 2.363-401 is badly hampered by the fact that of all the members of this family who survived to maturity, Margaret has left the least trace of her personality on existing sources.

11. Berengaria, *b* Kempton (Middx.) 1 May 1276; living on or shortly after 6 June 1277, but *d* by 27 June 1278.

Berengaria *b* shortly before the relics of St. Richard of Chichester were translated (16 June 1276) (*Chron. Bury*, p. 62); the queen bore a daughter (name left blank in ms.) at 'Kenyngtone', kal. May (1 May) 1276 (*Ann. monastici* 2.122 [Winchester]). Green, *Lives of the Princesses* 2.402-403, thought Berengaria was *b* Kennington (Surrey), but Kennington did not become a royal manor until the reign of Edward II. Berengaria was probably *b* Kempton, Middx., which had been a royal manor from the reign of Henry III. The two place-names were both commonly written as 'Kennington' in the thirteenth century, and are easily confused (cf. *V.C.H. Middlesex* 3.55 and *V.C.H. Surrey* 4.57). Safford, *Itinerary of Edward I* 1.59-60, shows that the king was at Kempton, not Kennington, around the time of Berengaria's birth.

On or a few days after 6 June 1277, the king gave £ 6:13:4 to Berengaria's *nutrix*, according to the *rotulus donorum* for 5 Edward I (P.R.O. E 101/350/24 m. 2). On 27 June 1278, Edward gave the same amount to the woman who had been the child's nurse (cash journal of the king's wardrobe 6 Edward I, P.R.O. C 47/4/1, fol. 28r; Green, *ibid.* 2.402, cites a seventeenth-century transcript, then among the Philipps mss., of the [lost?] original *rotulus donorum* for 6 Edward I, subordinate to the wardrobe journal cited here).

12. Child (daughter?), *b* Westminster on or very shortly after 3 January 1278, who must have *d* immediately.

The only substantive information concerning this child is to be found in the damaged cash journal of the king's wardrobe for 6 Edward I (P.R.O. C 47/4/1, fols. 12v, 13r):

Magistro Henrico Wade pro vadiis suis a .xv. die Septembris usque ad diem Lune proximo ante festum Epiphanie domini [3 January 1278] per ... C.ix. dies . Lxviij.s.j.d.ob. quo die Regina prima jacuit in puerperio . Et memorandum quod idem Henricus vacavit a Curia per .xl. dies subsequentes

... Regine pro vadiis suis a .xv. die Septembris quo die Regina venit ad Regem apud .... diem Annunciacionis beate Marie virginis per Clxj. dies subtractis tamen .xxix. diebus per quos... [jacuit] Regina in suo puerperio.... xxiiij.s.vj.d.

(The many lacunae make it evident that this ms. is in poor condition; these payments were actually made in February or March 1278, but the folios of the journal that would have given further information are lost.)

A roll of necessary expenses in the king's wardrobe, 6 Edward I, shows that Edward gave the queen £ 30 'pro suis expensis in suo puerperio' (London, British Library Add. 36762, m. 6, undated entry added at the end of the roll). That Eleanor was confined at Westminster appears from the king's order for venison to be delivered there for her use on 26 January 1278 (*CCIR 1272-79*, p. 437), which would have fallen within the twenty-nine days' confinement, beginning on 3 January, recorded in the wardrobe entries quoted above.

On the length of Eleanor's confinements as a possible indication of the sex of this child, see above, p. 256 and nn. 37-38.

13. Mary, *b* Woodstock 11/12 March 1279; *d* 29 May 1332, probably at O.S.B., Amesbury (Wilts.), where she was dedicated 15 August 1285, and was professed a nun late in 1291.

The queen bore a daughter (name left blank in ms.) 4 id. March (12 March) 1279 at Woodstock (*Ann. monastici* 4.476 [Worcester]; Mary *b* Windsor on the vigil of St. Gregory (11 March) 1279 (*Chron. Bury*, p. 67). See further discussion above, pp. 254-55. The place of Mary's birth was Woodstock, as explicitly stated in the king's writ of Easter term 1286, concerning provision earlier ordered for the maintenance of chaplains on certain royal manors (King's Remembrancer Memoranda Roll, Easter term 14 Edward I [P.R.O. E 159/59, m. 24d]): 'Quia a tempore quo .A. Regina Anglie consors Regis mariam filiam suam apud Wodestok' peperit . Rex mandavit....'

The date of Mary's dedication at Amesbury is reliably reported from wardrobe evidence by Green, *Lives of the Princesses* 2.409-10; see also *Ann. monastici* 4.491 (Worcester), and *CPR* 1282-92, p. 190. King Edward's jewel inventory, indicating that the rings Edward provided for Mary and the other nuns professed with her were not purchased until after the beginning of 20 Edward I (i.e., after 20 November 1291) is printed in Lehmann-Brockhaus, *Lateinische Schriftquellen zur Kunst in England*, no. 6261. Certainly Mary was not professed until late in 1291; see D. L. Douie, *Archbishop Pecham* (Oxford, 1952), p. 323. (Since Mary's presentation at Amesbury had coincided in 1285 with the feast of the Assumption, her profession in 1291 might have been planned for the feast of the Conception of the Virgin, on 8 December).

Green, *ibid.* 2.441, correctly deduced that Mary died in the spring of 1332, but overlooked the crucial reference providing the exact date (*CCIR* 1330-33, p. 511).

[?]. A son, who *d* in early infancy.

According to the *Opus chronicorum*, which was written probably within twenty years of Queen Eleanor's death, and whose author claims to have heard King Edward personally discussing the number of children the queen had borne him, there were five sons in this family; see *Johannis de Trokelowe et Henrici de Blanford ... Chronica et Annales* (n. 28 above), p. 48, and for the date of the chronicle, V. H. Galbraith, ed., *The St Albans Chronicle, 1406-1420* (Oxford, 1937), pp. xxix-xxx. The vast majority of modern authorities name only four sons (see nos. 4, 5, 9, 15[16]).

It may readily be seen from this list that those children who died very shortly after birth were not mentioned by the chroniclers, and that in two cases the existence of such children is known only from wardrobe evidence (see nos. 1, 2, 3, 12), so there is no reason to reject the *Opus chronicorum*'s information out of hand. It is a little more difficult to decide this hypothetical son's place in the family. The language of the chronicles cited under no. 4 above leaves very little room for doubt that John, born in 1266, was really the first son of the marriage, and the sequence of the children who followed him is fairly well documented until the period between Mary's birth in 1279 and that of Elizabeth in 1282; the only child about whom virtually nothing is known is



the one born in January 1278 (no. 12). Since the length of the queen's confinement on that occasion suggests that the child was a daughter, however, it follows that if there was a fifth son – or fourth, as the order of birth would seem to be – he was born after 1279; and since a relatively copious amount of wardrobe material survives for the years 1284-90, it is possible to be certain that Edward of Caernarvon, *b* 1284, was the last of Queen Eleanor's children (see no. 15[16]). It may, then, be suggested that another son might have been born in 1280 or 1281, years for which no wardrobe material survives.

14[15]. Elizabeth, *b* Rhuddlan *c.* 7 August 1282; *d* Quendon (Essex) 5 May 1316, *bur* O.S.B., Walden (Essex).

Married firstly (Ipswich, 8 January 1297) John I, count of Holland and Zeeland (1283-99), without issue.

Married secondly (Westminster, 14 November 1302) Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford and Essex (1276?-1322), by whom she had ten children.

Elizabeth *b* Rhuddlan, summer 1282 (*Chron. Bury*, p. 77). Bishop Godfrey Giffard of Worcester referred to Elizabeth's birth in a letter dated 28 August 1282: 'Domina siquidem Regina nova prole congaudet quia nascitur ei filia que Elizabeth' est vocata....' (Register of Bishop Godfrey Giffard, 1268-1302 [Worcester, Worcester County Record Office ms. 713, fol. 148r]). Her birth must, however, have taken place some time earlier, for a fragment of the roll of daily expenses in Queen Eleanor's household at Rhuddlan in 10 Edward I shows that she was churching on Sunday, 6 September 1282 (P.R.O. E 101/684/62 m. 1); see also S. Lysons, 'Copy of a Roll of the Expenses of King Edward the First at Rhuddlan Castle', *Archaeologia* 16 (1812) 32-79, especially 47-48 where there are noted some of the costs of Eleanor's churching borne by the king. Since it is known that the queen was usually confined for thirty days following the birth of a daughter (see above, p. 256), Elizabeth's birth may be dated *c.* 7 August 1282.

For Elizabeth's marriages and later life see Green, *Lives of the Princesses* 3.1-59, and G.E.C. 6.467-70. She is usually stated to have died on or very shortly after the birth of her tenth child on 5 May 1316, but her obit is marked on that date in her own psalter (London, British Library Add. 24686, fol. 7r).

15[16]. Edward, *b* Caernarvon 25 April 1284; succeeded his father as king of England, July 1307; *d* Berkeley Castle 21 September 1327, *bur* O.S.B., Gloucester.

The evidence to establish the date of Edward's birth is fully discussed by H. Johnstone, *Edward of Carnarvon* (Manchester, 1946), p. 6.

*Toronto.*

## THE MEDIEVAL CIRCULATION OF THE *DE CHOROGRAPHIA* OF POMPONIUS MELA\*

Catherine M. Gormley, Mary A. Rouse and Richard H. Rouse

ON the west facade of the cathedral at Auxerre a thirteenth-century relief depicts Hercules with a lion's skin. The relief serves as a frontispiece to an illustration of Genesis 37:24-38 (Joseph cast into the pit in the wilderness and sold into Egypt). In order to explain the association of the classical figure with the biblical subject, Erwin Panofsky remarks that Hercules and the Egyptian wilderness 'were closely connected in medieval thought'. To support this, Panofsky notes that 'two writers as well known as Cicero [*De natura deorum*] and Pomponius Mela mention a *Hercules Aegyptius*',<sup>1</sup> implying that both were popular in medieval France. In truth, neither work was well known in Europe any time before 1400. While one cannot dismiss entirely the possibility that the designer of the Auxerre facade was acquainted with the *De chorographia*,<sup>2</sup> nevertheless Panofsky's statement reminds one that it is risky to postulate as living sources works which for all practical purposes were unknown.<sup>3</sup> The purpose of this paper is to render more precise our knowledge of the medieval circulation of Pomponius Mela's *De chorographia*.

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The numbers used to refer to Mela's text indicate page and line of the edition of G. Ranstrand, *Pomponii Melae De chorographia libri tres* (Studia graeca et latina gothoburgensia 28; Göteborg, 1971).

<sup>1</sup> E. Panofsky, *Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art* (Stockholm, 1960; rpt. New York, 1972), p. 93.

<sup>2</sup> As we shall show, the Orléanais is one of the very few places where an artist might in truth have known Mela's text.

<sup>3</sup> See R. W. Hunt, 'The Deposit of Latin Classics in the Twelfth-Century Renaissance' in *Classical Influences on European Culture, A.D. 500-1500* ..., ed. R. R. Bolgar (Cambridge, 1971), pp. 51-55.

## I

## INTRODUCTION

Mela composed the *De chorographia* in the first century, sometime during the reign of the emperor Claudius (41-54 A.D.). It is his only known work, and the only ancient geography in Latin before the geographical sections of Pliny's *Historia naturalis*. Divided into three books and resembling a *periplus* more than a systematic treatise on geography, the work describes the world in concentric circles around the Mediterranean. Generally Mela draws his material from standard Greek authorities, though he is better informed than his predecessors about Great Britain, Scandinavia, and the Atlantic and north coasts of Europe.<sup>4</sup>

The medieval circulation of the *De chorographia* has not been studied by classicists. Bursian discovered the archetype (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Vat. lat. 4929) in 1869; the main events in the history of this manuscript have been recounted by Billanovich. Editors have understandably ignored the derivative manuscripts because they contribute nothing to the text.<sup>5</sup> More recently, Parroni has scrutinized the *recentiores* in search of interesting emendations and Milham has studied the early modern commentaries, but neither attempts to reconstruct the medieval circulation of the work.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Concerning the *De chorographia*'s debt to classical literature and its contribution to ancient geography, see E. H. Bunbury, *A History of Ancient Geography*, 2 vols. (New York, 1949).

<sup>5</sup> C. Bursian, 'Aus Kritik des Pomponius Mela', *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Pädagogik* 99 (1869) 629-55; G. Billanovich, 'Dall'antica Ravenna alle biblioteche umanistiche' in *Annuario della Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore 1955-1957* (Milan, 1957), pp. 73-107, an earlier version of which appeared in *Aevum* 30 (1956) 319-53. K. Frick's edition of Mela (Stuttgart, 1880; rpt. 1968) has been superseded by that of Ranstrand (cited above, \*). Two critical studies produced before Bursian's discovery still merit some attention, namely, the editions of G. Parthey (Berlin, 1867) and K. H. Tzschucke (Leipzig, 1806-1807); both contain a somewhat useful study of the manuscripts, and the latter includes many of the Renaissance and early modern commentaries on the *De chorographia*. C. W. Barlow, 'Codex Vaticanus latinus 4929', *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 15 (1938) 87-124, gives an excellent and thorough description of the codex and publishes many useful marginal notes from the manuscript, among them the scholia to the *Querolus* added in the twelfth century (see below, p. 277).

<sup>6</sup> P. Parroni, 'Per il testo e l'esegesi della *Chorographia* di Pomponio Mela', *Rivista di filologia e di istruzione classica* 103 (1975) 157-83 and 'Il contributo dei codici umanistici al testo di Pomponio Mela', *ibid.* 107 (1979) 157-79; M. E. Milham, 'An Introduction to the Renaissance Tradition of Pomponius Mela' in *Acta Conventus neo-latini amstelodamensis. Proceedings of the Second International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies. Amsterdam 19-24 August 1973*, ed. P. Tuynman et al. (Munich, 1979), pp. 786-93 and 'Oporinus, Olivarius and Pomponius Mela', *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 80 (1980) 133-43 and 'Mela, Pomponius' in *Catalogus translationum et commentariorum*, vol. 5 (forthcoming).

Most historians of geography have ignored the textual history of the *De chorographia*, and have thus badly miscalculated the popularity of the work in the Middle Ages. Kimble notes that 'the *De situ orbis* of Pomponius Mela and the *Natural History* of C. Pliny were promoted to a position of high regard' in the Middle Ages; he also refers to Mela as a 'later pagan plagiarist of Pliny', when in fact it was Pliny who did the borrowing. Wright says that medieval authors 'had to rely on Latin writers like Pomponius Mela and Pliny', an opinion echoed by James who states that in the Middle Ages 'Roman geographers such as Mela and Pliny the Elder were widely used sources.'<sup>7</sup> Cartographers also have overestimated the importance of Mela's work. Santarem claims that Mela's system 'was adopted by many cartographers of the Middle Ages', while Beazley cites the influence of the 'lost map of Pomponius Mela' on medieval mapmakers. Bagrow and Skelton explain that Mela's '*De situ orbis*, with T-O maps, was very popular in the Middle Ages.' In fact, it is apparent from the surviving manuscripts that in the Middle Ages the *De chorographia* was never accompanied by a map.<sup>8</sup>

Both classicists and geographers have ignored what is, for the medieval historian, the crucial question: where was Mela read in the Middle Ages? We propose here to examine the derivative manuscripts of the *De chorographia* and to cull references to the work from medieval library catalogues and medieval authors in order to determine (insofar as the incomplete evidence permits) when, where, by whom, and how this text was used in the Middle Ages.

The ancient testimonia to the *De chorographia* are few but significant. It is an understatement to say that the *De chorographia* was known to Pliny. The ancient encyclopedist cites Mela by name in all four geographical books (3-6) of

<sup>7</sup> G. Kimble, *Geography in the Middle Ages* (London, 1938), pp. 10, 151; J. K. Wright, *The Geographical Lore of the Time of the Crusades. A Study in the History of Medieval Science and Tradition in Western Europe*, 2nd edition (New York, 1965), p. 40; C. Glacken, in his preface to the latter, counted Wright and Kimble among 'our most reliable guides' to the history of geography (p. viii); P. E. James, *All Possible Worlds: A History of Geographical Ideas* (Indianapolis-New York, 1972), p. 55. Others have been more cautious; see R. E. Dickinson and O. J. R. Howarth, *The Making of Geography* (Oxford, 1933) and H. Burton, *The Discovery of the Ancient World* (Cambridge, 1932). An admirable statement on ancient sources of geographical knowledge in the Middle Ages is the first chapter of B. Penrose, *Travel and Discovery in the Renaissance, 1420-1520* (Cambridge, Mass., 1952; rpt. New York, 1962).

<sup>8</sup> M. F. de Barros, vicomte de Santarem, *Essai sur l'histoire de la cosmographie et de la cartographie* ..., 3 vols. (Paris, 1849-52), 1.207; C. R. Beazley, *The Dawn of Modern Geography. A History of Exploration and Geographical Science*, 3 vols. (London, 1897-1906), 2.612; L. Bagrow, *History of Cartography*, rev. R. A. Skelton, trans. D. L. Paisley (London, 1964), p. 260, and Bagrow and Skelton's *Meister der Kartographie* (Berlin, 1963), p. 509, both of which are based on Bagrow's earlier *Die Geschichte der Kartographie* (Berlin, 1951), p. 354. Concerning the first maps to appear with the *De chorographia*, see part III-C below.

his *Historia naturalis*, as well as in books 8, 12, 13, 19, 21, and 22,<sup>9</sup> and he elsewhere incorporates Mela's material without naming the source.<sup>10</sup> Pliny's work appears to have been the intermediate source for Solinus' use of the *De chorographia* in his *Collectanea rerum memorabilium*.<sup>11</sup> Other ancient scholars, however, knew the *De chorographia* independently. The compiler of the ancient scholia to Juvenal refers to Mela when discussing Ireland: 'Iuerna insula Britanniae est sita in oceano mari, a qua non longe sunt xx aliae orcaes insulae quas Mela (3.53) scribit'; Servius cites Mela in his commentary on *Aeneid* 9.30, 'secundum Melonem' (*sic*).<sup>12</sup> It is probable that Cassiodorus also knew the *De chorographia*, and that his citations of the work are echoed in Jordanes' *Getica*.<sup>13</sup> Through these ancient witnesses, scholars of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance would have known Mela's name and some of his ideas, even if they had not read the *De chorographia* itself.

## II

### THE PRE-FOURTEENTH-CENTURY CIRCULATION

The *De chorographia* survives in four pre-fourteenth-century manuscripts (two of them just fragments), including the archetype. In addition, there are three references to manuscripts of the *De chorographia* in twelfth- and thirteenth-century library catalogues, two of which, we shall argue, refer to surviving manuscripts; and extracts from the *De chorographia*, now lost, were once included in a late twelfth-century manuscript.

#### A. THE ARCHETYPE

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Vat. lat. 4929 was written in France in the middle of the ninth century. The codex comprises 199 folios and measures 230 x 216 (137 x 145) mm. Each page is ruled in hard point in two columns of twenty-two lines. The manuscript, written by a single ninth-century hand, was corrected three times: by the scribe, by a contemporary of the scribe, and by a twelfth-century scholar. The codex contains the following:

<sup>9</sup> Frick's edition, p. vii; D. Detlefsen, *Die Anordnung der geographischen Bücher des Plinius und ihre Quellen* (Quellen und Forschungen zur alten Geschichte und Geographie 18; Berlin, 1909), pp. 36-61.

<sup>10</sup> See the *apparatus fontium* in Ranstrand's edition, *passim*.

<sup>11</sup> T. Mommsen, ed., *Solini Collectanea rerum memorabilium* (Berlin, 1864), p. xi. Professor Parroni cautions, in a letter to the authors, that on occasion Solinus seems to have independent knowledge of Mela; he mentions *Collectanea* 10.15 as an example.

<sup>12</sup> Bursian, 'Aus Kritik', 631.

<sup>13</sup> T. Mommsen, ed., *Jordanis Romana et Getica* (MGH AA 5.1; Berlin, 1882), p. xxix.

- fol(s). 1r-v : fragment of a text on the Greek alphabet  
 2r-34r : Censorinus, *De die natali*  
 34v : blank  
 35r-50r : extracts from Augustine, *Praecepta artis musicae*  
 50r-54r : four anonymous sermons  
 54v : blank  
 55r-77r : pseudo-Plautus, *Aulularia* (or *Querolus*)  
 77v : three large concentric circles  
 78r : a large labyrinth  
 78v-79r : blank  
 79v-148r : Julius Paris, *Epitome* of Valerius Maximus  
 149v : *Septem mira*  
 149v-188r : Pomponius Mela, *De chorographia*  
 188r-195r : Vibius Sequester, *De fluminibus*  
 195v-196r : blank  
 196v : a list of names added in the tenth century  
 197r-v : blank  
 (198r-199v : these leaves are unnumbered and do not form part of the original manuscript<sup>14</sup>).

The codex is an important witness to the textual traditions of the *De die natali* and the *Querolus*. For the *Epitome* of Valerius, the *De chorographia*, and the *De fluminibus*, it remains the sole authority.<sup>15</sup>

Evidence in the Vaticanus allowed Barlow to identify the origin of these last three works. They form a geographical corpus that descends from an edition of the texts made in Ravenna by Rusticius Helpidius Domnulus, who flourished in the mid-fifth century. His subscription was copied into the Vaticanus following the texts of the *Epitome* and the *De chorographia*; for the latter it reads: 'Pomponii Melae De chorographia libri tres expliciti feliciter .Fl. Rusticius Helpidius Domnulus VC. et spc. com. consistor, emendavi Rabennae.'<sup>16</sup> Scholars have previously confused this Rusticius with others of

<sup>14</sup> See Barlow, 'Codex', 87-89.

<sup>15</sup> For Censorinus, see F. Hultsch, ed., *Censorini De die natali liber* (Leipzig, 1867) and H. Keil, ed., *Grammatici latini* 6 (Leipzig, 1874). For pseudo-Plautus see G. Ranstrand, ed., *Querolus sive Aulularia* (Acta Universitatis Goteburgensis 57; Göteborg, 1951) and also his *Querolusstudien* (Stockholm, 1941); L. Herrmann, ed., *Querolus (Le Grognon)* (Brussels, 1937); M. D. Reeve, 'Tricipitinus's Son', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 22 (1967) 21-31. For Vibius Sequester and the *Septem mira*, see A. Riese, ed., *Geographi latini minores* (Heilbronn, 1878); H. Omont, 'Les sept merveilles du monde au moyen âge', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 43 (1882) 47, 57; R. Gelsomino, ed., *Vibius Sequester* (Leipzig, 1967). Julius Paris' *Epitome* is included in C. Kempf's edition, *Valerii Maximi Factorum et dictorum memorabilium libri novem ...* (Leipzig, 1888).

<sup>16</sup> Barlow, 'Codex', 88; Billanovich, 'Dall'antica Ravenna', 81.

the same or similar name, in particular with the poet Rusticius, friend of Sidonius.<sup>17</sup> In 1955, however, Cavallin argued convincingly that our editor is instead to be identified with an official sent by Theodosius II to the Council of Ephesus, 449 A.D.; possibly he was also the Fl. Rusticius mentioned as a consul in 464.<sup>18</sup>

Rusticius' edition may perhaps have been the source for the ten quotations from the *De chorographia* which appear in Jordanes' *Getica*, an abridgment of Cassiodorus' lost history. Written in 551, the *Getica* is the last ancient work to use the *De chorographia*. Since the larger work of Cassiodorus (c. 485-c. 580) does not survive, one cannot be certain which of the two authors knew the *De chorographia*; but since Jordanes' earlier *Romana*, independent of Cassiodorus, draws nothing from the *De chorographia*, one may suppose that it was indeed Cassiodorus who knew Mela firsthand.<sup>19</sup> The *Getica* was an important source for early medieval historians, and at least one, Freculph of Lisieux (d. 853), derives his knowledge of Pomponius Mela from it. In his *Historia* (c. 830), Freculph quotes (1.2.16) Mela by name regarding the description of the Baltic Sea.<sup>20</sup>

By the ninth century a copy of Rusticius' edition had reached eastern France, where it served as the exemplar for the geographical corpus in Vat. lat. 4929. The Vaticanus, annotated by Heiric of Auxerre, was probably also compiled by him.<sup>21</sup> Very likely he first saw Rusticius' edition when he was studying under

<sup>17</sup> See W. Brandes, *Des Rusticius Helpidius Gedicht de Christi Jesu beneficiis kritischer Text und Kommentar* (Braunschweig, 1890), and 'Der Dichter Rusticius Helpidius und seine Namensverwandten', *Wiener Studien* 12 (1890) 297-316, followed by Billanovich, 'Dall'antica Ravenna', 75-76.

<sup>18</sup> S. Cavallin, 'Le poète Domnulus: étude prosopographique', *Sacris erudiri* 7 (1955) 49-66. Despite Cavallin's meticulous work, the old identification persists; see M. Schanz et al., eds., *Geschichte der römischen Literatur bis zum Gesetzgebungswerk des Kaisers Justinian* 4.2 (Munich, 1920; rpt. 1959), § 1160. See also Riché, who cites a portion of Cavallin's conclusions while ignoring (and contradicting) the rest; P. Riché, *Éducation et culture dans l'Occident barbare, 6<sup>e</sup>-8<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 2nd rev. edition (Patristica sorbonensia 4; Paris, 1967), p. 120 n. 8: '[Le poète Domnulus] semble bien ... être le même que l'auteur des recensions ravennates .... En dernier lieu, cf. S. Cavallin ..., qui pense que le poète chrétien et l'ami de Sidoine ... ne font qu'un.'

<sup>19</sup> See Mommsen, *Getica*, p. xxx. Jordanes borrows from the *De chorographia* (all three books) for *Getica* 2.11, 2.13, 2.14, 2.15, 3.16, 5.45, 5.46 (three times), and 12.75. Mommsen has suggested that a majority of the sources proper to the *Getica*, i.e., not cited in the *Romana*, come from the larger history of Cassiodorus; see his prooemium, p. xxix, and Billanovich, 'Dall'antica Ravenna', 80.

<sup>20</sup> Frick's edition, p. vii; M. Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, 3 vols. (Munich, 1911-31), 1.677.

<sup>21</sup> Barlow, 'Codex', 97-98; Billanovich, 'Dall'antica Ravenna', 77, 83, 85-89; L. D. Reynolds and N. G. Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars. A Guide to the Transmission of Greek and Latin Literature*, 2nd edition (Oxford, 1974), p. 94. J. J. Contreni has contested the controversial date of Heiric's death (877). He argues persuasively that Heiric lived well into the 880s and taught at

Lupus of Ferrières (c. 805-862), for Lupus used Rusticius' edition of the *Epitome* of Valerius to correct his own manuscript of the full text of Valerius, now Bern. Burgerbibliothek 366.<sup>22</sup> One can date Lupus' acquaintance with the edition to within a period of three years. Around 860 Lupus lectured on Valerius Maximus, from his own text; Heiric's record of these lectures shows that Lupus' manuscript had not yet been corrected at the time when the lectures were given. Lupus, therefore, must have used Rusticius' edition between the time of the lectures and the date of his death in 862.<sup>23</sup>

It has been suggested that Lupus acquired his copy of the Ravenna edition from his student Heiric in the following manner: a copy of Rusticius' edition which once belonged to the Carolingian court library was presented by Charles the Bald to the abbey of Saint-Germain of Auxerre; Heiric copied it there and sent the exemplar on to his master Lupus.<sup>24</sup> There is no indication, however, that the palace library ever owned a copy of the *De chorographia*, or that Heiric had any knowledge of it before 860. More likely, the two first saw Rusticius' edition when they were together at Ferrières between c. 860 and 862.<sup>25</sup> How the exemplar reached them is unknown.

Did Lupus and Heiric have before them a fifth-century manuscript of the edition, or a later copy? It was certainly not a ninth-century book, for Lupus refers to it as *vetustus*: 'in adbreuiatore qui et uetustus erat quaedam reperta sunt quae quoniam nostro deerant necessario supplendi.'<sup>26</sup> The emendations of Bern 366, Lupus' Valerius, indicate that he favored the readings in his manuscript of the *Epitome* even when they were erroneous. Very likely Lupus regarded his exemplar so highly because it was a manuscript from late antiquity.<sup>27</sup> The rustic capitals which appear throughout Vat. lat. 4929 also

Laon (though he never studied there) during the reign of Bishop Dido (c. 882-895); see Contreni, *The Cathedral School of Laon from 850 to 930. Its Manuscripts and Masters* (Münchener Beiträge zur Mediävistik und Renaissance-forschung 29; Munich, 1978), p. 148.

<sup>22</sup> L. Traube, 'Untersuchungen zur Überlieferungsgeschichte römischer Schriftsteller I: Zu Valerius Maximus', *Sitzungsberichte der philos.-philol. und histor. Klasse der k. bayer. Akademie der Wissenschaften* (1891), pp. 387-405 (rpt. in *Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen von Ludwig Traube* 3, ed. S. Brandt [Munich, 1920], pp. 3-17); see also J. Schnetz, *Ein Kritiker des Valerius Maximus im 9. Jahrhundert* (Neuburg a. Donau, 1901), especially pp. 36-54.

<sup>23</sup> Heiric, *Ex libris Valerii Maximi memorabilium et dictorum vel factorum*, included in his *Collectanea*: R. Quadri, ed., *I Collectanea di Eirico di Auxerre* (Spicilegium friburgense 11; Fribourg, 1966), pp. 18-24. See also Billanovich, 'Dall'antica Ravenna', 81-82, 85; W. M. Lindsay, 'The Archetype Codex of Valerius Maximus', *Classical Philology* 4 (1909) 114; R. J. Gariépy, *Lupus of Ferrières and the Classics* (Darien, Conn., 1967), pp. 88-90.

<sup>24</sup> Billanovich, 'Dall'antica Ravenna', 85.

<sup>25</sup> Contreni, *Cathedral School*, p. 145; Quadri, *Collectanea*, pp. 24, 54.

<sup>26</sup> Traube, 'Zu Valerius', 388; Lindsay, 'Archetype Codex', 115; Billanovich, 'Dall'antica Ravenna', 79-80.

<sup>27</sup> Lindsay, *ibid.*



suggest that the Carolingian scribe had before him a late antique model. The capitals resemble those of the fifth century, tall and elegant. The bows of *P*, *B*, and *D* are narrow, as are the cross-strokes of *T*, *I* and *L*. The letters *F*, *L* and especially *Y* rise above the writing line; all other letters are of even height and proportion. Particularly striking is the form of the *H*: the right ascender curves out at the top, a characteristic visible in the Vergilius Romanus (Vat. lat. 3867, s. v) and especially in the Bembinus Terence (Vat. lat. 3226, s. iv-v).<sup>28</sup> The geographical corpus in Vat. lat. 4929 displays a distinct cisalpine orthography which points to Italy, if not Ravenna, as the home of Heiric's exemplar. Since the cisalpine characteristics appear only in the geographical corpus and nowhere else in the Vaticanus, it seems likely that the scribe of Vat. lat. 4929 was preserving the orthography of his exemplar of the corpus, just as he preserved the archaic form of its rustic capitals.<sup>29</sup> There is, then, no textual evidence to require or even suggest the existence of an intermediate copy or copies. Lupus' use of the term *vetustus*, his respect for the old book's readings, the archaic form of the rustic capitals, and the preservation of Rusticius' subscriptions following two texts in the corpus strongly suggest that the copy of Rusticius' edition used by Heiric was a fifth-century Italian manuscript.

We do not know how the *De chorographia* and the rest of the Rusticius collection reached Lupus and Heiric, nor for how long it had been available north of the Alps. Billanovich has suggested that the *Cosmographia* of Aethicus Ister<sup>30</sup> provides a clue to the earlier whereabouts of Heiric's exemplar. His reasoning may be summarized thus: Aethicus Ister is the pen name adopted by St. Virgil, the Irish missionary who was bishop of Salzburg 746-784; in composing his *Cosmographia* he took information from Mela's *De chorographia*, almost certainly from the manuscript that later reached Heiric; and Virgil himself, or a fellow-countryman in his circle, was doubtless responsible for a pro-Irish gloss to the old exemplar which, in Vat. lat. 4929, has fallen into the text of Mela.<sup>31</sup>

It now seems, however, that this most attractive argument was based on a false premise. The identification of Aethicus Ister with Virgil of Salzburg, eloquently proposed by Heinz Löwe in 1951,<sup>32</sup> has been convincingly

<sup>28</sup> E. A. Lowe, *Codices latini antiquiores* 1 (Oxford, 1934), nos. 19, 12. For Vat. lat. 4929, fol. 149v, see Barlow, 'Codex', pl. 14.

<sup>29</sup> Billanovich, 'Dall'antica Ravenna', 79-80; Schnetz, *Kritiker des Valerius*, p. 42.

<sup>30</sup> We shall cite here by page and line number the edition of H. Wuttke, *Die Kosmographie des Isthier Aithikos/Cosmographiam Aethici Istrici ... redactam* (Leipzig, 1853).

<sup>31</sup> Billanovich, 'Dall'antica Ravenna', 82. Billanovich's suggestions have been given wide currency by Reynolds and Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars*, pp. 80, 94, 115. Concerning the pro-Irish gloss, see below, p. 275.

<sup>32</sup> H. Löwe, *Ein literarischer Widersacher des Bonifatius. Virgil von Salzburg und die Kosmographie des Aethicus Ister* (Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz,

challenged in the intervening thirty years. It is the consensus of all later students of this text that Aethicus Ister was neither Virgil nor Irish. In the most authoritative recent statement, Otto Prinz agrees roughly with Löwe's date and localization of the *Cosmographia*, namely, mid-eighth-century Frankish territory; but he returns the author to anonymity.<sup>33</sup>

Prinz's conclusions might seem, nevertheless, to permit the assumption that the Mela of Rusticius' edition was available at least to someone, though not Virgil, in the North a century before Heiric's copy was made. But here also, we suggest, Billanovich's argument rests upon a false premise, namely, that Aethicus Ister drew information directly from Mela.<sup>34</sup> Those who assert that Mela was a source for the *Cosmographia* rely, directly or indirectly, on Hillkowitz's doctoral dissertation.<sup>35</sup> Hillkowitz regards three passages in the *Cosmographia* as dependent on the *De chorographia*:<sup>36</sup>

(1) In describing the inhabitants of the Isle of Rifarrica, *Cosmographia* 25.4 says '*Utuntur etenim curros falcatos*' (Hillkowitz's italics). Hillkowitz connects this with Mela's description of the Britons (*De chorographia* 56.8-10: '*Dimicant non equitatu modo aut pedite, verum et bigis et curribus Gallice armatis: covinnos vocant, quorum falcatis axibus utuntur*'). He acknowledges, however, that another of the *Cosmographia*'s sources, Jordanes' *Getica*, is closer in wording: '*Saepius gerunt, non tantum equitatu vel pedite, verum etiam bigis curribusque falcatis*.'<sup>37</sup> Here, then, the influence of Mela is allegedly found in the single, but hardly singular, word '*utuntur*'.

(2) For the *Cosmographia*'s lengthy discussion of the Anthropophagi or *Malancini*, 41.31-42.22, Hillkowitz suggests that *De chorographia* 26.21-27.4 may be one of the several sources; but he points out that the whole of this passage, too lengthy to repeat here, is available through others of Aethicus' sources, including Solinus, Ammianus Marcellinus, and Gregory of Tours.

Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftliche Klasse, Abhandlungen, Jahrg. 1951, no. 11; Wiesbaden, 1952), pp. 1-90. See also his 'Salzburg als Zentrum literarischen Schaffens im 8. Jahrhundert', *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Salzburger Landeskunde* 115 (1975) 99-143.

<sup>33</sup> The two most recent statements, with bibliographic references to all pertinent earlier works, are O. Prinz, 'Untersuchungen zur Überlieferung und zur Orthographie der Kosmographie des Aethicus', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 37 (1981) 474-510 and H. L. C. Tristram, 'Ohthere, Wulfstan und der Aethicus Ister', *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 111 (1982) 153-68; Tristram's article was in the press before Prinz's study appeared (see Tristram, *ibid.*, 158 n. 14). Prinz is preparing a new edition of the *Cosmographia*, according to F. Brunhölzl, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* 1 (Munich, 1975), p. 517.

<sup>34</sup> We are grateful to Professor Parroni for first arousing our suspicions in this matter.

<sup>35</sup> Billanovich, 'Dall'antica Ravenna', 82; Reynolds and Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars*, pp. 80, 94, 115 (citing Billanovich); and, with more caution, Tristram, 'Ohthere', 164 n. 28. See the following note below.

<sup>36</sup> K. Hillkowitz, *Zur Kosmographie des Aethicus* (Diss. Cologne, 1934), pp. 44-45.

<sup>37</sup> Mommsen, *Getica*, p. 57.16-17. See Hillkowitz, *ibid.*, pp. 44 n. 3 and 50-51.

(3) The third case is the *Cosmographia*'s paragraph on Ireland and the Irish (14.21-28), which Hillkowitz associates with the *De chorographia* 55.30-56.5, 56.10-16. Verbal similarities are even more negligible than Hillkowitz implies; for he indicates that the name *Hibernia* comes from Mela, when the latter in fact uses the name *Iuerna* (56.10). Of the fifty-seven words in Aethicus' paragraph, only two (besides the erroneous *Hibernia*) supposedly derive from Mela. The first, at *Cosmographia* 14.22-24, 'Appellavitque eos ideomochos vel ideohistas, id est inperitos laboratores vel incultos doctores', Hillkowitz relates to a passage in Mela referring to the Britons (56.3: '... sed sunt *inculti* omnes ...'). The correspondence is unnecessarily strained, since a similar expression is used by Jordanes to describe the Irish (57.10), '*Inculti* aequae omnes ...'. The remaining example is *Cosmographia* 14.27, 'Inperitos habet cultores et instructoribus habet destitutos habitatores', which allegedly depends on *De chorographia* 56.14-15, '*Cultores eius* [scil. *Iuerna*] inconditi sunt et omnium virtutum (*sic*) ignari magis quam aliae gentes'. Here, finally, Hillkowitz has at least found the same word appearing in similar context in the two works; but it is a poor reflection on the sum of his evidence to note that the strength of his case rests on a single word. It is insufficient. Aethicus' low opinion of the Irish in general is doubtless derived ultimately from Mela, but it comes by way of intermediaries such as Jordanes (57.10) and Solinus, the latter of whom does use the name *Hibernia*.<sup>38</sup>

The suspicion that, in regard to dependence on Mela, Hillkowitz is unreliable is implicit in the recent article by Brunhölzl, who quotes the whole of *Cosmographia* 14.21-28 (example 3 above) without mention of the possibility that Mela was its source;<sup>39</sup> and Löwe is openly skeptical, saying that Hillkowitz makes the connection with Mela 'wegen einer sehr dürftigen stilistischen Berührung.'<sup>40</sup> In sum, the evidence that Aethicus Ister had a text of Pomponius Mela at his disposal disappears under scrutiny.

We are left with the puzzle, therefore, of how the exemplar of Mela reached Heiric, and where it had been prior to that time. A slight hint is provided by the pro-Irish gloss that Billanovich noted: at the end of the passage of the *De chorographia* cited above, '... omnium virtutum ignari magis quam aliae gentes' (56.14-15), the text of Vat. lat. 4929 has what is surely an interpolation, 'aliquatenus tamen gnari'. The logical assumption is that this passage appeared as a gloss in Heiric's exemplar, inserted by an Irishman or by someone acquainted with Irishmen undeserving of Mela's blanket censure. This indicates that the exemplar of the Mela in Vat. lat. 4929 was read at some date in some

<sup>38</sup> Solinus 22.2; T. Mommsen, *C. Iulii Solini Collectanea rerum memorabilium*, 2nd edition (Berlin, 1895), p. 100.5 ff.

<sup>39</sup> F. Brunhölzl, 'Zur Kosmographie des Aethicus' in *Festschrift für Max Spindler zum 75. Geburtstag*, ed. D. Albrecht (Munich, 1969), p. 78.

<sup>40</sup> Löwe, *Literarischer Widersacher*, p. 23 n. 1.

Continental (?) Irish community, which is interesting but sadly lacking in specifics.

After it was used by Lupus and Heiric, the fifth-century manuscript of Rusticius' edition apparently fell into disuse and ultimately disappeared. No evidence of its existence can be found after Vat. lat. 4929 was compiled.

The Vaticanus itself remained through the ninth century at Auxerre. There its *De chorographia* was used by the anonymous author of *De situ orbis*.<sup>41</sup> This work, dedicated to Charles the Bald in 876-877, is known in a single manuscript of the third quarter of the ninth century, Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit Voss. lat. F. 113. The author of the *De situ orbis* cites Mela and excerpts passages from the *De chorographia* throughout his work; and he names Mela first, in the list of sources in his *proemium*.<sup>42</sup>

Sometime after the composition of the *De situ orbis* and before the late tenth century, Vat. lat. 4929 passed to the Orléanais, by means that are unknown. In the late tenth century, a list of parishes was added to the Vaticanus (fol.196v); Delisle has shown that these represent villages around Pithiviers, an archdeaconry of Orléans.<sup>43</sup> As we shall show, both from internal evidence in the manuscript and from the manuscript's influence on other texts produced at Orléans, the Vaticanus remained there for at least three more centuries.

Glosses added to Vat. lat. 4929 in the twelfth century mention the Loire. To the text of Vibius Sequester's *De fluminibus*, which does not discuss the Loire, someone added 'Liger, Gallie dividens Acquitano et Celtas, in oceanum Britannicum evolvitur.' Likewise, a gloss on the word *Liger* in the text of the *Querolus* reminds the reader that Tibullus also knew the Loire: 'Ligerem dicit a nominativo Liger, quem ponit Albius Tibullus: "Carnuti et flavi cerula limpha Liger"'. Since the single complete manuscript of Tibullus' poetry was located at Orléans, the annotator's knowledge of this poet further serves to place the

<sup>41</sup> This is the *Anonymus Leidensis*, so called from the modern home of the manuscript: R. Quadri, ed., *Anonymi Leidensis De situ orbis libri duo* (Padua, 1974). The Anonymous' use of Vat. lat. 4929 at Auxerre is suggested by Billanovich, 'Dall'antica Ravenna', 88 n. 1, and confirmed by Quadri, pp. xviii, xl-xliii. See also Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur* 1.675-78 and 2.83 n. 6. In a review of Quadri's edition (*Rivista di filologia e di istruzione classica* 105 [1977] 370-75, especially 372-73), P. Parroni suggests that in the late ninth century the Anonymous may have used some other copy, either of the fifth-century manuscript or of Vat. lat. 4929; he notes specifically the Anonymous' plausible reading *magnae* for the certainly corrupt *magna et* (corrected by Heiric to the still corrupt *magno et*) in Vat. lat. 4929 (Ranstrand's edition, 4.5). We find this unconvincing.

<sup>42</sup> See Quadri's edition, especially p. 3.

<sup>43</sup> L. Delisle, 'Notice sur vingt manuscrits du Vatican', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 26 (1876) 487-88. While Delisle places the list in the eleventh century, Barlow, 'Codex', 99-100, has shown that it was written in the tenth.

Vaticanus at Orléans in the twelfth century.<sup>44</sup> Further evidence that the Vaticanus was at Orléans in the twelfth century can be found in two florilegia compiled there. Both the *Florilegium Angelicum* and the *Florilegium Gallicum*, produced in Orléans in the middle of the twelfth century, contain extracts from the *Querolus*, the source for which can only have been the Vaticanus.<sup>45</sup> For, at the beginning of the twelfth century, a grammar master added extensive scholia to the *Querolus* in Vat. lat. 4929, parts of which have dropped into the *Querolus* excerpts in both florilegia.<sup>46</sup> In this connection, it is interesting to note that extracts from Mela's *De chorographia* were once appended to a manuscript of the *Florilegium Gallicum* (Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal 711, part B, s. xii ex.).<sup>47</sup> Finally, in the middle of the thirteenth century the Vaticanus was used by the annotator of Bern, Burgerbibliothek 276, a lexicographer who worked in Orléans, Fleury, and Sens. He drew on the Vaticanus for at least two quotations from Censorinus (fols. 89v, 142r) and at least two from the *Querolus* (fols. 107v, 176v).<sup>48</sup>

At some time thereafter the Vaticanus was carried south to Italy, possibly by way of Avignon (see part III-A below). Nothing certain is known of its whereabouts until the fifteenth century, however, when it was acquired by one Serafino de Nibia, probably to be identified with the Serafino de Nibia who was a member of the major council of Novara in 1451.<sup>49</sup> Next we see the book in the library of Cardinal Guglielmo Sirleto (d. 1583), whence it moved for a short while to the library of Giovanni, duke of Attemps. In 1612, along with other books of the Attemps collection, it became part of the Vatican library, its present home.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>44</sup> Barlow discounted the quotation from Tibullus as evidence for a Loire location, since he believed it to have come from an extract in a florilegium which, he thought, enjoyed wide circulation in the West (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 6929); that manuscript, however, was in Freising at the time. The Orléans annotator could perfectly well have been familiar with the full text of Tibullus, since the manuscript of his work was at Orléans at the time. See Barlow, *ibid.*, 106, 109, 123; F. Newton, 'Tibullus in Two Grammatical *Florilegia* of the Middle Ages', *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 93 (1962) 253-86; and R. H. Rouse, 'Florilegia and Latin Classical Authors in Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Orléans', *Viator* 10 (1979) 153.

<sup>45</sup> Barlow, *ibid.*, 105-106; R. H. and M. A. Rouse, 'The *Florilegium Angelicum*: Its Origin, Content, and Influence' in *Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays Presented to Richard William Hunt*, ed. J. J. G. Alexander and M. T. Gibson (Oxford, 1976), p. 72 n. 2.

<sup>46</sup> Rouse and Rouse, *ibid.*, 73; and Rouse, 'Florilegia', 138.

<sup>47</sup> See below, p. 299.

<sup>48</sup> The quotations are printed by Rouse, 'Florilegia', 145; see also M. D. Reeve and R. H. Rouse, 'New Light on the Transmission of Donatus's "Commentum Terentii"', *Viator* 9 (1978) 235, and Ranstrand, *Querolus*, p. 94. One cannot tell whether two additional marginal notes (fols. 22v, 85v) that simply name 'Plautus in aulularia' refer to the *Querolus* or to the genuine work of Plautus.

<sup>49</sup> Barlow, 'Codex', 100; Billanovich, 'Dall'antica Ravenna', 85-86.

<sup>50</sup> G. Mercati, *Codici latini Pico Grimani Pio ...* (Studi e testi 75; Vatican City, 1938), chap. 4, 'I codici attempiani acquistati da Paolo V'.

B. THE ACTIVE BRANCH OF THE TRADITION:  $\alpha$ 

The medieval French circulation of the *De chorographia* derives not from A (Vat. lat. 4929) but from a copy of A called  $\alpha$ . To reconstruct  $\alpha$  we shall examine its surviving descendants to determine, first, their textual relationships and, second, their origins and medieval homes. There are three manuscripts of this family that antedate the fourteenth century: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 152, fol. 32r-v, s. xii (P); Vendôme, Bibliothèque Municipale 189, fols. 65r-72v, s. xiii (V); and Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana San Marco 341, s. xii (F). Of these, P and V are closely related.

1. *P and V*

P constitutes one folio in a *recueil* of forty-nine folios, together with ecclesiastical texts, charters, and papal and royal documents, which range in date from the fifth to the fifteenth century; the collection was assembled by Étienne Baluze (d. 1718).<sup>51</sup> Two leaves, fols. 33 (Seneca, *Epistolae*, s. xiii) and 35 (extracts from Einhard's *Vita Karoli* and some verses), bear the ex libris of the Orléans jurist Pierre Daniel (d. 1603). The text of the *De chorographia* (fol. 32r-v) begins 'deserta ac super Caspium sinum' (1.2.13, Ranstrand 5.15) and ends 'unde et minerve cog[nomen]' (1.7.36, Ranstrand 9.17). This leaf measures 289 x 190 (250 x 139) mm., ruled in hard point in thirty-nine lines. The script, inelegant and compressed, does not hold the line, and it may have been this compression which inclined Lauer to assign P to the thirteenth century;<sup>52</sup> but other features of the script show clearly that it was written in the middle of the twelfth century. Double *p*'s are separate. Ampersands occur only twice on this folio, but the Tyronian 7 is still uncrossed. Abbreviation is both conservative and inconsistent: *super*, for example, appears as *sup* and *sr*; passive verb endings are designated by either *ſ* or *r*. There are no medieval marginalia. Similar hands are seen in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 1793, fol. 133v, c. 1127, and lat. 1663, fol. 58v, c. 1148.<sup>53</sup>

A collation of P suggests that it descends from A via an intermediary,  $\alpha$  (page and line numbers from Ranstrand's edition): 5.18 *iam nomina medi* A, *iamno minamed* P; 6.10 *abducitur* A, *adducitur* P; 6.28 *aut harenis* A, *auta renis* P; 8.15 *quoque* A, *quo* P; 9.6 *bagrada utica* A, *pagrada urbes utica* P. The script in the Vaticanus is a calligraphic Carolingian minuscule, in which one can

<sup>51</sup> É. Pellegrin, 'Membra disjecta', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 107 (1947-48) 74-76.

<sup>52</sup> P. Lauer, *Bibliothèque Nationale. Catalogue des manuscrits latins* 1 (Paris, 1941), p. 52.

<sup>53</sup> C. Samaran and R. Marichal, *Catalogue des manuscrits en écriture latine portant des indications de date, de lieu ou de copiste* 2 (Paris, 1962), pls. 15, 18 (hereafter cited as *MSS.* datés).

easily distinguish letters and word divisions. P's exemplar, instead, must have been written in a hand that was more compressed and more difficult to distinguish.<sup>54</sup>

Vendôme, Bibliothèque Municipale 189, a small handbook measuring 177 x 133 (139 x 82) mm., is a composite manuscript consisting of two parts. Part 2, fols. 73r-166v, a collection of school notes from the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, does not concern us here. Part 1 was written in the middle of the thirteenth century and contains the following: fols. 1r-64v: Hilary of Poitiers, *De sinodis*, *Contra Constancium Augustum*, *Ad Constancium imperatorem*, *Exemplum blasphemii Auxentii*, *Adversus Arrianum Auxentium*; fols. 65r-72v: Pomponius Mela, *De chorographia*, from the beginning of the work to 1.7.36 (Ranstrand 9.17).<sup>55</sup> Part 1 was ruled in ink with single bounding lines, with twenty-four long lines per page. It is written above the top line, in a single hand. The script, a neat, plain, mid-thirteenth-century *textualis* in which the spacing and letter form give maximum legibility, is similar to Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 363, fol. 96r (1230-50), and both script and layout resemble Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 11063, fol. 9r (1260).<sup>56</sup> Except for the initial at the beginning of the text, a three-line plain red letter, there is no decoration. This part of the codex bears the seventeenth-century ex libris of Mont-Saint-Michel on the verso of the first fly-leaf. The *De chorographia* appears in the last quire of part 1 (fols. 65r-72v); its text, however, stops on fol. 69r with 'unde et minerve cog[nomen]', leaving the remainder of the folio and the rest of the quire blank.

It is not known whether V was written at Mont-Saint-Michel, nor how it subsequently came to Vendôme; in this respect ms. 189 shares the fate of numerous other manuscripts of Mont-Saint-Michel that were dispersed under the administration of its lay canons. Part 2 of the Vendôme codex appears in the catalogue of books at Mont-Saint-Michel compiled by Le Michel in 1639, but does not appear in the catalogue made by Montfaucon in 1739.<sup>57</sup> The manuscript, therefore, presumably left Mont-Saint-Michel between those dates.

V must be a direct copy of the fragment P, since both manuscripts end on the same half-word, 'cog-'. In P this occurs at the end of the last line of the verso, in

<sup>54</sup> Confirmation that P descends from *a*, not from A, is provided by its agreement in error with F against A; see section 2 below.

<sup>55</sup> *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France. Départements* (Octavo Series) 3 (Vendôme) (Paris, 1885), p. 456.

<sup>56</sup> Samaran and Marichal, *MSS. datés*, pl. 27 and *MSS. datés* 3 (Paris, 1974), pl. 49.

<sup>57</sup> G. Nortier, *Les bibliothèques médiévales des abbayes bénédictines de Normandie* (Caen, 1966), pp. 78-82. Although she later notes that Vendôme 189 bears the ex libris of Mont-Saint-Michel, Nortier neglects to point out that its contents correspond to the list of works catalogued by Montfaucon as M2, listed (p. 92) in the appendix to her chapter on Mont-Saint-Michel.

V in the middle of the page. The break in P is caused by physical loss, indicating that more of the *De chorographia* once existed in P; but this material was already missing when V was copied. At the time that V was written, however, the beginning of P's *De chorographia* still existed (that is, 1.1.1 to 1.2.13, where P presently begins); that portion (occupying at most one other leaf) and the surviving leaf must have become separated sometime after the second quarter of the thirteenth century.

A collation of the two manuscripts confirms that V is a copy of P. In the following instances PV agree in error against A (page and line from Ranstrand's edition): 5.18 *iam nomina medi* A, *iamno minamed* PV; 6.10 *abducitur* A, *adducitur* PV; 6.12 *nos Tuscum quem* A, *notuscum quam* PV; 6.28 *aut harenis* A, *auta renis* PV; 8.2 *ex adverso* A, om. PV; 8.17 *urbium* A, *urbius* PV; 9.6 *bagrada utica* A, *pagrada (pagnida)* V *urbes utica* PV; 9.12 *syrtis sinus* A, *syrtissimus* PV; 9.14 *brevia* A, *brevis* PV. Where V disagrees with P, it results from careless misreading by V's scribe (e.g., 7.16 *terras quam* AP, *terras quas* V), from incorrect expansion of a contraction (e.g., 6.22 *brevior est* AP, *breviorem* V), or from transposition (e.g., 8.12 *fratres nuncupantur* AP, *nunc. fr.* V). In the segment of text preserved by P, V supplies no words lacking in P.

The home of V should reveal something about the provenance of its exemplar P. We know from its seventeenth-century *ex libris* that V at that time belonged to Mont-Saint-Michel; and, with no evidence to the contrary, we may assume that it was there from the time it was written. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Mont-Saint-Michel copied many of its books from Bec exemplars.<sup>58</sup> This practice may have been inaugurated by Robert of Torigny (d. 1186), who began his career c. 1128 at Bec. He remained there until 1154, when he became abbot of Mont-Saint-Michel, a post which he retained for thirty-two years. As abbot, he forged a strong bond between Mont-Saint-Michel and Bec. Robert was learned; he kept a chronicle, and expanded the *Historia Normannorum* of William of Jumièges. Not surprisingly, he devoted himself to building a library at Mont-Saint-Michel.<sup>59</sup>

The loan of books from his former house must have been of special concern to Robert; he went so far as to have a copy made of the inventory of Bec's library. This inventory, compiled c. 1164, is lost, and only Robert's copy survives.<sup>60</sup> It doubtless helped the monks at Mont-Saint-Michel to choose the books from Bec that they wished to copy, and they continued to augment their collection from Bec's library over the years that followed. For example, a compilation of Anselm's works, known only from its description as no. 53 in

<sup>58</sup> *ibid.*, p. 69.

<sup>59</sup> R. Howlett, ed., *Chronicle of Robert of Torigni* (RS 82.4; London, 1889), pp. x-xvi.

<sup>60</sup> Nortier, *Bibliothèques*, pp. 39-41; Howlett, *ibid.*, p. xvi.



the catalogue of Montfaucon, may have been copied from the Bec codex, Montfaucon 94. A Bec codex, no. 126 in the twelfth-century inventory and containing pseudo-Denis, *De caelesti hierarchia*, *De divinis nominibus*, *De mystica theologia*, and *Epistolae*, probably provided the exemplar at Mont-Saint-Michel for what is now Avranches, Bibliothèque Municipale 47 (s. xii). A volume once belonging to Philip of Bayeux, who left his books to Bec, contained Cicero's *De divinatione* and *De fato* (no. 77 in the Bec inventory): it may well have been the exemplar for the copies of these works seen at Mont-Saint-Michel by Nicolas Le Fèvre in 1582.<sup>61</sup>

V, Mont-Saint-Michel's fragmentary *De chorographia*, must likewise have been copied from a Bec exemplar, since in 1164 Bec received a copy of Mela's work in the bequest of Philip of Bayeux. Philip's legacy is described in the Bec inventory that Robert of Torigny had copied for Mont-Saint-Michel, in which the *De chorographia* is named at the head of a large volume:

(64) in alio Pomponius Mela de cosmographia et Tullius de fine boni et mali et de academicis et Timeus Platonis ab ipso Tullio translatus et Tullius de particione oratoria et liber Candidi Ariani ad Victorinum de generatione divina et Hilarius de sinodis et eiusdem liber contra Valentem et Auxencium.<sup>62</sup>

The *De chorographia* in V was doubtless copied from the first two leaves of this Bec codex. It follows that P, then, must be a fragment that survives from this book, which once belonged to Philip of Bayeux.

Philip of Harcourt was an able ecclesiastic who served as dean of Lincoln and briefly as chancellor of England for King Stephen, before becoming bishop of Bayeux in 1142.<sup>63</sup> His position in the Norman court was similar to those of Arnulf of Lisieux and Rotrou of Rouen, all three learned and bookish clerks and reliable advisors to Henry II.<sup>64</sup> Philip's collection comprised over 140 books and included a number of little-known ancient authors, among them Pliny the Younger and Ennodius. His bequest in the middle of the twelfth century almost doubled the size of Bec's library. Unfortunately, the medieval books of Bec, Philip's among them, were already dispersed by the sixteenth century. By 1693, in the Bec catalogue compiled by Julien Bellaise, only eleven of Philip's books

<sup>61</sup> B. de Montfaucon, *Bibliotheca bibliothecarum manuscriptorum nova* ... 2 (Paris, 1739), pp. 1252 no. 94, 1356 no. 53; G. Becker, *Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui* (Bonn, 1885), pp. 265 no. 126, 201 no. 77; Nortier, *ibid.*, p. 79.

<sup>62</sup> Becker, *ibid.*, p. 201 no. 64.

<sup>63</sup> S. E. Gleason, *An Ecclesiastical Barony of the Middle Ages. The Bishopric of Bayeux, 1066-1204* (Harvard Historical Monographs 10; Cambridge, Mass., 1936), pp. 27-31; see also V. Bourrienne, *Un grand bâtisseur. Philippe de Harcourt, évêque de Bayeux (1142-1163)* (Paris, 1950).

<sup>64</sup> Nortier, *Bibliothèques*, pp. 39-41; R. W. Hunt, 'The Sum of Knowledge: Universities and Learning' in *The Flowering of the Middle Ages*, ed. J. Evans (New York, 1966), p. 201.

remained.<sup>65</sup> Today only three manuscripts, including the fragment P, have been identified as Philip's. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 5802, s. xii (containing Suetonius, *De vita Caesarum*; the *Epitome* of Annaeus Florus; Julius Frontinus, *Strategemata*; Cicero, *Philippics* and *Tusculans*) is equivalent to no. 76 in the Bec catalogue: 'in alio Suetonius et Iulius Frontinus et Eutropius et Tullii Tusculanae et Philippica eiusdem.'<sup>66</sup> (The reversal of the last two items is only a cataloguer's error.) The manuscript, a large and handsome volume, belonged to Petrarch in the fourteenth century.<sup>67</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 12211, containing Augustine, *De pastoribus et ovibus*, corresponds to that portion of the volume described as no. 11 in the catalogue: 'in alio de pastore et ovibus et de baptismo contra Donatistas et de baptismo parvulorum et de unico baptismo et de spiritu et littera.'<sup>68</sup>

In sum, the information presented so far allows us to suggest the following stemma for the *De chorographia*:

$$\begin{array}{l} \Omega = \text{Rusticius' edition (s. v)} \\ | \\ A = \text{Vat. lat. 4929 (s. ix)} \\ | \\ \alpha = \text{lost intermediary (before s. xii med.)} \\ | \\ P = \text{Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 152, fol. 32r-v (s. xii med.)} \\ | \\ V = \text{Vendôme Bibliothèque Municipale 189, fols. 65r-69r (s. xiii med.)} \end{array}$$

## 2. F

The third derivative manuscript, Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana San Marco 341, s. xii (F), in the fifteenth century was given to the Dominicans of San Marco in Florence by Niccolò Niccoli.<sup>69</sup> San Marco 341 was written in France in the third quarter of the twelfth century. It contains Pomponius Mela's *De chorographia*, Apuleius' *De deo Socratis*, [Hermes Trismegistus'] *Asclepius*, and *De dogmate Platonis*.<sup>70</sup> The codex measures 250 x 142 mm. The leaves,

<sup>65</sup> Nortier, *ibid.*, p. 54.

<sup>66</sup> Becker, *Catalogi*, p. 201; R. H. and M. A. Rouse, 'The Medieval Circulation of Cicero's "Posterior Academics" and the *De finibus bonorum et malorum*' in *Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts and Libraries: Essays Presented to N. R. Ker*, ed. M. B. Parkes and A. G. Watson (London, 1978), pp. 333-67, especially p. 347.

<sup>67</sup> R. H. Rouse, 'Manuscripts Belonging to Richard de Fournival', *Revue d'histoire des textes* 3 (1973) 254.

<sup>68</sup> Becker, *Catalogi*, p. 199. L. Delisle lists the contents as 'Aug. De pastoribus et ovibus, et alia' in his 'Inventaire des manuscrits conservés à la Bibliothèque Impériale sous les nos. 8823-11503 du fonds latin', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 23 (1861-62) 277-308.

<sup>69</sup> See below, p. 311.

<sup>70</sup> B. L. Ullman and P. A. Stadter, *The Public Library of Renaissance Florence. Niccolò Niccoli, Cosimo de' Medici and the Library of San Marco* (Medioevo e umanesimo 10; Padua, 1972), p. 217 no. 797.

unfoliated, are ruled with a lead point in thirty-one long lines per page. The manuscript was written by a single hand, in a calligraphic, unembellished French *textualis* of the third quarter of the twelfth century. Tyronian notes are squat and long-nosed, characteristic of a southern hand. Except for the Tyronian 7, the script resembles that of Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 12483, fol. 54v, c. 1172-74.<sup>71</sup> There are four initials decorated in a symmetrical floral design of varying colors, one at the beginning of each book of the *De chorographia* and the fourth at the beginning of the *De deo Socratis*. Minor decorated initials appear throughout the codex, consisting of simple pen designs alternating in two colors. On fol. 1r, in a contemporary medieval hand, is the note 'pomponii mele de chosmo graphia liber incipit qui per has discrete materie particulas digestim devolvitur'. The 'particulas' in question are the detailed list of chapter headings for the *De chorographia* that appear on fols. 1-2 in the same hand as the text itself. (The chapter list and the chapter divisions within the text are discussed below, p. 284.) The table of contents is recorded by the San Marco librarian on fol. ii<sup>v</sup>: 'In hoc volumine continentur. in primis. Liber de cosmographia pomponii mele. Item libri duo apulei madaurensis de habitudine doctrina et nativitate platonis philosophi. Conventus s. marci de florentia ordinis predicatorum. De hereditate Nicolai de Nicolis viri doctissimi de florentia', and above it the shelf mark: '.133. de xxi<sup>o</sup> banco. ex parte occidentis'. The manuscript unfortunately bears no indication of its provenance before it was bequeathed to San Marco by Niccoli.<sup>72</sup>

The end of book 1 contains a variant colophon: 'Feliciter emendavi cecilius rusticius helpidius domnulus et adnotavi vicario rabenne'. Obviously this is derived from the colophon of A ('Pomponii Melae De chorographia libri tres expliciti feliciter Fl. Rusticius Helpidius Domnulus VC. et spc. com. consistor. emendavi Rabennae'); but we suspect that the variation in F, which involves both displacement of text and either deletion or ingenuous expansion of abbreviations, must imply descent at a distance of two or three generations. A more surprising difference between the colophons of F and A, and one which eludes explanation, lies in their placement in the text: in A the colophon occurs at the end of book 3, the end of the whole work, while in F the subscription appears at the end of book 1 of the *De chorographia*. Moreover, neither the end of book 1 nor the beginning of book 2 is distinguished by a rubric in F.

The text of F's *De chorographia* clearly descends from A via *α*, and it is thus of the same family as PV. This is demonstrated by the following readings, in which FPV agree in error against A (where P's text no longer survives, V is taken to stand for both manuscripts): Ranstrand 3.1 *minime* A, *minie* FV; 3.3

<sup>71</sup> Samaran and Marichal, *MSS. datés* 3, pl. 32.

<sup>72</sup> See below, p. 311 and n. 159.

*longa* A, *longum* FV; 3.7 *erunt* A, om. FV; 3.14 *amplectitur* A, *complectitur* (con- F) FV; 3.22 *porrecta* A, *porrecta est* FV; 4.4 *quam fuit artius exit in spatium* A, *artius quam fuit in spatium exit* FV; 4.6-7 *id omne ... mare dicitur* A, om. FV; 5.15 *ad* A, *ac* FPV; 5.18 *iam nomina medi* A, *ianii mina medi* F, *iamno minamedi* PV.

Minor variations and corruptions in the text of F suggest that it may be separated from *α* by one or more copies: for example, 5.16 *antiacae* APV, *anthe ace* F; 6.7 *retracta* APV, *redacta* F; 6.20 *permissa* APV, *promissa* F; 6.23 *nec usque Asiae* (*Asia est* PV) *et* APV, om. F; 6.26 *exurgens* APV, *consurgens* F; 7.1 *obducta* APV, *obducata* F; 7.7 *expositi* APV, *positi* F; 7.14 *Aegipanes* APV, *Egiripanes* F; 7.17 *gentesque* APV, *gentes* F; 7.22 *circumvectus* APV, *circumventus* F; 8.2 *ei quem* APV, *eis quidem* F; 8.9 *habitatur* APV, *habitabatur* F; 8.25 *altiore* APV, *altius* F, not to mention F's many transpositions of words.

While his hand has a calligraphic and fairly clean appearance, the scribe of F was careless. The above-mentioned errors may have been present in his exemplar, but he unquestionably added more of his own. He has misspelled many words which were subsequently corrected, evidently by his own hand: for example, 3.25 *occasu* corr. *ex occasus* with the final *s* rubbed; 4.5 *ceterum* corr. *ex centerum* with the *n* expunged; 4.22 *emissum est inde cum* corr. *ex emissum est inde est* with *ē* written over the second *est*. Elsewhere the scribe left out twenty-seven words, or almost six lines of text (Mela 1.8.47, Ranstrand 11.11-13). 'nudi sunt gamphasantes ... conloquia patiuntur.' The chapter list which precedes F's text contains the title for the missing chapter (*Gamphasantes*) in its proper place between the *Augiles* and the *Blemyes*, precisely where the lacuna occurs in the text. Evidently, then, the passage was present in F's exemplar and the omission the fault of F's scribe.

F is distinguished from all other surviving medieval copies of the *De chorographia*, including A, by the fact that its text has been divided into chapters and a corresponding chapter list appended to the beginning of the text. The significance of this format is twofold: the physical chapter divisions reveal a new interest in the structure of the text; and the initial chapter list is designed to make the work more readily accessible to the reader, more 'searchable', if you will. Let us look at this structuring, then, before seeking F's origin and medieval home.

The text of F has been divided into 171 chapters. Each is hung on the left margin, and begins with a decorated initial. The initials range in size from three to five lines in height, and bear minor pen decoration in alternating colors. Although the chapters themselves have no rubrics, the chapter list that precedes the text assigns a title to each; from these titles one can see how the medieval editor perceived the structure of this geography and what he thought to be the

subject of each section. The length of the chapters varies considerably, depending on the degree of attention a topic received from Mela and on the purpose of the passage as perceived by the medieval editor. For example, the fourth chapter of book 1 is an introduction to the regions of Asia (*De partibus asie* in the chapter list), covering two and a half pages. Subsequent chapters on individual regions and inhabitants of Asia (*De sauromatis*, *De bythinia*, etc.), subjects which Mela treats briefly, may be only three to seven lines in length. Though the initial *De partibus asie* also mentions these regions and inhabitants in passing, the purpose of that chapter as perceived by the medieval editor is to give a general overview of Asia, to introduce to the reader regions and peoples that he will encounter later. Regardless of the length, the divisions were made according to specific criteria, namely, the (perceived) subject and purpose of the material.

The chapter list which precedes the work corresponds to the physical divisions in the text of F. This list is another new addition to the text of the *De chorographia*; its unique presence in the Florence codex indicates that it was drawn up simultaneously with the division of the work into chapters. In the list, each chapter is given a brief title which describes its contents, such as *De tripartita divisione et nominibus oceani*, *De ionia*, *De partibus europe et terminis eius*, *De sciticis*. The titles in the list almost always correspond to the chapters as they occur in the text; the few discrepancies are the product not of design but of error. For example, what appears as two consecutive chapters in the list, *De egipto et que in ea sunt* and *De causis augmenti nili*, appears as only one chapter in the text. The explanation must be that F's exemplar, an undivided text of the  $\alpha$  family, had been marked for division into chapters by a medieval editor, and that in this instance the scribe of F overlooked the instruction for the beginning of a new chapter concerning the flooding of the Nile. This exemplar could conceivably have been  $\alpha$  itself, with chapter divisions that were added after the time when  $\alpha$  served as exemplar for P. More likely, in light of the readings noted above, the presence of chapter divisions in F's exemplar is just one more indication that an intermediate manuscript stood between  $\alpha$  and F.

Given its unique structure, along with the fact that F is the only surviving, whole pre-fourteenth-century derivative of A, it would be interesting to know where F was written. Besides the *De chorographia* at Bec, only two other manuscripts of the work appear in medieval library catalogues, both of them recorded at Saint-Martial of Limoges in the inventory of books made by Bernard Itier (librarian 1204-25).<sup>73</sup> The first (no. 48) is included in a collection of ancient histories: 'Trogus Pompeius, Suetonius de gestis duodecim Cesarum,

<sup>73</sup> L. Delisle, *Le cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale ...* 2 (Paris, 1874), pp. 493-504.

Gneus Florus, Valerius Maximus, Pomponius Mela. Hec omnia in uno volumine'. The second (no. 126) is recorded alone: 'Pomponius Mela'.<sup>74</sup> The Florence manuscript cannot, obviously, be the codex containing ancient histories described as no. 48 in Bernard's catalogue. If, however, Bernard recorded only the name of the first and principal work of the codex, and omitted the subsequent, lesser texts, F could indeed be the codex described as no. 126.

The physical appearance of F would have encouraged Bernard to catalogue the codex in precisely this manner, for in the early thirteenth century there was no indication at the beginning of the Florence manuscript that it contained anything save the *De chorographia*. The table of chapters on fols. 1-2, which concerns only Mela, is further set off by the contemporary marginal gloss mentioned above, framed in a triangular border: 'Pomponii mele de chosmographia liber incipit ...'. By contrast, the text of Apuleius begins about three fourths of the way through the manuscript on the verso of a leaf; well hidden, it lacks any distinguishing gloss or rubric. Such a codex could easily have been designated solely by the name of the first or principal work, for the Saint-Martial catalogue was strictly an inventory of property and the cataloguer was under no compulsion to record the full contents of every codex. For example, a large manuscript like Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 2328, containing Isidore's *Sententiae*, Alcuin's *De virtutibus et vitiis*, a *De lapidibus*, the *Epistolae catholicae*, a treatise on baptism, sermons of Augustine and of Caesarius of Arles, etc., was recorded by Bernard Itier simply as 'Sentencie Isidori' (no. 118).<sup>75</sup>

In addition to proposing that F belonged to Saint-Martial, we suggest further that it was written there, and that its exemplar was the other Limoges *De chorographia*, no. 48 in Bernard's inventory. Since both copies are first mentioned in the inventory, one cannot determine on that basis which was the older. Nevertheless, a plausible reconstruction presents itself. From the entry in Bernard's catalogue, it appears that the ancient histories included in item 48 were all complete: '... Hec omnia in uno volumine'; there is nothing to suggest, in other words, that this was a florilegium or that it was composed, even partially, of *exceptiones*. One volume containing five complete works, including Suetonius' biographies, must have been a bulky tome. We suggest that after a certain amount of use the pages at the front and back of the volume suffered from wear, and that, consequently, the first and last works in the codex, Pompeius Trogus and Pomponius Mela, were recopied. Later catalogues of

<sup>74</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 497, 498.

<sup>75</sup> Lauer, *Catalogue* 2.407-408; Delisle, *ibid.*, p. 498; H. Duplès-Agier, ed., *Chroniques de Saint-Martial de Limoges* ... (Paris, 1874), p. 343.

Saint-Martial support this suggestion: in addition to the single manuscript of the *De chorographia* (no. 126) listed by Bernard, we find a single manuscript of the *Epitome* of Pompeius Trogus in a catalogue made by one of Bernard's successors in the second quarter of the thirteenth century (no. 229): 'Item alter Trogus Pompeius'.<sup>76</sup> We propose, therefore, that the text of the *De chorographia* in the collection of histories served as the exemplar for San Marco 341, and should be identified as an intermediate manuscript,  $\varphi$ , between  $\alpha$  and F.

### 3. Three later manuscripts of this tradition

Three other manuscripts of the *De chorographia*, not listed among the pre-fourteenth-century descendants of Vat. lat. 4929 because of their dates, may nonetheless help to clarify the relationship of APF: Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Reg. lat. 581, part 1, s. xiv ex. (R); Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 14927, fols. 121r-144v, s. xiv ex. (S); and Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz Lat. fol. 366, s. xv med. (B).

The first of these, R, now consists of three parts; the latter two (fols. 39r-116v), dating from the ninth and tenth centuries, were apparently joined with part 1 in the fifteenth century. Part 1, fols. 1r-38v, written around 1400, contains the following: fols. 1r-22, Hugh of Saint-Victor, *Didascalicon*; 22v, blank; 23r, *Septem mira*; 23r-38v, *De chorographia*; 38v, nine lines describing the region of Venice that have been extracted from Paulus Diaconus' *Historia Langobardorum* (2.14-15). Part 1 measures 270 x 214 mm., ruled in ink in thirty-nine long lines per page; the first line of text is written under the top ruled line of each page. The text of the *De chorographia* was written by one person in a rounded gothic script with humanistic features. It begins with a four-line initial ornately decorated with vine leaves on a gold background; minor initials distinguish the beginnings of books 2 and 3. In book 1 the same hand that wrote the text has noted in the margins key words and proper nouns that appear in the text, and a few such notes occur in books 2 and 3 as well. In the text, nothing save the decorated initials marks the beginnings of new books; they are without rubrics. There is no initial chapter list, nor any physical indication of chapters in the text. At the end of book 1 appears the garbled colophon, 'Feliciter emendavi cecilius iusticius helpidius domnulus et annotavi vicario rabenne'.

The hand is that of Jean de Montreuil (c. 1360-1418), one of two French scholars known to have developed a humanistic script in France early in the fifteenth century.<sup>77</sup> The script is vertical, and contains few ligatures. The straight s, which sometimes resembles an upper-case gamma, appears through-

<sup>76</sup> Delisle, *ibid.*, p. 502.

<sup>77</sup> We are grateful to Gilbert Ouy for confirming this identification.

out, except occasionally at the end of a word where the sinuous *s* is used. Both the round and the straight *r* appear, but their use is not correct (that is, straight *r* following a straight letter, round *r* following a round letter). Cedillas are abundant, though sometimes incorrectly used. Ouy noted identical characteristics in an analysis of Montreuil's humanistic script as found in Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Reg. lat. 733A, fols. 123r-124v.<sup>78</sup> Moreover, the layout of this section of Reg. lat. 733A resembles that of R: in both, the page is ruled in long lines; the script is spread and the difference between thick and thin strokes diminished; new paragraphs do not begin a new line, but are marked by capitals slashed with ink; and the initials are decorated with tendrils and droplets in alternating red and blue. Such similarities of layout and script indicate that Reg. lat. 581, part 1 (R) should be added to the relatively small list of Montreuil autographs which have so far been identified.

Later the manuscript belonged to the West Indian planter Jean Nicot (1530-1600), whose ex libris 'Ex bibliotheca Nicotiana 41' and device in Latin and Greek appear on the top and bottom of fol. 1r. Paul Petau's pressmark (L.48) appears in his hand on fols. 23r and 31r. From the collection first of Paul and then of Alexandre Petau the book passed into Queen Christina's library, whence it passed with others of her books to the Vatican Library in 1690. Aside from the identity of the hand, internal evidence tells us nothing of the manuscript's origins or its whereabouts before it reached Nicot.<sup>79</sup>

The second manuscript, S, is a *recueil* of works dating from the twelfth through the fifteenth centuries, bound together in the fifteenth or early sixteenth century at the abbey of Saint-Victor in Paris. The arms of the abbey appear on the binding and on fol. 2r, and the abbey's librarian Claude de Grandrue has entered the list of contents and the pressmark, CCC.5, on fol. 1v. The portion that contains the *De chorographia* is a booklet of six quires (fols. 111r-158v) written in the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century; it contains the following: fols. 111r-120v, *Cornelius in Daretem Phrygium*; 121r, *Septem mira*; 121r-144r, *De chorographia*; 144v, blank; 145r-157r, *Notulae ad tragoedias Senecae*; 157v-158v, blank. It measures 230 x 150 (180 x 120) mm. Pricking is visible at the outer margin of each page, which is ruled in ink in thirty-nine long lines. The *Septem mira* and the whole of the *De chorographia* are written in one hand, a very rounded, almost vertical, calligraphic bastarda, which appears to date from around 1400; it resembles the hands found in Paris,

<sup>78</sup> G. Ouy, 'Jean de Montreuil et l'introduction de l'écriture humanistique en France au début du xv<sup>e</sup> siècle' in *Litterae textuales. A Series on Manuscripts and Their Texts. Essays Presented to G. I. Liefstinck*, vol. 4: *Miniatures, Scripts, Collections*, ed. J. P. Gumbert and M. J. M. de Haan (Amsterdam, 1976), pp. 53-71.

<sup>79</sup> É. Pellegrin et al., *Les manuscrits classiques latins de la Bibliothèque Vaticane* 1 (Paris, 1975), pp. 85-86.



Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 6069H (1397), lat. 2947, fol. 17r (1391) or lat. 7831 (1416).<sup>80</sup> Initials decorated in alternating red and blue appear throughout the text, as do red and blue paragraph marks. Marginalia, consisting primarily of place names discussed, are written in the same hand as that of the text. A second hand has on very rare occasions supplied variant readings or filled in lacunae. At the end of book 1 appears the subscription that we have previously seen in F and R: 'Feliciter emendavi caecilius iusticius helphidius domnulus et adnotavi vicario rabenne'. At the end of book 3 a final colophon reads '[in red] Explicit liber pomponii melae de chorografia etc. [in black] fl. rusticus helpidius domnulus vc. et spc. coſs. consistor emendavi et adnotavi vicario rabennae', a conflation of the subscription of book 1 and of the genuine subscription found in A. The portion of the Saint-Victor manuscript that contains the *De chorographia* belonged to Simon de Plumetot (1371-1443), and the *Notulae*, the final work in the booklet, may be his autograph.<sup>81</sup> Simon left the greater part of his library to the abbey of Saint-Victor; how he may have acquired the manuscript is discussed below (part III-B).

The third late descendant of  $\alpha$  is Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz Lat. fol. 366 (B), a large codex of northern French origin dating from the mid-fifteenth century. It contains three epistles attributed to (fols. 1r-17r) Eusebius, (17r-20r) Augustine, and (20v-35v) Cyril, concerning the death of Jerome; fols. 35v-69v, the debate on the generalship of Scipio and Caesar, an exchange of epistles by Poggio, Guarino, and Piero del Monte; 69v, *Septem mira*; 70r-85v, *De chorographia*; 86r-103v, ten short prose works of Alain Chartier (Alanus Auriga); 104r-206r, Thomas of Cantimpré, *De apibus*. B was written after 31 January 1440, the date of del Monte's 'determination' of the Poggio/Guarino debate, and before 1472 (note added on fol. 206r 'Frater Gauffridus ... emit librum istum anno domini M<sup>o</sup> CCCC<sup>o</sup> LXXII<sup>o</sup>').<sup>82</sup> It is

<sup>80</sup> Samaran and Marichal, *MSS. datés* 2, pls. 73, 69, and 84, respectively.

<sup>81</sup> Although G. Ouy, 'Simon de Plumetot (1371-1443) et sa bibliothèque' in *Miscellanea codicologica F. Masai dicata*, ed. P. Cockshaw et al. (Ghent, 1979), pp. 353-81, stated that Simon wrote part of the *De chorographia*, which Ouy placed on fols. 121r-158v of this manuscript, this seems to have been a slip of the pen. The *De chorographia* in Paris lat. 14927 extends only to fol. 144r, and it is written by a single hand, one that seems more vertical and more rounded than even Simon's most 'Italianate' script (see *ibid.*, pl. 54); but the *Notulae in tragoedias Senecae*, which immediately follows the text of Mela (fols. 145r-157r), is written in a hand that closely resembles Simon's. M. Ouy has graciously confirmed to the authors that it was, indeed, these folios that he had in mind.

<sup>82</sup> We thank Professor Parroni for bringing this manuscript to our attention. Piero del Monte's *determinatio* is dated *pridie Kal. febr.* (31 January); that the year was 1440 is confirmed by a subsequent letter (22 February 1440) from Piero to Poggio. The latter is edited by E. Walser, *Poggius Florentinus. Leben und Werke* (Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte des Mittelalters und der Renaissance 14; Leipzig, 1914), pp. 450-52; see also Walser's chap. 11, 'Der Scipio-Caesar Streit ...', pp. 164-80.

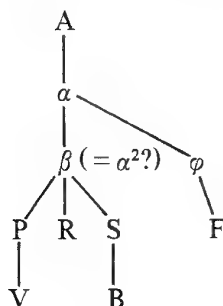
written by one hand in a French humanist script on forty-four long lines per page, ruled in ink; the original Roman-numbered foliation, the running headlines, and the marginal index notes for the *De chorographia* all appear to be in the hand of the text. B's text of Mela contains at the end of book 1 (fol. 75r) the garbled subscription 'Feliciter emendavi cecilius iusticius helphidius donulus et adnotavi vicario rabenne'. It does not, however, contain a subscription at the end of book 3.

While we have done nothing approaching a full collation of these late witnesses, a limited check of RSB was sufficient to provide the general outline of their filiation: R and S are siblings, and B is a copy of S. All three contain the significant readings of the  $\alpha$  family. Furthermore, in each the *De chorographia* is immediately preceded by the brief *Septem mira*, and each contains the distinctive subscription at the end of book 1. Certain features of SB are not found in R, however, namely, the rubric identifying the *Septem mira* and the *De chorographia*, the rubrics distinguishing the three books of the latter and (in S only) the final colophon at the end of book 3. Since these characteristics all appear in the Vaticanus but not in any other  $\alpha$  manuscripts save SB, they must appear here as the result of contamination from a manuscript more closely related to the Vaticanus. Concerning the relationship between R and S, these features reveal that R could not have been copied from S. Occasional individual errors in R eliminate the possibility that S was copied from R, e.g., 9.7 *bragada* R against the correct *bagrada* in SB, which is most unlikely to be a learned correction by the scribe. B's agreement with the rubrics of S and its agreement with S in error against R (e.g., 8.3 *abiectus* SB against *obiectus* AR) indicate that the eclectic mid-century writer of B copied his Mela from S, easily accessible at Saint-Victor by that date. That he did not choose to copy as well the unintelligible subscription at the end of book 3 is hardly surprising.

Textual evidence shows that RSB, like PVF, descend from  $\alpha$ , for the six share numerous errors against A (V's readings must stand for the missing folio of P): 3.1 *minime* A, *minie* FVRSB; 3.3 *longa* A, *longum* FVRSB; 3.7 *erunt* A, om. FVRSB; 3.14 *amplectitur* A, *conplectitur* FVRSB; 3.22 *porrecta* A, *porrecta est* FVRSB; 4.4 *quam fuit artius exit in spatium* A, *artius quam fuit in spatium exit* FVRSB; 4.6-7 *id omne ... mare dicitur* A, om. FVRSB (in marg. add. S [s. xv<sup>2</sup>]); 5.18-19 *iam nomina medi* A, *iamno minamed* PVRSB, *ianii mina medi* F.

Readings shared by RSB demonstrate, in addition, that they are more closely related to PV than to F. While they seemingly share no significant errors with F, they do agree with errors of PV, most notably at 8.2 *ex adverso* AF, om. PVRSB, and at 9.7 *bragada utica* AF, *bragada (pagrada* PV, *bragada* R) *urbes utica* PVRSB. The weight of these readings is of course increased by the fact that they occur in the space of only two folios' worth of text, which is all that survives in PV. They suggest that  $\alpha$ , the subarchetype of F and the other five, engendered another copy  $\beta$  which was the common source of P(V), R and S(B).

It is also conceivable that, instead, the errors might be explained by corrections or annotations to  $\alpha$  itself. According to this hypothesis, the scribe of  $\alpha$  mistakenly omitted 'ex adverso' from the passage (8.2) 'ei quem ex adverso Hispania attollit obiectus'. Sometime before the second quarter of the twelfth century a corrector (perhaps the scribe of  $\alpha$  himself) added the missing words, probably in the margin or perhaps between the lines. The scribes of P, R, and S failed to include the addition, while the scribe of  $\varphi$  copied *ex adverso* in the correct place in his text. In the second instance, the scribe of  $\varphi$  faithfully copied his exemplar (9.6), 'in altero sunt Castra Delia, Castra Cornelia, flumen Bagrada, Utica et Carthago'. An annotator of  $\alpha$  added *urbes*, probably as an interlinear gloss, to make it clear that Utica and Carthago were cities, not rivers. The scribes of P, R, and S inserted this into the text, while the scribe of  $\varphi$  left it out. Such a hypothesis requires, in other words, two separate errors, one of omission and one of interpolation, to have been made independently by the respective scribes of PRS. A coincidence of this sort is not impossible, but it is surely implausible. The stemma of the  $\alpha$  family, therefore, looks like this:



The presence of the variant subscription 'Feliciter emendavi ... vicario rabenne' at the end of book 1 in R and S(B) is significant. While we cannot prove that P once had the subscription, since it is no longer complete, the textual affinity of RS with P shows that the garbled form of the subscription and its relocation to the end of book 1 were not limited to the  $\varphi$ F branch of the stemma, but were common to both branches. The scribe of  $\alpha$ , then, must have been the source.

#### 4. The origin of $\alpha$

In an attempt to reconstruct the relationship between P(V) and F, it has been necessary to trace  $\alpha$ 's later descendants through the end of the fourteenth and on into the fifteenth century. Now, however, let us resume consideration of the fortunes of Mela in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, beginning with a consideration of  $\alpha$  itself: its probable medieval location, its possible date and content.

A knowledge of the manuscripts deriving from  $\alpha$  allows us to make a suggestion as to  $\alpha$ 's medieval home. Given the evidence of the medieval library catalogues, which is supported by our conjectures about the identities of P and F, that home will have been a place which provided manuscripts for the libraries of both Philip of Bayeux and the monks of Saint-Martial.

Fierville suggested that Philip acquired many of his manuscripts in Rome in 1144.<sup>83</sup> Philip of Bayeux visited Rome five times, that is, twice during the pontificate of Lucius II in 1144 and three times during that of Eugenius III, in 1145, 1146, and 1153;<sup>84</sup> but there is certainly no reason to think that he could have found a copy of Mela there. A number of the rarer works that Philip owned, however, can be shown to have circulated from Orléans in the twelfth century when P was copied; and the *De chorographia*, with its archetype evidently located in the library of the cathedral chapter, would fit this picture well.

The letters of Pliny the Younger provide a clear example of dissemination from Orléans. The Bec catalogue describes Philip's codex thus: 'In alio epistole Plinii iunioris et Apuleius de deo Socratis et Hilarius super Matheum et gesta Francorum'.<sup>85</sup> Pliny's letters circulated in medieval France in a family in which the text was divided into ten books and was always accompanied by Apuleius' *De deo Socratis*. The parent of this family, Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana San Marco 284, s. xi, produced a direct copy, Bern, Burgerbibliothek 136, s. xii, which was used in Orléans in the second half of the twelfth century by the compiler of the *Florilegium Angelicum*; one or the other was doubtless used there also by the annotator of Bern 276, who cites both Apuleius and the Pliny letters.<sup>86</sup> It is worth noting that, just as with the *De chorographia*, so also a manuscript of this family of Pliny's letters can be found at the library of Saint-Martial of Limoges, as noted in its thirteenth-century catalogue (no. 30): 'Magnus Seneca, et controversie Tullii, et Apuleius, et Plinius, et alia, in uno'.<sup>87</sup>

<sup>83</sup> Nortier, *Bibliothèques*, p. 43; C. Fierville, 'Étienne de Rouen, moine du Bec au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle', *Bulletin de la Société des antiquaires de Normandie* 8 (1875-77) 421 ff.

<sup>84</sup> F. Barlow, ed., *Letters of Arnulf of Lisieux* (London, 1939), p. xiv n. 5.

<sup>85</sup> Becker, *Catalogi*, p. 201.

<sup>86</sup> See above, p. 277.

<sup>87</sup> Delisle, *Cabinets* 2.495, no. 30, which is the same manuscript as that recorded on 2.501, no. 187; see also Rouse and Rouse, 'Florilegium Angelicum', 74-75, 80 n. 1. Regarding the transmission of Pliny's letters, see E. T. Merrill, ed., *C. Plinii Caecili Secundi Epistularum libri decem* (Leipzig, 1922) and R. A. B. Mynors, ed., *C. Plinii Caecili Secundi Epistularum libri decem* (Oxford, 1963), pp. v-xxii. M. Manitius, *Handschriften antiker Autoren im mittelalterlichen Bibliothekskatalogen* (Leipzig, 1935), p. 121, thought the Saint-Martial entry referred to the *Historia naturalis* of Pliny the Elder, not realizing that Pliny accompanied by Apuleius, in medieval France, invariably indicated the younger Pliny.

According to its description in the Bec catalogue, Philip's text of the *De chorographia* was part of a codex which itself included texts that were disseminated from the Loire region; this suggests that Philip procured exemplars for the whole volume in Orléans or at one of the Loire schools.<sup>88</sup> A Loire origin for Philip's codex is especially suggested by the two works of Cicero, the *De finibus bonorum et malorum* and the *Partitiones oratoriae*. The *De finibus*, the rarer of the two, circulated in France in two families,  $\delta$  and  $\gamma$ . The former treated Cicero's *Academica posteriora*, without title, as book 6 of the *De finibus*; the latter correctly treated the two as separate works (though they invariably traveled together and in sequence). Philip of Bayeux's manuscript must have belonged to the  $\gamma$  family, since it named the *Academica* ('... de fine boni et mali et de academicis et Timeus ...'). This family apparently has roots in the Loire Valley, for a  $\gamma$  text of the *De finibus*, followed by the *Timaeus* (as in Philip's copy), was owned by Richard de Fournival (d. 1260), who commissioned a number of his manuscripts to be copied from Orléans exemplars.<sup>89</sup> That the *De finibus* was still known in Orléans in the mid-thirteenth century is attested by the fact that the annotator of Bern 276 quotes from that work at least five times.<sup>90</sup>

The second text, Cicero's *Partitiones oratoriae*, descended in two branches, J and A, the latter of which accounts for the medieval circulation of the text. Prior to the eleventh century, a manuscript of the A tradition came to Fleury; this manuscript, now lost, may well be the *Partitiones* listed in the (Fleury?) inventory of books recorded at the end of Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 7749, an eleventh-century Victorinus that later belonged to Richard de Fournival.<sup>91</sup> Two copies of the Fleury *Partitiones* survive. The first, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 7696,<sup>92</sup> was written in the late tenth or early eleventh century by several scribes, including the Anglo-Saxon Leofnoth who

<sup>88</sup> For convenience, we reiterate here the description of this codex from the Bec catalogue (no. 64): 'in alio Pomponius Mela de cosmographia et Tullius de fine boni et mali et de academicis et Timeus Platonis ab ipso Tullio translatus et Tullius de particione oratoria et liber Candidi Ariani ad Victorinum de generatione divina et Hilarius de sinodis et eiusdem liber contra Valentem et Auxencium'; see n. 62 above.

<sup>89</sup> Rouse and Rouse, 'Medieval Circulation', 333-67, and '*Florilegium Angelicum*', 84-85.

<sup>90</sup> Reeve and Rouse, 'New Light', 235-37; Rouse and Rouse, 'Medieval Circulation', 144-46.

<sup>91</sup> Concerning Fournival's manuscript, see Rouse, 'Manuscripts Belonging to Richard', 260 and pl. 22; see also G. Billanovich, 'Il Petrarca e i retori latini minori', *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 5 (1962) 103-64. The *Partitiones* are edited by A. S. Wilkins (Oxford, 1903) and H. Bornecque (Paris, 1921; 2nd edition, Paris, 1960). Neither of these seems to have been aware of the discoveries of E. Ströbel, *Zur Handschriftenkunde und Kritik von Ciceros Partitiones oratoriae* (Zweibrücken, 1887).

<sup>92</sup> É. Chatelain, *Paléographie des classiques latins*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1884-1900), pl. 22A.

worked at Fleury.<sup>93</sup> The second, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 7231,<sup>94</sup> was copied at Fleury in the first half of the eleventh century by Adémar of Chabannes, abbot of Saint-Martial of Limoges.<sup>95</sup> Although the *Partitiones* enjoyed only a limited medieval circulation, Philip of Bayeux owned two copies, namely, that which was included in the codex with Mela and the *De finibus* (no. 64), and a second, described as no. 104 in the Bec catalogue: 'in alio Tullius de partitionibus oratoriis et de amicitia et de senectute et invective in Catilinam et invective in Salustium et Salustus in Tullium et Seneca de causis et remediis fortuitorum et de naturalibus questionibus'.<sup>96</sup> In the twelfth century, of course, the nearest point of dispersal for Fleury texts was the schools of Orléans.

Finally, the patristic works included in the codex with Philip's *De chorographia*, namely, the letter of Candidus Arianus (with, no doubt, the reply of Victorinus, and the latter's other theological works)<sup>97</sup> and the standard corpus of Hilary's works,<sup>98</sup> unfortunately provide no help in localization: they were available in the Orléanais, but by no means exclusively so.

As a member of an important ecclesiastical family, destined for a career as prelate, diplomat, and justice, Philip was likely sent to Orléans for training in the *ars dictaminis* as a first step to preferment in an episcopal chancery. Here, we believe, he obtained many of his books, including the volume containing the *De chorographia*. Given that all of the works in this volume, rare and

<sup>93</sup> Contents: Cicero, *De inventione*; Marius Victorinus, *Comm. in Cic. De inventione*; Cicero, *Partitiones oratoriae*; Julius Severianus, *Praecepta artis rhetoricae*; excerpt from Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* 10.12; *Ad Herennium*. See M.-Th. Vernet, 'Notes de Dom André Wilmart sur quelques manuscrits latins anciens de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris', *Bulletin d'information de l'Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes* 8 (1959) 27-30; and J. Vezin, 'Leofnoth, un scribe anglais à Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire', *Codices manuscripti* 4 (1977) 109-20.

<sup>94</sup> Chatelain, *Paléographie*, pl. 22b.

<sup>95</sup> Contents: Vegetius, *De re militari*; Solinus, *Collectanea rerum memorabilium*; *Ad Herennium*; Cicero, *Partitiones oratoriae*; Julius Severianus, *Praecepta artis rhetoricae*; excerpt from Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* 10.12; Augustine, *De musica*; pseudo-Cicero, *Synonyma*. See J. Vezin, 'Un nouveau manuscrit autographe d'Adémar de Chabannes (Paris B.N. lat. 7231)', *Bulletin de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France* (1964) 44-52. Not surprisingly, the Quintilian extracts here and in Paris lat. 7696 are gemelli; see M. Winterbottom, *Problems in Quintilian* (Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies suppl. 25; London, 1970), pp. 31-33.

<sup>96</sup> Becker, *Catalogi*, p. 203.

<sup>97</sup> In no case is Candidus' *Ad Victorinum de generatione divina* found without the Victorinus *opuscula*. See P. Henry and P. Hadot, eds., *Marius Victorinus, Traités théologiques sur la Trinité* (Sources chrétiennes 68; Paris, 1960) and idem, eds., *Victorinus. Opera theologica* (CSEL 83; Vienna, 1971).

<sup>98</sup> As seen, e.g., in a twelfth-century manuscript from Christ Church, Canterbury, now Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 345; see M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge* 2.1 (Cambridge, 1911), pp. 179-80.

otherwise, were available in the Orléanais, that region is the most likely source for Philip's copy of the *De chorographia*, whether his exemplar was an annotated  $\alpha$  or a copy of it,  $\beta$ .

Just as for Philip of Bayeux, so the source of Saint-Martial's first copy ( $\varphi$ ) of the *De chorographia* was probably Orléans. The medieval circulation of the histories that accompany it in no. 48 of Bernard Itier's catalogue – 'Trogus Pompeius', Suetonius, Florus, Valerius – has not been thoroughly examined as yet. We know beyond question that one of these was available in the Orléanais: a manuscript of Justinus' *Epitome* of Pompeius Trogus, now Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit Voss. lat. Q. 32, s. ix, belonged to Fleury by at least the eleventh century.<sup>99</sup> The popularity and wide circulation of Suetonius' *Vita Caesarum* is attested by the fact that three major figures in the transmission of Mela, namely, Lupus, Heiric, and Philip, each owned the work or used it firsthand. Of its two families, X and Z, the second probably derives from a Loire Valley manuscript of the late tenth or early eleventh century, and extracts from it were included in the twelfth-century *Florilegium Gallicum*.<sup>100</sup> The most recent editor of Florus' *Epitome* of Livy counted at least ninety-one medieval manuscripts, and admitted that his list is by no means exhaustive; Florus' work was doubtless as easily available in the Orléanais as elsewhere.<sup>101</sup> Valerius Maximus' *Liber factorum et dictorum memorabilium* circulated as widely as did Suetonius' biographies, and it was known in the Loire Valley from the ninth century.<sup>102</sup> Thus, it is at least plausible to suggest that this collection of histories was assembled in the Loire Valley and subsequently carried south to Limoges sometime before the third quarter of the twelfth century, to serve as exemplar for F. Also, even though the immense popularity of most of these histories defeats any attempt at localization, it is worth noting that Philip of Bayeux owned one or more copies of each of them. In addition to the *De chorographia*, he possessed two copies of Florus' *Epitome* (Bec catalogue no. 66, and

<sup>99</sup> K. A. de Meyier, *Codices Vossiani latini 2* (Leiden, 1975), pp. 83-85. The fundamental work on the tradition was done by F. Rühl, 'Die Textesquellen des Justinus', *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie* suppl. 6 (1872) 1-160.

<sup>100</sup> On the transmission of Suetonius, see the Teubner editions of C. L. Roth (Leipzig, 1858) and M. Ihm (Leipzig, 1907); and see also L. Preud'homme, *Première, deuxième, troisième étude sur l'histoire du texte de Suétone De vita Caesarum* (Brussels, 1902-1904); C. Smith, 'A Preliminary Study of Certain Manuscripts of Suetonius's Lives of the Caesars', *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 12 (1901) 19-25 and 16 (1905) 1-14; E. K. Rand, 'On the History of the *De vita Caesarum* of Suetonius in the Early Middle Ages', *ibid.* 37 (1926) 1-48; M. Ihm, 'Beiträge zur Textgeschichte des Sueton', *Hermes* 36 (1901) 343-63; and A. J. Dunston, 'Two Manuscripts of Suetonius' *De vita Caesarum*', *The Classical Quarterly* 46 (1952) 146-51.

<sup>101</sup> P. Jal, ed., *Florus. Œuvres*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1967).

<sup>102</sup> K. Kempf, ed., *Liber Valerii Maximi factorum et dictorum memorabilium* (Stuttgart, 1888).

no. 76 = Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 5802), one of Justinus' *Epitome* (no. 45), two of Suetonius' *Vita Caesarum* (nos. 75 and 76), and one copy of Valerius Maximus (no. 62).<sup>103</sup>

The movement of scholars and books from the Orléanais to Limoges was not unusual. Even before its affiliation with Cluny in 1062, Saint-Martial's relationships extended beyond the Limousin. A connection with Fleury is documented as early as the tenth century, when the two abbeys in 942 drew up a spiritual concord that acknowledged a special spiritual bond and promised mutual hospitality and friendship.<sup>104</sup> In the eleventh century a series of works honoring St. Martial was sent to Abbo of Fleury, and his works in turn were copied at the abbey of Limoges. It was said also that Odolric, abbot of Saint-Martial 1025-40, studied at Fleury. Odolric's contemporary, Haimo of Fleury, intervened on behalf of the monks of Saint-Martial at the Council of Limoges (1031) which declared St. Martial to have been an apostle of Christ.<sup>105</sup>

One monk of Saint-Martial in particular appears to have collected texts at Fleury. Adémar of Chabannes, abbot of Saint-Martial 988-1034, actively sought out the works of ancient authors. It is suggested that it was he who found at Fleury the manuscript of Terence which was later brought to Limoges. The manuscript, now Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 7903, s. xi, was written at Fleury, but the illumination had not been completed when Adémar took the book south; thus, while the miniatures in the first part of the text were made at Fleury, an illustration drawn in the later portion was added at Saint-Martial, possibly by Adémar himself.<sup>106</sup> Terence was not the only ancient author that he found in the Orléanais, for he also copied at Fleury Paris lat. 7231 that contains Cicero's *Partitiones*, Vegetius, Solinus, the *Ad Herennium*, Severianus, and extracts from Quintilian.<sup>107</sup> It is even conceivable that it was Adémar who brought to Saint-Martial the collection of histories that included a text of the *De chorographia*. As we saw above with respect to Mont-Saint-Michel and Bec, channels of transmission, once established, tend to continue in use; and it is unlikely that the lines of dissemination from the Loire to the Limousin disappeared with Adémar's death.

<sup>103</sup> Becker, *Catalogi*, pp. 200-201.

<sup>104</sup> D. Gaborit-Chopin, *La décoration des manuscrits à Saint-Martial de Limoges et en Limousin du IX<sup>e</sup> au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Mémoires et documents publiés par la Société de l'École des Chartes; Paris-Geneva, 1969), p. 22; Charles de Lasteyrie, *L'abbaye de Saint-Martial de Limoges* (Paris, 1901), p. 53.

<sup>105</sup> Gaborit-Chopin, *ibid.*, pp. 23, 24.

<sup>106</sup> *ibid.*, p. 24; L. W. Jones and C. R. Morey, *The Miniatures of the Manuscripts of Terence Prior to the Thirteenth Century* 1 (Princeton, 1930), pp. 158, 160, 161, 216.

<sup>107</sup> See n. 95 above.



Fleury and Orléans, thus, appear to have been a significant source for the libraries of both Philip of Bayeux and Saint-Martial of Limoges. Both collections shared a number of works in common that were available at Fleury and Orléans, such as the *Epitome* of Pompeius Trogus, Florus' *Epitome* of Livy, Suetonius, and Valerius Maximus. We have also seen rarer (and thus more easily traceable) texts, namely, Pliny's letters with Apuleius, the *Partitiones oratoriae*, and the *De chorographia*, follow the same routes, from the Loire Valley west to Normandy and south to the Limousin. Given that Vat. lat. 4929 had evidently reached Orléans by the late tenth century, it seems only logical to suggest that the copy of its Mela,  $\alpha$ , was written there, and that the latter remained there in the milieu of the schools to be in turn the source of  $\varphi$ , exemplar of F, and the source of P, probably through an intermediate ( $\beta$ ).

The date at which  $\alpha$  was written is of course unknown. P, its earliest surviving descendant, dates from the mid-twelfth century, which gives a *terminus ante quem*, but there is no absolute *terminus post quem* save the date of the Vaticanus itself. We have said that  $\alpha$  could conceivably have been in existence during the lifetime of Adémar of Chabannes (d. 1034), but that is probably too early. The contents of the manuscript are also unknown; on this matter, however, there is clear circumstantial evidence. The *De chorographia* is the only text shared in common by all medieval descendants of  $\alpha$ . Save the list of the Seven Wonders (RSB), there is no other text shared in common by even two of  $\alpha$ 's descendants. There are at least two independent witnesses to  $\alpha$ , namely,  $\varphi$  (F) and  $\beta$  (PRS); if so-called  $\beta$  is merely an annotated  $\alpha$ , there are four such witnesses. Neither of the two (or none of the four) contains any other work from Vat. lat. 4929, with the exception of the *Septem mira* in the three late manuscripts. Almost certainly, therefore,  $\alpha$  contained the *De chorographia*, probably preceded by the one-paragraph *Septem mira*, and nothing else.

### C. THE DORMANT BRANCH: $\gamma$

By the late twelfth century another copy of A's Mela had been made,  $\gamma$ , independent of  $\alpha$ . The evidence for  $\gamma$ 's existence is slight but persuasive.<sup>108</sup> In Vatican Library Reg. lat. 314, a *recueil*, there is a late twelfth-century fragment (part 6) of eight folios containing the end of the *Querolus* and the beginning of Julius Paris' *Epitome* of Valerius Maximus; and the fifteenth-century Milan, Ambrosiana H 14 inf. is a direct copy of Petrarch's lost copy of Mela's *De chorographia*, Vibius Sequester's *De fluminibus*, the *Septem mira*, and the

<sup>108</sup> The existence of such a manuscript was first postulated by Billanovich, 'Dall'antica Ravenna', 96.

*Querolus*, along with three minor geographical works. While Petrarch's manuscript and its extensive influence are discussed at length below (part III), we must note here the fact that the texts of the *Querolus* in Milan H 14 inf. and Reg. lat. 314 derive, as common errors demonstrate,<sup>109</sup> from a descendant of Vat. lat. 4929, but not from Vat. lat. 4929 directly. The obvious inference is that this common ancestor was a copy of most, if not all, of Vat. lat. 4929; at the least, this manuscript ( $\gamma$ ) must have contained pseudo-Plautus, Julius Paris, the *Septem mira*, Mela, and Vibius Sequester, works that fill three fourths of the archetype.

Our witness to  $\gamma$ 's text of Mela, that in Milan H 14 inf., separates itself clearly from the  $\alpha$  tradition by agreeing with Vat. lat. 4929 (A) against the distinguishing errors of  $\alpha$ ; for example, it reads with A at 3.1 *minime A, minie*  $\alpha$ ; 3.3 *longa A, longum*  $\alpha$ ; 3.14 *amplectitur A, complectitur*  $\alpha$ ; and at 4.6-7 the Milan manuscript contains the eleven words *id omne ... mare dicitur* absent from all  $\alpha$  manuscripts.  $\gamma$  must perforce have been written at Orléans, but its subsequent hiding place(s), until it was unearthed by Petrarch in the fourteenth century, is a mystery.<sup>110</sup> There is, of course, no knowing whether or not the mutilated late twelfth-century manuscript, of which Reg. lat. 314 is a fragment, ever contained the *De chorographia*. We are extremely reluctant to postulate yet another twelfth-century Mela that, like  $\alpha$  (and  $\beta$ ?) and  $\gamma$ , has left no trace in the form of booklist, inventory, or quotation, and (unlike them) no progeny.

Confining ourselves to tangible evidence, we summarize thus the limited circulation of this work, in the period before Petrarch: sometime before the late twelfth century, the *De chorographia* in Vat. lat. 4929, along with most or all of the latter's contents, was copied to produce  $\gamma$ ; a portion of  $\gamma$ 's contents, though perhaps not the Mela, was copied in the late twelfth century; a fragment of that manuscript survives as Vatican Reg. lat. 314, part 6. Thereafter  $\gamma$  disappears from our view, to be discovered some 150 years later by Petrarch. At some time before the mid-twelfth century, the *De chorographia* and the *Septem mira*, only, were copied from Vat. lat. 4929 at Orléans to produce  $\alpha$ . At an unknown time, certainly before the third quarter of the twelfth century,  $\alpha$  was copied to produce  $\varphi$ , a copy of Mela accompanied by the works of Pompeius Trogus, Suetonius, Valerius Maximus, and Florus, which was taken to Saint-Martial of Limoges; it is possible that  $\varphi$  dates from the early eleventh century and was brought to Saint-Martial by Adémar of Chabannes. At Limoges a monk

<sup>109</sup> Ranstrand, *Querolusstudien*, notes the filiation between these two; see especially the readings on p. 36.

<sup>110</sup> See below, p. 302. That  $\gamma$  was written at Orléans follows from the fact that its exemplar, Vat. lat. 4929, seems to have been in Orléans from at least the late tenth century until at least the mid-thirteenth.

restructured the text of the *De chorographia* in  $\varphi$  by dividing it into chapters, for which he drew up a list of chapter titles; the manuscript thus revised was copied to produce F. Before the middle of the twelfth century, either  $\alpha$  was copied again at Orléans to produce  $\beta$  or it was annotated to produce  $\alpha^2$ , which was in turn copied to produce Philip of Bayeux's manuscript, P, which he left to Bec. In the mid-thirteenth century the first two leaves of this manuscript, doubtless a fragment already, were copied at Mont-Saint-Michel to produce V. Wherever  $\beta$  ( $\alpha^2$  ?) may have been thereafter, it certainly remained at a center of learning, for it was still accessible c. 1400 to produce Jean de Montreuil's copy (R) and the manuscript that later passed to Saint-Victor of Paris (S). S remained at Saint-Victor, to produce yet another copy (B) of the  $\alpha$  family some fifty years later.

#### D. UNDATED EXTRACTS FROM THE *DE CHOROGRAPHIA*

The last potential witness to the pre-fourteenth-century circulation of the *De chorographia* consists of extracts which once appeared at the end of a manuscript of the *Florilegium Gallicum*, now Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal 711, part B, s. xii ex. The *Florilegium Gallicum*, a collection of extracts from ancient authors designed for use in Latin composition and in the *ars dictaminis*, is known in at least ten complete and a number of fragmentary copies.<sup>111</sup> It was compiled at Orléans in the middle of the twelfth century, with Vat. lat. 4929 as one of its sources.<sup>112</sup> As one of the oldest manuscripts of the *Florilegium Gallicum*, Arsenal 711B may itself have been written in Orléans and have spent its early years there, before coming to Saint-Victor sometime before 1500. While forty folios are now missing from the end of the codex, what is lacking can be reconstructed from the table of contents on fol. iii<sup>v</sup>:

Ex A. Gellio Noctium, 244; Ex Macrobio Saturnalium, 244; Ex Petronio, 247; Ex Terentio, 248; Ex Plauto in Aulularia, 250; Ex Sententiis Varronis, 251; Ex epistolis Cassiodori, 252; Ex epistolis Sidonii, 254; Ex Salustio, 261; Ex Ullio Celso de gestis Cesaris in bello gallico, 264; Ex Suetonio in libro de duodecem Cesaribus, 266; Ex Pomponio Mella, 279

which is repeated in the catalogue of Saint-Victor's books written at the beginning of the sixteenth century by the abbey's librarian, Claude de

<sup>111</sup> Though evidently once complete, Arsenal 711B now contains only the first portions of the *Florilegium Gallicum*.

<sup>112</sup> Concerning the *Florilegium Gallicum* see R. Burton, *Classical Poets in the 'Florilegium Gallicum'* (Lateinische Sprache und Literatur des Mittelalters 14; Frankfurt a. M., 1983), who cites all the previous bibliography. Burton's work is especially helpful in that it considers the historical context, not merely the textual aspect, of this work; see her chap. 1, 'The *Florilegium Gallicum* and Its Background' (pp. 1-45).

Grandrue.<sup>113</sup> It is apparent from these that four folios (279r-282v) of extracts from the *De chorographia* were added at the end of a normal text of the *Florilegium Gallicum*. It is a hopeful sign that two bifolia of the missing segment of Arsenal 711B, containing extracts from Gellius, Macrobius, Petronius, and Terence (fols. 244r-248v), were recently recovered in Hamburg, where they are now Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek in scrin. 53c;<sup>114</sup> but the portion containing the excerpts from the *De chorographia* has not yet been found. We cannot tell, therefore, whether these excerpts were of the same date as the rest of the manuscript, or were added later; if, for example, they were not added until the book had reached Saint-Victor, they may have been taken from S, and thus date from the second half of the fifteenth century instead of the late twelfth. At any rate, since the extracts are said to have occupied four folios or eight pages in this relatively large book (350 x 245 mm.), they must have been quite extensive.<sup>115</sup>

#### E. THE *DE CHOROGRAPHIA* AND MEDIEVAL CARTOGRAPHY

Our consideration of the pre-fourteenth-century circulation of the *De chorographia* has suggested a tradition that is tightly limited, both numerically and geographically, with its center around Orléans and with outposts in Normandy and Limoges. In light of these conclusions, we must disagree with what two historians of geography have said about the influence of the *De chorographia* on medieval cartographers. Both Santarem and, to a lesser degree, Beazley have assumed that Mela had a significant effect on map making in the Middle Ages. Santarem thought that the *De chorographia* was universally available and that, along with Pliny and Solinus, it was one of the sources most commonly used by medieval cartographers; thus, when he discovered a name or a geographical feature on a medieval map that cannot be found in Mela or the others, he gives it special notice.<sup>116</sup> When, on the contrary, a feature on a medieval map does resemble Mela's cosmography, Santarem cites the *De chorographia* as a source, without considering whether or not the medieval cartographer in question could possibly have known the work and despite

<sup>113</sup> G. Ouy et al., *Le catalogue de la bibliothèque de l'abbaye de Saint-Victor de Paris de Claude de Grandrue 1514* (Paris, 1983), pp. 360-61.

<sup>114</sup> T. Brandis and W. W. Ehlers, 'Zu den Petronexzerpten des *Florilegium Gallicum*', *Philologus* 118 (1974) 85-112.

<sup>115</sup> H. Martin, ed., *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal* 2 (Paris, 1886), p. 52. For comparison, note that the entire text of the *De chorographia* occupies sixteen folios in R, which measures only 270 x 214 mm.

<sup>116</sup> See, for example, Santarem, *Essai* 2.317 n. 5, 430 n. 2 and 3.335 n. 2.

acknowledging that the material is also found in widely available works such as Pliny and Solinus.<sup>117</sup> Occasionally, Santarem even cites Mela as the sole source for a given feature when in reality more likely sources exist. For example, he examines the map of one Guido, about whom nothing is known save that around 1119 he composed a geographical treatise based chiefly on the Anonymous of Ravenna's geography.<sup>118</sup> In Guido's map, the river Don (Tanais) flows into the Sea of Azov (Maeotis), and Santarem indicates that this information came from the *De chorographia*. In fact, however, the same description of the Don occurs in Pliny.<sup>119</sup> Santarem's work, in short, does not seriously assess the extent of Mela's influence on cartography in the Middle Ages.

Although Beazley does not usually overestimate Mela's direct influence on medieval geographers, he wrongly suggests that the tenth-century Cotton Map has 'certain obligations to Pomponius Mela'.<sup>120</sup> This world map appears on fol. 58r of London, British Library Cotton Tiberius B.v, a *recueil* of early medieval English manuscripts bound together by Robert Cotton in 1598. The map is written in the same late tenth-century English hand as the following work, the *Liber Periegesis Prisciani grammatici* (fols. 59r-74r).<sup>121</sup> According to Beazley, this map owes to Mela 'the general idea of the *Oikumene*', namely, that 'both Mela and the scribe of the Cottoniana conceive of the Habitable World as an oblong.'<sup>122</sup> Beazley also suggests that the *De chorographia* influenced 'the general contour of Spain, Italy, the Gulf of Aquitaine, the north coast of Europe', as well as the Caspian Sea, the location of Britain, the Scythian Islands, and the location of the burning mountain in Africa.<sup>123</sup> In fact, every one of these features can be found in Pliny's *Historia naturalis*;<sup>124</sup> and at the time of the Cotton Map's creation, the only surviving copy of Mela's *De chorographia*, Vat. lat. 4929, was in Orléans. So far as we have been able to discover, then, *contra* Santarem, Beazley, and others, Mela's direct influence on medieval map-making was nil.

<sup>117</sup> For example, *ibid.* 2.65 n. 1, 75, 78 n. 1, 96 n. 1, etc. and 3.13 n. 2, etc.

<sup>118</sup> Beazley, *Dawn of Modern Geography* 2.636 f.; Wright, *Geographical Lore*, p. 49.

<sup>119</sup> Santarem, *Essai* 2.219 (Mela, book 1.8; Pliny, book 4.78). A reproduction of Guido's map appears in Beazley, *Dawn of Modern Geography*, pl. 3, facing 2.632.

<sup>120</sup> Beazley, *ibid.* 2.613.

<sup>121</sup> *ibid.* 2.612-14.

<sup>122</sup> *ibid.* 2.612. Curiously, Beazley does not cite Mela as the source for the oblong shape of the world in the map of the London Beatus (London, British Library Add. 11695).

<sup>123</sup> *ibid.* 2.613.

<sup>124</sup> Concerning the specific features adduced by Beazley, see the following passages of Pliny's history: Spain, 3.30, 4.110; Italy, 3.38-43; Gulf of Aquitaine, 3.29, 4.110; north coast of Europe, 5.41; Caspian Sea and Scythian Islands, 6.26, 29, 36, 38-40; burning mountain of Africa, 6.197.

## III

## THE LATE MEDIEVAL CIRCULATION

After  $\alpha$  and  $\gamma$  were written, the text of the *De chorographia* in the Vaticanus apparently ceased to generate new copies in northern Europe. Sometime between the late thirteenth and early fifteenth centuries, Vat. lat. 4929 left the Orléanais and traveled south, where its influence can be seen in the libraries of Avignon and Italy. Moreover, a copy of  $\gamma$  was in Avignon by 1335, and by the beginning of the fifteenth century F, descendant of  $\alpha$ , had reached Italy. The center of gravity thus shifted almost entirely, from an exclusively northern French circulation of the *De chorographia* to active dissemination from the South. This included, as with many other classical texts, a renewed French interest based on Italian copies of expatriate French manuscripts.

## A. PETRARCH AND HIS CIRCLE

As Billanovich has shown,<sup>125</sup> Petrarch owned a copy ( $\pi$ ) of  $\gamma$ , which in turn was a copy of the Vaticanus. Although  $\pi$  is lost, the fifteenth-century Ambrosiana H 14 inf. (h) is its descendant and, almost certainly, a direct copy, given the excellence of its text and the fact that it has incorporated Petrarch's glosses and annotations. To judge from h,  $\pi$  contained only a portion of  $\gamma$  (Mela, Vibius Sequester, the *Septem mira*, and the *Querolus*), as well as three minor geographical texts (*De nominibus gallicis*, *Nomina provinciarum*, *Notitia Galliarum*) that, while not in Vat. lat. 4929, must surely have been found in France. These three additions could, of course, have been present in  $\gamma$ , but it was more likely Petrarch who added them, from another source, to accompany the other geographical works in  $\pi$ . Billanovich has emphasized the new interest in geography that begins with Petrarch and blossoms under the Italian humanists;<sup>126</sup> the notion of compiling a collection of geographies is thus more appropriate to Petrarch's milieu than to twelfth-century Orléans.

We know that Petrarch's  $\pi$  was in Avignon in 1335, for he added a gloss (which has fallen into the text of h) to the name 'Avennio Cavarum' (Mela 2.75; Ranstrand 38.2): 'Avinio. Ubi nunc sumus 1335.'<sup>127</sup> Had he found  $\gamma$  at

<sup>125</sup> Our account of the origin of Petrarch's manuscript, though it differs from his in many details, obviously owes an immeasurable debt to the research of Professor Billanovich; see his 'Dall'antica Ravenna' passim. See also above, part II-C.

<sup>126</sup> *ibid.*, 106-107; G. Billanovich, 'Il Petrarca e il Ventoso', *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 9 (1966) 389-401.

<sup>127</sup> Billanovich, 'Dall'antica Ravenna', 93.

Avignon, from which to make his copy? This possibility is suggested by the fact that the *De chorographia* was evidently known to Paolino Minorita (d. 1344), who was pontifical penitentiary at Avignon until he became, in 1316, papal nuncio at the court of Robert of Naples and, after 1324, bishop of Pozzuoli. Paolino compiled a massive world chronicle, the *Compendium* or *Chronologia magna*, and he was an important if transitory influence on the young Boccaccio.<sup>128</sup> Professor Parroni has kindly informed us that an unpublished work of Paolino, the *De mappa mundi* preserved in Vatican Library Vat. lat. 1960, fols. 13r-21r, reveals a knowledge of Mela.<sup>129</sup> Paolino probably did not have a copy of his own with him in Naples, however, to judge from the fact that Boccaccio's *Filocolo*, which was much influenced by Paolino and his library, shows no knowledge of the *De chorographia*. Thus we presume that it was at Avignon that Paolino saw, and perhaps made excerpts from, the *De chorographia*. The *De mappa mundi*, then, would suggest either that the Vaticanus had already been moved south to Avignon, or that  $\gamma$ , Petrarch's exemplar, was available in Avignon, before 1316. Unfortunately, Paolino's allusions are reportedly too general to permit one to determine their filiation.

It is equally possible that Petrarch found  $\gamma$  in the course of his trip north from Avignon in 1333. His itinerary included Paris, Ghent, Liège, Aachen, and Cologne; and he found other classical manuscripts during this journey, notably Cicero's *Pro Archia* at Liège.<sup>130</sup> Perhaps he then found  $\gamma$  in its home in the Orléanais, and had a copy made of those parts of it which interested him.

Wherever Petrarch may have found  $\gamma$ , and wherever the Vaticanus may have been by this time, it appears that Petrarch was responsible for introducing the *De chorographia* to Italy in the fourteenth century. In addition, while the Renaissance manuscripts have yet to be collated, it seems likely that Petrarch's copy,  $\pi$ , is the progenitor of a large number of late manuscripts. Nevertheless, while one knows that Petrarch circulated his manuscript of the *De choro-*

<sup>128</sup> Concerning Paolino see A. E. Quaglio, 'Tra fonti e testo del Filocolo', *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* 140 (1963) 490-92 (Quaglio in turn is citing A. Ghinato, *Fr. Paolino da Venezia, OFM, vescovo di Pozzuoli* († 1344) [Rome, 1951], which we have not seen); and V. Branca, *Boccaccio, the Man and His Works*, trans. R. Monges (New York, 1976), p. 35.

<sup>129</sup> See R. Almagià, *Planisferi, carte nautiche e affini dal secolo XIV al XVII esistenti nella Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana* (Monumenta cartographica vaticana 1; Vatican City, 1944), pp. 3-8 and pl. 1. Paolino's prologue to the *De mappa mundi* (ibid., p. 4) names Mela in his list of 'scripturae auctorum ... illustrium quos inimitamur, videlicet Isidori in libro ethimologiarum, Johannis de distantia locorum et librorum quoque Hugonis de Sancto Victore et Hugonis Floriacensis in sua ecclesiastica hystoria, Orosii de ormeata mundi, Solini de mirabilibus mundi, Gervasii de mirabilibus terrarum, Pomponii Melae de situ orbis, Honorii de imagine mundi, Eusebii, Bedae, Iustini, Baldrici dolensis episcopi in itinerario transmarino et aliorum plurimum ....'

<sup>130</sup> On Petrarch's trip north in 1333, see E. H. Wilkins, *Life of Petrarch* (Chicago, 1961), p. 10.

*graphia* among his friends before he died,<sup>131</sup> one should not exaggerate the extent of the immediate circulation. Only four of his contemporaries appear to have used Petrarch's manuscript or a copy of it, and two of these may rather have obtained the text by way of Salutati.

Petrarch's friend Guglielmo da Pastrengo (1290-1362) used the *De chorographia* when he wrote his *De originibus rerum libellus*, c. 1345-50.<sup>132</sup> The *De chorographia* figures as a major source for the sections concerning the founders of cities and the origins of geographical names. Pastrengo cites Mela by name throughout his work,<sup>133</sup> and, in listing the world's illustrious writers, records (fol. 58r) that 'Pomponius Mella totius orbis cosmographiam in eleganti stylo contextuit.'

While it cannot be demonstrated, it is a safe assumption that Pastrengo used Petrarch's manuscript of Mela, as the sequence of events (Petrarch acquires the *De chorographia*, Petrarch and Pastrengo become friends, Pastrengo cites the *De chorographia*) would indicate. Petrarch acquired his manuscript by 1335, for he annotated it in that year. Between 1335 and 1345, Pastrengo and Petrarch became good friends. In the summer of 1335 Guglielmo da Pastrengo, with Azzo da Correggio, was sent to Avignon to plead a case before Benedict XII on behalf of Mastino della Scala, lord of Verona. Pastrengo met Petrarch there, and persuaded him to present their case to the pope; Petrarch complied, and the case was won for Mastino.<sup>134</sup> Two years later Pastrengo again visited Avignon; now syndic of Verona, he had been sent by the Scaligers to obtain papal absolution for the murder of Bishop Bartolomeo.<sup>135</sup> The details of Pastrengo's visits with Petrarch are unknown, but through them Pastrengo became acquainted with Petrarch's library. The two had known each other for at least ten years by the time that Petrarch visited Verona in 1345, where he and Pastrengo spent much time together. During that visit Petrarch saw the Verona Catullus; very likely Petrarch was introduced to this rare poet by Pastrengo.<sup>136</sup>

<sup>131</sup> Billanovich, 'Dall'antica Ravenna', 101 ff.

<sup>132</sup> R. Sabbadini, *Le scoperte dei codici latini e greci ne' secoli XIV e XV*, ed. and rev. E. Garin, 2 vols. (Florence, 1967), 1.4-22; C. Cipolla, 'Attorno a Giovanni Mansionario e a Guglielmo da Pastrengo' in *Miscellanea Ceriani* (Milan, 1910), pp. 742-88; A. Avena, 'Guglielmo da Pastrengo e gli inizi dell'umanesimo a Verona', *Atti dell'Accademia di agricoltura, scienze e lettere, Verona* 4.7 (1907) 229-99.

<sup>133</sup> In Pastrengo's *De originibus* (Venice, 1547), Mela is named on the following folios: 58r, 85v, 86v, 91r, 93r, 96r, 97r, 98r, 100r, 103r, 107r, 113r, 116r, 118r, 119r.

<sup>134</sup> Wilkins, *Life*, pp. 11-12; see also P. de Nolhac, *Pétrarque et l'humanisme* (Paris, 1892), p. 54.

<sup>135</sup> S. Maffei, *Verona illustrata*, 4 vols. (Verona, 1731-32), 3/2.129. See also A. Forresti, 'Aneddoti della vita di Petrarca' in *Miscellanea Ceriani*, pp. 236-81.

<sup>136</sup> B. L. Ullman, 'The Transmission of the Text of Catullus' in *Studi in onore di Luigi Castiglioni* (Florence, 1960), p. 1043, and idem, *Studies in the Italian Renaissance*, 2nd edition (Rome, 1973), p. 12.



Pastrengo composed his *De originibus rerum libellus* sometime between 1345 and 1350, that is, shortly after Petrarch's visit.<sup>137</sup> Perhaps Petrarch brought with him his manuscript containing the *De chorographia* ( $\pi$ ). Obviously Pastrengo knew the *De chorographia* in its setting as part of the Vaticanus geographical corpus (i.e., in a manuscript like  $\pi$ ), for he also cites Vibius Sequester's *De fluminibus* and comments (fol. 74v) on the latter's alphabetical arrangement. We do not know whether Pastrengo made a copy of any of these works for himself.

Pastrengo's use of the *De chorographia* differs from Petrarch's, and illustrates the changing attitude toward geography. For Petrarch, the places described by Mela constituted the physical link that bound him to antiquity; these places had a historical past, but they were real, nevertheless, and deserving of exploration. Petrarch delighted in mapping out Hannibal's route over the Alps. When he read in the *De chorographia* a fable about a place he knew, he would note it in the margin of his manuscript: 'Nota fabulam. Nam locum nosti'.<sup>138</sup> Billanovich has shown that the *De chorographia* was one of the works that inspired Petrarch to climb the Ventoux.<sup>139</sup>

Pastrengo, almost fifteen years Petrarch's senior, did not share his younger friend's appreciation for geography as a description of the physical terrain in which he lived. It is as if the places described by Mela and the other ancients no longer existed in Pastrengo's day. His list of the origins of geographical names is at once a mixture of technical information and legend. Places are arranged alphabetically; in each entry Pastrengo explains how a place acquired its name, and then cites his source of information, much of it from Isidore. Geographical locations do not provide a link to the ancient past either, since for Pastrengo the line between antiquity and the recent past remained blurred; 'old' meant anything before his own lifetime. Thus, in the first section of the *De originibus*, which describes the world's illustrious authors, Pastrengo makes no distinction between pagan and Christian, or between ancient Roman and thirteenth-century Veronese. His view of time shaped Pastrengo's attitude toward geography, which remained for him a collection of information about legendary places that offered neither real nor historical interest. For Petrarch, on the contrary, Mela's geography was important in reconstructing a past whose heritage he shared, but of which he knew he was no longer part.

Boccaccio (1313-75) is thought to have copied for himself the *De chorographia* and the *Querolus* from Petrarch's manuscript. When and where he did so is not clear. It must have been before the completion of his *De montibus*,

<sup>137</sup> Sabbadini, *Scoperte* 1.5-6.

<sup>138</sup> Billanovich, 'Dall'antica Ravenna', 92-93.

<sup>139</sup> Billanovich, 'Petrarca e il Ventoso', 389-401.

*lacubus, fluminibus* which draws heavily on the *De chorographia*,<sup>140</sup> but attempts to date more precisely Boccaccio's reception of Mela have proved fruitless. The *De montibus* was begun between 1355 and 1357, but Boccaccio continued to revise it until 1374. In a letter to Boccaccio in 1355 or 1357, Petrarch writes of sending him, along with Petrarch's *Invective contra medicum*, an age-worn and 'chewed-up' book and a very old map, presumably in connection with Boccaccio's composition of the *De montibus*: 'Cum quibus [Invectivis] et librum illum senio victum et canum morsibus lacerum, simul et vetustissimam quam postulas cartam, mitto ...';<sup>141</sup> and it has been suggested that this may refer to  $\pi$ , Petrarch's geographical collection that included Mela and Vibius Sequester.<sup>142</sup> It is equally likely to be a reference to Petrarch's Pliny, however, which he had purchased in 1350 and which today bears annotations in Boccaccio's hand.<sup>143</sup> For the *De chorographia* and its companion texts, Pastore Stocchi offers the reasonable suggestion that Boccaccio must have borrowed  $\pi$  somewhat earlier, probably between 1351 and 1355, and that it was the content and format of Vibius Sequester's *De fluminibus* in that manuscript which first prompted Boccaccio to undertake his *De montibus*.<sup>144</sup> Whatever the date, Branca's description of the *De montibus* as a whole serves, as well, to characterize the spirit in which Boccaccio made use of the *De chorographia*: the *De montibus* 'is a catalogue, or rather an inventory, of cultural geography of both classical and contemporary times, conducted out of literary curiosity rather than in a spirit of exploration and discovery.'<sup>145</sup>

Boccaccio's manuscript is mentioned in the late fourteenth century: Lorenzo Ridolfi described as Boccaccio's autograph a codex containing the *De chorographia* and the *Querolus*, which he saw while visiting the Augustinian friar Martino da Signa in 1381.<sup>146</sup> Boccaccio had left his books to Martino with the provision that at the latter's death they would go to the Santo Spirito library in Florence. A manuscript containing the *De chorographia* is recorded in the

<sup>140</sup> Billanovich, 'Dall'antica Ravenna', 101-102. Concerning the *De montibus* see M. Pastore Stocchi, *Tradizione medievale e gusto umanistico nel 'De montibus' del Boccaccio* (Padua, 1963).

<sup>141</sup> The letter is prefaced to the *Invective* in all editions through the sixteenth century; see the annotated list in Francesco Petrarca, *Invective contra medicum*, ed. P. G. Ricci (Rome, 1950), pp. 14-15. Concerning the date see Branca, *Boccaccio*, pp. 108 and 125 n. 30, and Pastore Stocchi, *ibid.*, pp. 70 ff.

<sup>142</sup> Branca, *ibid.*, p. 108.

<sup>143</sup> G. Billanovich, 'Autografi del Boccaccio nella Biblioteca Nazionale di Parigi (Parigini lat. 4939 e 6802)' in *Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Rendiconti: Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, 8th Ser., 7 (1952) 383-88.

<sup>144</sup> Pastore Stocchi, *Tradizione*, pp. 63-64.

<sup>145</sup> Branca, *Boccaccio*, p. 110.

<sup>146</sup> Billanovich, 'Dall'antica Ravenna', 102 and n. 7; but see also his 'Petrarca e i retori', 118-19.

catalogue of Santo Spirito (no. V 8): 'Item in eodem banco V liber 8us, Cosmografia Ponponii et plures stoicorum et alia multa, completus, copertus corio rubeo, cuius principium est *orbis situm dicere etc.* [*De chorographia*], finis vero in penultima carta *Ycarum Cretensem etc.* [*Solinus' Collectanea*].' <sup>147</sup> It is unlikely that this is Boccaccio's autograph, since the catalogue description does not mention the *Querolus* and Ridolfi does not mention Solinus. Since the Santo Spirito inventory was not made until 1451, <sup>148</sup> by which time many other books had come into the library's possession and the *De chorographia* was no longer rare, it is difficult to isolate the books that were once Boccaccio's. The fate of his *De chorographia* is unknown.

A second and slightly younger generation of scholars who used Petrarch's books is represented by Domenico Silvestri and Domenico di Bandino; either or both of these may instead have derived his text of Mela from the manuscript of Salutati discussed below. The Florentine Domenico Silvestri (c. 1335-1411) was a notary who held civic offices in Florence and served on numerous diplomatic embassies. As a writer he was an admirer and close follower, if not imitator, of his older contemporaries Petrarch, Boccaccio, and Salutati; he was a close friend of the last named, and probably of Boccaccio as well. Among the considerable body of literature to come from his pen is the *De insulis*, his longest work, completed in 1385 as a complement to Boccaccio's *De montibus*. In this work, which draws frequently on Mela, Silvestri's purpose was to collect from ancient and medieval authors as much information about islands as possible, and to present it by island in alphabetical order. Given the late date of the work's composition, it is probable that Silvestri did not acquire his manuscript of the *De chorographia* from Petrarch directly, but rather from Coluccio Salutati, from whom Silvestri is known to have borrowed other books (such as the Juvenal, which lost its covers to Domenico's mice). <sup>149</sup>

The *De chorographia* was also known to Domenico di Bandino of Arezzo (?1335-1418), who quoted it extensively in his encyclopedic *Fons memorabi-*

<sup>147</sup> A. Mazza, 'L'inventario della "parva libraria" di Santo Spirito e la biblioteca del Boccaccio', *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 9 (1966) 43. Pastore Stocchi, *Tradizione*, p. 73 n. 37, quotes (from Billanovich, 'Dall'antica Ravenna', 102) Ridolfi's description of Boccaccio's Mela, '... in quo ... scriptus erat liber ille ... Pomponii Mele ac Aulularia Plauti', but unaccountably omits the last three words. This amputation disguises the fact that Boccaccio's manuscript reflected at least in part the collection descended from Vat. lat. 4929, and permits Pastore Stocchi the surprising assertion (p. 74) that in this manuscript 'il Boccaccio aveva raccolto tutti gli scritti antichi di argomento geografico', which he unhesitatingly identifies with Santo Spirito V 8.

<sup>148</sup> Mazza, *ibid.*, p. 6.

<sup>149</sup> This brief statement on Silvestri is based on P. G. Ricci, 'Per una monografia su Domenico Silvestri', *Annali della Scuola normale superiore di Pisa. Lettere, storia e filosofia*, 2nd Ser., 19 (1950) 13-24; and C. Pecoraro, ed., *Domenico Silvestri. De insulis et earum proprietatibus* (Atti della Accademia di scienze, lettere e arti di Palermo, 4th Ser., 14.2; Palermo, 1955), p. 2.

*lium universi* which he completed in stages during the last decades of the fourteenth century. Domenico was already working on the *Fons* in 1374 when he showed it to Petrarch shortly before the latter's death. The strongest influence in his life, however, was Coluccio Salutati. Salutati was already in the employ of the Florentine chancery when Domenico was invited to teach in Florence in 1376, and the two corresponded in the late 1370s. In the 1380s and 1390s Domenico consulted Salutati on numerous problems arising from the *Fons*. Mela is not mentioned in this correspondence, however, and it is not known when Domenico acquired his copy of the *De chorographia*, nor whether he received it from Salutati rather than from Petrarch directly. In 1398 Domenico returned to Arezzo, though he continued to correspond with Salutati until the latter's death in 1406. The *Fons memorabilium universi* was completed only after Domenico's death, by his son Lorenzo.<sup>150</sup>

There are in all, thus, five or six people – Petrarch, Pastrengo, Boccaccio, Silvestri, di Bandino, and perhaps Paolino – who are known to have used the *De chorographia* in fourteenth-century Italy. The number of known fourteenth-century manuscripts is equally small: four and a reference to (presumably) a fifth, besides Salutati's. It would be surprising if at least one, if not more, of these manuscripts did not belong to one or more of the people named above. Evidence of any direct connections is not apparent, but the relationship of the following manuscripts to the known users of Mela merits further study.

The oldest among them is Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale IV D 15. Written in Italy in a small gothic script with no discernible humanistic influence, the manuscript appears to date from the middle of the fourteenth century. In particular, the awkward bulbous initials suggest such a date. It has a number of features that are reminiscent of Boccaccio's early hand of the 1340s and 1350s, including the form of the initial, the hollow-topped *g*, the flat-topped *a*, the Tyronian note in the form of a box, the tilde in *v*-shape, and the catchword with four dots and radiating lines, to which one may add the fact that certain of the leaves appear to be palimpsest. It appears to lack, however, the conclusive identifying indications of Boccaccio's hand, such as the decorative tails on letters or the long pointing hands. Interestingly, someone has added, in a contemporary *littera mercantesca* or *notule* script, the same sorts of marginal index notes and references to other ancient writers that are found in the

<sup>150</sup> Concerning di Bandino see the articles of A. T. Hankey, 'Domenico di Bandino of Arezzo (? 1335-1418)', *Italian Studies* 12 (1957) 110-28, 'The Library of Domenico di Bandino', *Rinascimento* 8 (1957) 177-207, and 'The Successive Revisions and Surviving Codices of the *Fons memorabilium universi* of Domenico di Bandino', *Rinascimento* 11 (1960) 3-49. We are grateful to Dr. Hankey for the loan of examples of Domenico's hand.

Holkham Hall manuscript described below. In the middle of the fifteenth century the manuscript belonged to Aulus Janus Parrhasius, with whose library it subsequently passed to Antonius Seripandus.

The other three manuscripts, and the reference in the inventory of the papal library at Avignon, all date from the closing decades of the fourteenth century, and they are thus younger by a generation than the Naples manuscript.

Holkham Hall 393, not often seen because of its present location (in Lord Leicester's library, Holkham Hall, Wells, Norfolk), is similar in appearance to Salutati's manuscript discussed below. It was written in a gothic hand of northeast Italy in the second half of the century, perhaps in the 1370s. In the fifteenth century it belonged to San Giovanni di Verdara in Padua. Its margins are full of index notes referring to places mentioned in the text; some of these are in the hand of the scribe and others are in the hands of two early owners, one contemporary with the scribe, the other a large Italic of the mid-fifteenth century. The earlier hand frequently indicates, as well, other ancient authors who refer to places mentioned in the *De chorographia*, for example, 'Cianite, de qua luē ii°' and 'Peuce, de qua luē iii'. This is what one imagines Domenico Silvestri might have done, in gathering geographical references to the ancients for his *De insulis*. Some of the references are indeed identical with the sources adduced in the *De insulis*; for example, Domenico cites both Mela and Lucan in his entries for *Cianite* and *Peuce*. For many of the marginal annotations, however, there is no correlation; and Lucan, heavily used by the Holkham Hall annotator, is infrequently cited by Silvestri. The hand does not appear to be that of either Boccaccio or Domenico di Bandino, whose hands are known.

Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit Voss. lat. Q. 88, written in Italy in the second half of the fourteenth century, contains the three books of the *De chorographia* alone and undivided. It bears occasional marginal annotations in a running humanistic script slightly later than the text.

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Ottob. lat. 604 is made up of two parts that, given the contemporary table of contents, must have been brought together almost at once. The portion of concern to us (fols. 77r-101r) contains Festus, *Breviarium*; extracts from Bernard of Clairvaux, *De consideratione*; Pomponius Mela, *De chorographia*; and pseudo-Cicero, *Synonyma*. It was written in north Italy by several scribes who vary from a gothic script with primitive humanistic forms (fols. 77r-85r) and a *cursiva* reminiscent of chancery script (85r-93r) to a reasonably rounded humanist hand (93v-101r), a combination suggesting that the manuscript was written around the turn of the century (s. xiv ex.-xv in.). The first part, the chronicles of Jerome and Prosper, is written in a *hybrida* or bastard script of French origin. The volume belonged to Jean Bouhale (d. 1465), chancellor of the University of Angers, and bears the

note 'Pro Ioh. Bouhale Scol[astico Andegavensi?] de execucione Magistri E.'. It later passed to the library of Queen Christina of Sweden.<sup>151</sup>

A reference to a manuscript which may have contained the *De chorographia* appears in the papal library catalogues of 1375 and 1409. The manuscript, containing at least Censorinus' *De die natali*, Julius Paris' *Epitome* of Valerius, and Vibius Sequester's *De fluminibus*, is first reported in the inventory of Gregory XI, 'Et primo Cato Sensorius sine copertura'.<sup>152</sup> The same manuscript received a fuller description in the catalogue of Benedict XII's library (1409): 'Item Cato Censorius de natali die, de dictis et factis memorabilibus, Vibius de propriis nominibus'.<sup>153</sup> This manuscript obviously was descended from the Vaticanus, but whether or not it contained the *De chorographia* (between the *Epitome* and Vibius Sequester in the Vaticanus) is unknown. A comparison of the two catalogue entries shows how casually they were made, with no attempt to describe the contents of the manuscript in detail. Since the codex is not known to have survived, nothing can be said about its potential relationship to Petrarch's manuscript.

After Petrarch's death, his own manuscript went to the Conversini family at Padua. There, in 1379-81, Coluccio Salutati had a copy of Petrarch's book made for himself; it is now Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana 30.21.<sup>154</sup> Salutati says, in the *De laboribus Herculis* composed in 1405-1406, that he has consulted other manuscripts of Mela as well; but by that date there were doubtless other descendants of Petrarch's manuscript in circulation (e.g., Pastrengo's, Boccaccio's, and possibly Silvestri's and di Bandino's, if these last were not copies of Salutati's own text).<sup>155</sup> Like many other books from Salutati's library, the volume containing the *De chorographia* was obtained from his heirs by Cosimo de' Medici, who kept it until his death in 1464, at which time the book became part of the San Marco Library.<sup>156</sup> At Milan, Giovanni Corvini,

<sup>151</sup> See the description of this manuscript, with bibliography concerning Bouhale, in É. Pellegrin et al., *Les manuscrits classiques latins de la Bibliothèque Vaticane* I (Documents, études et répertoires publiés par l'Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes 21; Paris, 1975), pp. 443-44.

<sup>152</sup> F. Ehrle, *Historia bibliothecae romanorum pontificum tum bonifatianae tum avenionensis* I (Rome, 1890), p. 544 no. 1387.

<sup>153</sup> M. Faucon, *La librairie des papes d'Avignon*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1886-87; rpt. Amsterdam, 1969), 2.139 no. 923.

<sup>154</sup> Billanovich, 'Dall'antica Ravenna', 103-104; B. L. Ullman, *The Humanism of Coluccio Salutati* (Medioevo e umanesimo 4; Padua, 1963), pp. 143-44, 267.

<sup>155</sup> B. L. Ullman, ed., *Colucii Salutati De laboribus Herculis* (Thesaurus mundi 3; Padua, 1951), p. 475.

<sup>156</sup> Ullman, *Humanism*, pp. 143-44; F. Pintor, 'Per la storia della libreria medicea nel Rinascimento', *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 3 (1960) 194 n. 2.

chancellor to the Visconti, procured the manuscript frequently mentioned here, Milan H 14 inf., that was copied c. 1417 directly from Petrarch's.<sup>157</sup>

Petrarch's manuscript is not responsible for all the later copies of the *De chorographia* in southern Europe. By the first half of the fifteenth century a medieval manuscript of the  $\alpha$  family reached Italy: San Marco 341 (F), the twelfth-century codex probably from Saint-Martial, which came into the hands of Niccolò Niccoli (c. 1360-1437). Although the manuscript bears his name, it is not known how or when Niccoli acquired it. Nor is it known how often it was subsequently copied, since a collation of Renaissance *deteriores* has yet to be undertaken.<sup>158</sup> Niccoli's manuscripts passed to the San Marco Library in 1444, as had been agreed by the trustees of Niccoli's estate and Cosimo de' Medici.<sup>159</sup>

#### B. THE FRENCH HUMANISTS

Interest in the *De chorographia* for its geographical content emerges in northern Europe at the end of the fourteenth century; this interest is closely associated with the spread of Italian humanism to France, and in particular to Paris.

In the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries the *De chorographia* reappeared among a group of French humanist scholars centered at the Collège de Navarre and the abbey of Saint-Victor. These men – Nicolas d'Oresme, Pierre d'Ailly, Nicolas de Clamanges, Jean de Montreuil, Simon de Plumetot, and Guillaume Fillastre – were trained at the Collège de Navarre in Paris. All were scholars and statesmen, and most of them played significant roles in French ecclesiastical administration during the Great Schism (1378-1417). They spent their leisure studying classical literature; their careers brought them into

<sup>157</sup> Billanovich, 'Dall'antica Ravenna', 91-92, 103.

<sup>158</sup> For an extensive list of manuscripts of the *De chorographia* see M. E. Milham, 'A MS Inventory of Pomponius Mela', *Scriptorium* 35 (1981) 319-21. This list must be used with caution. In concentrating only on the pre-fifteenth-century manuscripts, we have noted the following corrections: Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana Aedil. 168 and San Marco 341 (F) are two separate manuscripts, and they date respectively from the fifteenth and the twelfth century, not the tenth; there is no Mela in Monte Cassino 391, Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale IV D 21, or Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana Marc. lat. VII 44 (3379), the last of which contains Domenico di Bandino who cites Mela; Paris lat. 152 (P) dates from the twelfth century, not the fourteenth; Florence, 30.19, Milan H 14 inf., and Vatican Ottob. lat. 604 and Vat. lat. 2952, listed as fourteenth-century manuscripts, all date from the fifteenth; and Vatican Chigi H IV 115 and H IV 118 are composed of disordered quires of the same fifteenth-century manuscript. A study of the fifteenth-century circulation of the *De chorographia* from an analysis of the surviving manuscripts still remains to be done, and would be a rewarding task.

<sup>159</sup> Ullman and Stadter, *Public Library*, pp. 12-13.

direct contact with the work of the Italian humanists, first at the papal court at Avignon and later at the Council of Constance. By the end of the fourteenth century, they were collating manuscripts of Cicero's orations, writing bucolic dialogue, and developing a humanistic script of their own. This group was close-knit, both intellectually and professionally; once the *De chorographia* became known to one of them, it eventually became an object of study for them all.

Nicolas d'Oresme (1320-82), bishop of Lisieux, Parisian philosopher, and chancellor of the Collège de Navarre, considered arguments for a heliocentric universe long before Copernicus.<sup>160</sup> In his *Traité de l'esphère* Oresme cites Pomponius Mela by name among those who divide the earth into three parts ('plinius, pomponius, solinus, priscian, anselmus, etc.').<sup>161</sup> Oresme, however, does not appear to have had firsthand acquaintance with the *De chorographia*. His successor as chancellor at the Collège de Navarre was Cardinal Pierre d'Ailly (1350-1420), bishop successively of Puy and Cambrai, almoner of the king, philosopher, theologian, and statesman. D'Ailly was one of the main proponents of the conciliar movement. Together with Jean Gerson and Guillaume Fillastre he played a pivotal role at the Council of Constance, and he led the attack against John Hus.<sup>162</sup> In addition to his importance as a statesman, d'Ailly was also a scholar who shared Oresme's interest in geography. In two passages of his *Ymago mundi* he has drawn material from the *De chorographia*, though he does not cite Mela by name.<sup>163</sup> Written around 1410, the *Ymago* is the first treatise to suggest that the East Indies could be reached by sailing west. It was read later in the century by both Columbus and Vespucci.<sup>164</sup>

Nicolas de Clamanges (c. 1360-1437), another diplomat and scholar from the Collège de Navarre, represented France at the papal court in Avignon and corresponded with Coluccio Salutati and Poggio Bracciolini.<sup>165</sup> Both Poggio and Clamanges appear to have copied the *vetus Cluniacensis*, the eighth-century

<sup>160</sup> G. Ouy, 'Le collège de Navarre, berceau de l'humanisme français' in *Actes du Quatre-vingt-quinzième congrès national des sociétés savantes* 1 (Paris, 1975), p. 278.

<sup>161</sup> Referred to by E. Baron, *Ymago mundi de Pierre d'Ailly* 1 (Paris, 1930), p. 251 n. 62. Oresme's treatise has been edited in two unpublished dissertations by J. V. Meyer (Syracuse, 1940) and L. McCarthy (Toronto, 1942).

<sup>162</sup> L. R. Loomis, *The Council of Constance. The Unification of the Church*, ed. J. H. Mundy and K. M. Woody (New York, 1961), pp. 9, 11-12, 41.

<sup>163</sup> Baron, *Ymago mundi* 1.444, 454, 476.

<sup>164</sup> W. G. L. Randles, *De la terre plate au globe terrestre. Une mutation épistémologique rapide, 1480-1520* (Paris, 1980), p. 28.

<sup>165</sup> E. Ornato, *Jean Muret et ses amis: Nicolas de Clamanges et Jean de Montreuil* (Geneva, 1969), pp. 36, 41, 42, 44, 68 ff., 191; G. Ouy, 'In Search of the Earliest Traces of French Humanism: The Evidence from Codicology', *The University of Pennsylvania Library Chronicle* 43 (1978-79) 3-38.



manuscript of Cicero's speeches, and it seems that while attending the Council of Constance Clamanges had help from Poggio in learning Greek.<sup>166</sup> Clamanges cites Mela by name in a letter to a fellow diplomat, Galeotto da Pietramala: 'Illic Pomponius Mela antiquus cosmographus totius orbis situm et ambitum brevissima et pulcherrima descriptione complexus';<sup>167</sup> but whether the whole letter as it survives dates from 1395, or was revised as much as thirty years later, has yet to be established.<sup>168</sup> Clamanges does not quote the *De chorographia*, but he doubtless encountered the work in the manuscript written by his colleague Jean de Montreuil.

A member of the royal chancery, scholar, and diplomat, Montreuil was a close friend of Nicolas de Clamanges. More than the others, these two consciously emulated the Italian humanists, and they were the only Frenchmen of their generation known to have developed a humanistic script.<sup>169</sup> It was Montreuil who copied the *De chorographia* in Reg. lat. 581 (R) discussed in part II-B.3 above. He may have become interested in the *De chorographia* through Coluccio Salutati, with whom he began a long and fruitful correspondence at least as early as 1394.<sup>170</sup> Where or how Montreuil found the exemplar for his copy of the *De chorographia* is unknown, and he does not mention the work in any of the letters that survive.

Montreuil's younger colleague at the University of Paris, Simon de Plumetot (1371-1443), was also interested in the *De chorographia*. A doctor of both civil and canon law, Simon held benefices in Bayeux and Caen, as well as numerous posts in the *parlement* of Paris, where he remained during the English occupation of that city; he retired from politics after the Peace of Arras in 1435.<sup>171</sup> Simon owned two manuscripts of the *De chorographia*, a whole text and a set of extracts.<sup>172</sup> The former, Paris lat. 14927, fols. 121r-144r (S), is a gemellus of Montreuil's manuscript, with which it is discussed above. Perhaps Simon found the common exemplar  $\beta$  ( $\alpha^2$ ?) at Orléans, where he was a bachelor of laws between 1391 and 1394/95. The second manuscript, Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek Gl. kgl. S. 454 2<sup>o</sup>, s. xii, once containing Caesar's *Gallic War*, has on its final fly-leaf (fol. 42r-v) extracts from the *De chorographia* in a

<sup>166</sup> Ouy, *ibid.*, 19-25.

<sup>167</sup> *Nicolas de Clemangiis Opera omnia* (Lyons, 1613), p. 26, ep. 5; see Sabbadini, *Scoperte* 2.82 n. 56, 244.

<sup>168</sup> We are grateful to Ezio Ornato and Gilbert Ouy for this information.

<sup>169</sup> Ornato, *Jean Muret*, *passim*; Ouy, 'Jean de Montreuil', 53-54.

<sup>170</sup> G. Billanovich and G. Ouy, 'La première correspondance échangée entre Jean de Montreuil et Coluccio Salutati', *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 7 (1964) 360; Ouy, 'In Search', 33, 34. Montreuil's letters have been edited by E. Ornato, *Jean de Montreuil, Opera*, vol. 1: *Epistolario* (Turin, 1963).

<sup>171</sup> Ouy, 'Simon de Plumetot', 362.

<sup>172</sup> *ibid.*, 376; Ouy, *Catalogue de Saint-Victor*, pp. 287-88 (AAA.10, fols. 154 ff. and 244).

fourteenth- or fifteenth-century hand that remains unidentified.<sup>173</sup> The manuscript was once part of a larger collection described by Claude de Grandrue in the early sixteenth-century catalogue of Saint-Victor under the pressmark AAA.10.<sup>174</sup> A collation of the extracts with Simon's manuscript of the whole text shows that the two are not closely related; the source for the extracts is unknown. We note, however, the possibility that they were copied at Saint-Victor from the extracts that were once part of Arsenal 711B.<sup>175</sup>

#### C. THE EARLIEST MAPS AND COMMENTARY: GUILLAUME FILLASTRE

None of the scholars previously mentioned, Italian or French, showed the serious interest in geography and in the *De chorographia* displayed by Cardinal Guillaume Fillastre (d. 1428). During his mature lifetime Fillastre served at the papal court along with the leading literary figures of his day, Clamanges, Muret, Gerson, and Jean de Nouvion.<sup>176</sup> He was a friend of Pierre d'Ailly, and his ally at the councils. Fillastre's diary remains one of the most valuable contemporary accounts of the Council of Constance (1414-18). He was 'first, last, and always the man who best expressed the point of view of the Sacred College.'<sup>177</sup>

Fillastre became dean of Reims in 1392, under the refounder of the cathedral library, Archbishop Guy de Roye (1390-1409).<sup>178</sup> Guy laid the foundations for the new library building and left a collection of 158 manuscripts (fathers, theologians, lawyers) to the library on his death in 1409. The building was completed under his successor Simon de Cramaud, who provided the dean and chapter with the necessary funds and materials; but it was Fillastre who oversaw the actual construction of the library, which was completed in 1411. On 11 June of that year, Fillastre was named cardinal-priest of Saint Mark by John XXIII. Already in possession of a fair-sized ecclesiastical library, he now began to commission copies of ancient authors, in particular Cicero. At the Council of Constance he profited, as did many in attendance, from the opportunity to commission there the texts he desired; at least eight codices say

<sup>173</sup> We thank Gilbert Ouy for verifying this information.

<sup>174</sup> Ouy, 'Simon de Plumetot', 376.

<sup>175</sup> See part II-D above.

<sup>176</sup> Loomis, *Council*, p. 200; see also H. Finke et al., eds., *Acta concilii constanciensis* 2 (Münster, 1905), pp. 2-9; J. Rest, *Kardinal Fillastre bis zur Absetzung Johannis XXIII auf dem Konstanzer Konzil* (Freiburg i. B., 1908); Ornato, *Jean Muret*, p. 152 n. 232.

<sup>177</sup> Loomis, *Council*, p. 200.

<sup>178</sup> Regarding the chapter library see J. Le Braz, 'La bibliothèque de Guy de Roye, archevêque de Reims (1390-1409)', *Bulletin d'information de l'Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes* 6 (1957) 67-100.

that they were copied for Fillastre at Constance. These, with some forty other codices, he either gave or left to the cathedral library; with a few exceptions, they remain at Reims today.<sup>179</sup>

Among the texts which Fillastre commissioned at Constance was the *De chorographia*, now Reims, Bibliothèque Municipale 1321, to which he added texts of the pseudo-Aethicus *Cosmographia*<sup>180</sup> and the Antonine Itinerary. Fillastre's Mela is a very ordinary and distant descendant of A; but the manuscript is quite exceptional in that the text of the *De chorographia* is prefaced with a twenty-page introduction and is equipped with a map of the world, enclosed in the opening initial.<sup>181</sup> This introduction is the earliest known commentary on Mela, and the map the earliest surviving instance in which the earth described by Mela is graphically presented; both merit comment.

The map requires consideration because it drew extended attention from Santarem, who (alone, it seems) has made a serious effort to explain the map's form in the context of the early fifteenth-century view of cosmology. Unfortunately, his interpretation is at best misleading:

Medieval cartographers pushed their fidelity to the representation of religious ideas to such an extent that, in the 1417 world-map of Reims [ms. 1321], painted in the initial of a Pomponius Mela, the cartographer represented the frame of his world-map as a square, and at each corner he placed an angel blowing a trumpet; this is obviously based on the Gospel of Saint Matthew 24.31 ... 'Et mittet Angelos suos cum tuba et voce magna, et congregabunt a quattuor angulis terrae.' This cosmographer believed ... that, following the gospel quoted, it was better to give the earth a square shape .... [Thus,] although he gave the earth a round form, he nevertheless framed it in a square, in order to follow the gospel. ... This fact is confirmed by the drawing of an angel, which the cosmographer has placed below the letter; the angel is holding, opened, the book of Saint Matthew's Gospel; one

<sup>179</sup> For the role of the councils in the transmission of texts see P. Lehmann, 'Konstanz und Basel als Büchermärkte während der grossen Kirchenversammlungen' in his *Erforschung des Mittelalters* 1 (Leipzig, 1941), pp. 253-80; and J. Miethke, 'Die Konzilien als Forum der öffentlichen Meinung im 15. Jahrhundert', *Deutsches Archiv* 37 (1981) 736-73, especially 764. The following manuscripts were written for Fillastre at Constance: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 7831 (Cicero, *Philippics*); Reims, Bibliothèque Municipale 381 (*misc. theologica*), 1110 (Cicero, *opuscula*), 1111 (Cicero, *opera and opuscula*), 1112 (Quintilian, *Declamationes*), 1320 (Ptolemaeus, *Cosmographia*), 1321 (Mela etc.), 1338 (Plutarch, *Vitae*, trans. Bruni Aretino).

<sup>180</sup> The *Cosmographia* in this manuscript, distinct from the *Cosmographia* of Aethicus Ister, is an anonymous work often ascribed to him by medieval scribes; see L. Bieler, 'The Text Tradition of Dicuil's *Liber de mensura orbis terrae*', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 64, sec. C (1965) 1-31.

<sup>181</sup> The map is reproduced in *Magazin pittoresque* 23 (1885) 344; in M. Destombes, ed., *Mappemondes, A.D. 1200-1500* (Monumenta cartographica vetustioris aevi 1; Amsterdam, 1964), pl. 21; and in U. Ruberg, 'Mappae mundi des Mittelalters' in *Text und Bild*, ed. C. Meier and U. Ruberg (Wiesbaden, 1980), pp. 559-60 and color plate 3.

notes the pieces of money, which doubtless refer to Matthew's former profession of tax-collector.<sup>182</sup>

In reality, the initial which contains the map, never specified by Santarem, is an *O* ('*Orbis situm ...*'), a circle. The 'square' setting given it by the illuminator is merely the background on which the letter is set, surely the commonest shape for such a background, and its style is consistent with the painting on the rest of the page. There are indeed four trumpeting angels flanking the map, as well as a fifth supporting it on his shoulders; but the angel below is holding not a book but a musical instrument, a psaltery, and the 'pieces of money' are simply the decorative gold discs in the leaf foliage. The world depicted in this initial is unequivocally round.

The introduction merits a lengthier discussion. This same introduction exists in three other manuscripts. The first, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Arch. S. Pietro H 31, is roughly contemporary with Fillastre's. It was written for Cardinal Giordano Orsini by Pirrus de Noha, who also copied Orsini's manuscript of the Latin Ptolemy (Arch. S. Pietro H 32).<sup>183</sup> A possible sequence of events is that Orsini's Mela and Fillastre's Ptolemy (discussed below) represent an exchange, made at the Council of Constance; collation of Orsini's and Fillastre's respective manuscripts of the two texts would serve to substantiate, or to disprove, this thesis. In Arch. S. Pietro H 31, as in Fillastre's Mela, the introduction precedes the *De chorographia*. Orsini's manuscript also contains on fol. 8v a large map which is referred to in the introduction, presumably a copy of the map that has since been cut out of Fillastre's manuscript (Reims 1321, fol. 12);<sup>184</sup> but there is no map in the opening initial. Professor Parroni kindly referred us to a second Italian manuscript of Mela, Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana Gadd. 91 inf. 7, which once contained the prologue and map. As in Fillastre's manuscript, so too in this one the full-page map has been cut out. The volume does not contain a second map, in the opening initial; in this respect it resembles Orsini's text, of which it may conceivably be a copy. The third manuscript, Rennes, Bibliothèque Municipale 256, is much later than the two Italian books. Written on paper, the text of the *De chorographia* was finished in December 1467 by Johannes Antonius Caymus, about whom nothing else is known. To this, a gothic hand of the mid-sixteenth century has appended the introduction and the signature 'Joannes Gouretius Dinan[t]. 1562.'. There is no suggestion that the Rennes manuscript ever contained either map found in the other witnesses to the introduction.

<sup>182</sup> Santarem, *Essai* 1.244-54, especially 244-45.

<sup>183</sup> Pellegrin et al., *Manuscripts classiques* 1.52-53.

<sup>184</sup> Destombes, *Mappemondes*, pp. 185, 187, and pl. 22.

Although this introduction is anonymous in the Vatican, Florence, and Rennes manuscripts, there is little reason to doubt that it was composed by Fillastre himself.<sup>185</sup> Fillastre was clearly interested in geography. He must have been one of the first to acquire a manuscript of Pierre d'Ailly's *Ymago mundi*, completed in 1410, for he gave a copy (Reims, Bibliothèque Municipale 1322) to the chapter library at Reims in 1412. Fillastre prided himself on having brought to northern Europe the new translation of Ptolemy's *Geography*, begun by Manuel Chrysoloras in Florence and completed at Rome c. 1406-10 by Jacopo Angeli.<sup>186</sup> In the copy which he commissioned at the Council of Constance for the chapter library, now Reims 1320, he notes in his own hand, 'Ego Guillelmus, cardinalis Sancti Marci, hunc librum, quem habere multis annis prosequutus sum et, habitum de Florentia, transcribi hic feci, dono bibliothecae ecclesiae Remensis, quem bene custodiri precor; credo enim hunc esse primum in Galliis. Scriptum manu propria Constancie, in concilio generali, anno ... Domini 1418, mense ianuario.'<sup>187</sup> It is interesting to see someone from the North taking pride at this date in having been the conveyor of a new text hitherto unknown in France. His especial interest in this work (it is cited in the Mela introduction) is shown in his having, in 1418 or subsequently, a second copy made for himself, now Nancy, Bibliothèque Municipale 441; to this, his personal copy, he added in 1427, the year before his death, a set of twenty-six maps and a commentary of his own composition. The latter provides the date of these additions: 'Istius presbiteri Iohannis duo ambassiatores ... hoc anno Domini millesimo quadringentesimo uicesimo septimo, quo hec tabule descripte fuerunt, uenerunt ad regem Aragonum ... me, cardinali Sancti Marci, presente, qui has feci describi tabulas et ex greco exemplari.'<sup>188</sup>

The clearest evidence of his authorship of the Mela introduction, however, is not merely circumstantial. The prologue of the Reims Mela, written by a scribe whom Fillastre frequently employed (e.g., he copied for Fillastre the Reims Ptolemy), states at its head, 'Guillermus, tituli Sancti Marci cardinalis, olim decanus Remensis, uenerabilibus fratribus capitulo Remensi salutem et librum Remensis ecclesiae librarie dicatum mittit. Prohemium mittentis.' The phrase 'the sender's introduction' is as straightforward a claim to authorship as one could wish.

Fillastre's preface reveals both the extent and the nature of the author's interest in geography. What attracts Fillastre to the *De chorographia* is

<sup>185</sup> Milham, 'MS Inventory', 321, regards the commentary as anonymous.

<sup>186</sup> R. Weiss, 'Jacopo Angeli da Scarperia (c. 1360-1410/11)' in *Medioevo e Rinascimento. Studi in onore di Bruno Nardi* 2 (Florence, 1955), pp. 803-27, especially pp. 811, 820, 824.

<sup>187</sup> Samaran and Marichal, *MSS. datés* 5 (Paris, 1965), p. 301.

<sup>188</sup> *ibid.*, p. 205.

something far different from what appealed to Petrarch, representing a new phase in the use and influence of the *De chorographia*. While most of Fillastre's preface provides a synopsis and commentary on the three books of Mela's work, the first portion of his preface discusses the validity of certain geographical theories. The range of his research is broad. For example, on the question of whether the ocean girds the whole earth, he records that Ptolemy says no, but that Plato, Aristotle, Pliny, Pomponius, and 'most others' say yes (fol. 2r5-14). Probably the most controversial issue concerns whether the Antipodes (i.e., inhabitants of the southern continents) exist. It had been argued that the southern hemisphere was cut off from the northern one by an ocean or, more popularly, by a torrid equatorial zone, both of which were impassable; therefore, theologians argued, Antipodes did not exist because such beings could neither have descended from Adam nor have been saved by Christ. Fillastre's commentary first examines what ancient geographers have said about zones and, relying on Ptolemy's description of the inhabitants of Ethiopia and India, demonstrates that the equatorial region, where this torrid zone is allegedly located, is not only traversable but inhabited. Then he examines ancient theories concerning the ocean, and concludes that the body of water which separates the northern and southern hemispheres is not impassable. Finally, with a clever twist, he concludes that Antipodes exist:

And I say that ... there are Antipodes, not in the way that Augustine supposed, namely, that an ocean exists between us and them, for which reason he said they did not exist; but I say that, supposing the form of the earth to be a sphere, those who live in the extreme parts of the east are 'antipodes' to those who live in the furthest parts of the west (fol. 4r29-v6).<sup>189</sup>

Fillastre then skilfully refutes, point by point, the arguments of Lactantius and Augustine, who maintained that the Antipodes did not exist. He would have been flattered to see that two hundred years later his treatment of the Church Fathers found an echo in the work of Johannes Kepler:

A saint was Lactantius, who denied the earth's rotundity; a saint was Augustine, who admitted the rotundity, but denied that antipodes exist .... I, with all respect for the doctors of the Church, demonstrate from philosophy that the earth is

<sup>189</sup> 'Et dico ... antipodes esse, non per modum quem supponit Augustinus quod oceanus sit medius inter nos et ipsos propter quod dicit illos non esse, sed dico quod supposita figura terre sperica illi qui habitant in ultimis partibus orientis sunt antipodes illis qui habitant in ultimis partibus occidentis.' For a survey of the Antipodes controversy, both before and after the discovery of the Americas, see V. I. J. Flint, 'Monsters and the Antipodes in the Early Middle Ages and Enlightenment', *Viator* 15 (1984) 65-80.

round, circumhabited by antipodes, of a most insignificant smallness, and a swift wanderer among the stars.<sup>190</sup>

Fillastre's proof of the existence of Antipodes is not simply an academic exercise; it reflects the growing curiosity about the real world beyond the horizon. Just as in the era of space exploration we wonder if intelligent life exists on other planets, Fillastre, on the threshold of the age of global exploration, wondered if it existed on other continents, lands which the Church had long argued were barren of human beings. Thus, Fillastre searched the *De chorographia*, and ancient geographies in general, for information about his world, the present. His treatment of these works is in part scholastic, in part empirical. He is scholastic in that he attempts to resolve conflicting theories which he finds both within the discipline itself and also within the work of a single author. He is also empirical, always bringing to his study the desire to visualize what he reads. One would expect as much from the man who commissioned maps to illustrate his manuscripts of Mela and Ptolemy. His interest in geography is far different from Petrarch's fascination for the place-names and anecdotes of antiquity. Fillastre, who read the *De chorographia* for its own sake, is sensitive to the same adventurous interests that governed the Age of Exploration.

#### IV

#### CONCLUSION

By the fifteenth century, the broad dissemination of the *De chorographia* was assured. Of the 121 manuscripts that survive, fully 117 date from the fifteenth century or later. By that date, too, the circulation of the *De chorographia* had entered a new phase: the work no longer circulated in the company of other texts from Vat. lat. 4929; the unity that Petrarch had preserved was broken up. Instead, the *De chorographia* was joined by other geographies such as Boccaccio's *De montibus*, Solinus' *Collectanea*, Tacitus' *Germania*, Vibius Sequester's *De fluminibus*, the *Notitia Galliarum*, and Buondelmonti's *Liber insularum*. At this time also illustrations, maps, and commentaries were appended to the text. These changes, however, extend beyond the scope of our essay.

For the medieval mind, Mela's work provided stories and legends about the distant, fabulous past, a past in which classical and biblical events became

<sup>190</sup> J. Kepler, *Astronomia nova*, introduction; we quote the translation of A. Koestler, *The Sleepwalkers. A History of Man's Changing Vision of the Universe* (New York, 1959), p. 343.

conflated. In the fifteenth century, the *De chorographia* had become a technical work, valued as a source of information about a real world whose unknown regions must be explored. While the *De chorographia* probably did not inspire the depiction of the mythical 'Hercules Aegyptius' on the west facade of Auxerre Cathedral, speculation about such legendary people and places must have entertained the handful of medieval readers of this work. Three hundred years later, however, a printed text of the *De chorographia* was owned and, to judge from the worn pages and copious notes, well used by the explorer of Brazil, Pedro Álvares Cabral (d. 1526).<sup>191</sup>

Our examination of the surviving medieval manuscripts has demonstrated that, though little known, the *De chorographia*'s circulation touched people and places whose names are fundamentally important to the transmission of the Latin classics: Ravenna, Lupus of Ferrières, Heiric of Auxerre, Orléans, Philip of Bayeux, Avignon, Petrarch, Guillaume Fillastre, and the Renaissance humanists of Italy and France. Before the fourteenth century the text was copied only in France. While one lost copy remained, near Orléans, without issue until its discovery by Petrarch, the active circulation was limited to descendants of another lost copy of Vat. lat. 4929. Its transmission suggests that the path from Orléans to Bec and to Saint-Martial of Limoges is a pattern of circulation that warrants more study; and it shows that, as with many other ancient Latin works, Orléans, a medieval center of learning, played a significant role in ensuring that the *De chorographia* survived.

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<sup>191</sup> The book is now San Marino, Huntington Library acc. no. 87547 (Proctor 9569, Hain 11021). Another member of the Brazil expedition, Joan Faras, astronomer/astrologer and physician of King Manuel of Portugal, had earlier translated Mela's work into Spanish. See Joaquim Barradas de Carvalho, *La traduction espagnole du 'De situ orbis' de Pomponius Mela ...* (Centro de estudos de cartografia antiga 15; Lisbon, 1974). Faras must have made his translation in the 1490s, since he seems to have used the edition published in Rome 1492/93 (*contra* de Carvalho, p. 101).



# FIFTEENTH-CENTURY GLOSSES ON THE PROPHECY OF JOHN OF BRIDLINGTON: A TEXT, ITS MEANING AND ITS PURPOSE\*

*Michael J. Curley*

**T**HE *Prophecy of John of Bridlington* first appeared in print in 1859 in volume 1, pp. 123-215 of Thomas Wright's two-volume collection of political verse *Political Poems and Songs Relating to English History Composed during the Period from the Accession of Edw. III. to That of Ric. III.* (RS 14; London). Internal evidence suggests that the work, a poem of some 600 lines accompanied by a prolix commentary, was composed between November 1362 and April 1364;<sup>1</sup> it was dedicated to the young Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford, Essex and Northampton, constable of England and lord of Breighnok (1362-73).<sup>2</sup> I have argued elsewhere that to John Ergome, a Yorkshire

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<sup>1</sup> The *terminus a quo* can be established by the following line in dist. 3, chap. 2: 'Ac fient tuti Galli pro nomine scuti' (Wright, *Political Poems* 1.183). Ergome comments that this line alludes to an event in the year 1362 in which certain French captives purchased their liberty to return home. Such an event did take place on 13 November 1362 when Edward III agreed to allow certain of his French captives to cross the Channel to Calais from which they were to return in four days. The English crown was to receive 200,000 florins payable before the following November in addition to custody over the territory of Belleville and the castles and fortresses of Gaure; see T. Rymer, *Foedera, conventiones, literae...*, 20 vols. (London, 1704-35), 6.396-98; *Chroniques de J. Froissart*, ed. S. Luce, G. Raynaud, L. Mirot, and A. Mirot, 15 vols. (Paris, 1869-1975), 6.86-87; W. Longman, *The History of the Life and Times of Edward III*, 2 vols. (London, 1869), 2.89; H. M. Peck, *The Prophecy of John of Bridlington* (Diss. Chicago, 1930), p. 43.

The *terminus ad quem* can be established as 8 April 1364, the day King John of France died a captive in England. In dist. 3, chap. 10, the prophet writes of John as though he were still alive: 'Fortunare bonam renuet Jo. namque coronam' (Wright, *Political Poems* 1.206). On John's death, see *Chronique des règnes de Jean II et de Charles V*, ed. R. Delachenal, 4 vols. (Les grandes chroniques de France; Paris, 1910-20), 1.340-41.

<sup>2</sup> The *Handbook of British Chronology*, ed. F. M. Powicke and E. B. Fryde, 2nd edition (London, 1961), p. 431, dates Humphrey's homage for his offices as 5 May 1362 and his death as 16 January 1373. E. M. Thompson, however, placed Humphrey's *obit* in the year 1372 (DNB 2.722).

Augustinian friar, is to be attributed the authorship of the commentary and perhaps also of the prophecy itself.<sup>3</sup> As readers of this strange work know, the verses of the prophecy are couched in a dense carapace of obscure verbal and numerological symbolism, and allude to historical persons and events. The general system of 'occultation' is elaborately analyzed by Ergome in his preface and worked out in much greater detail in his commentary *ad verbum* for each of the twenty-nine chapters of the prophecy. It goes without saying that many verses would remain hopelessly ambiguous and others quite incomprehensible without Ergome's omniscient commentary. Historically, however, the commentary proved self-destructive. The English *gallus* who was to rise up to claim the throne of France and capture Paris around 1405 was identified in the commentary as Edward of Woodstock whose untimely death in 1376 at once undermined Ergome's credibility and rendered his commentary obsolete. The prophecy *cum* commentary meant only one thing; without the commentary, however, almost any interpretation was possible. It is easy to understand, then, how fifteenth-century chroniclers with a taste for political vaticination plundered, and perhaps stimulated the copying of, manuscripts of the *prophetia* independent of the commentary. In any case, the verse prophecy independently transmitted was the version known to most fifteenth-century readers.

Although Wright knew three manuscripts containing the verse prophecy and its accompanying prose commentary, his printed text is merely a transcription, with numerous silent emendations, of one of them (London, British Library Cotton Domitian A.ix, fols. 18r-83v, a late fourteenth-century copy). The two other manuscripts of the complete work, both of which date from the fourteenth century, and which Wright knew, are Oxford, Bodleian Library Digby 89, fols. 1r-55r and London, British Library Royal 8.C.xvii, fols. 1r-22v; Wright stated that he compared the text of the Royal ms. with that of the Cotton ms. when preparing his transcription for the Rolls Series.<sup>4</sup> Since the appearance of his transcription, however, another thirty-two manuscripts have come to light, among which two preserve fragments of both the prophecy and commentary;<sup>5</sup> the remaining thirty manuscripts, dating from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century, transmit only the verses of the prophecy or excerpts

<sup>3</sup> See my essay 'The Cloak of Anonymity and *The Prophecy of John of Bridlington*', *Modern Philology* 77 (1980) 361-69, but also P. Meyvaert, 'John Erghome and the *Vaticinium Roberti Bridlington*', *Speculum* 41 (1966) 656-64. Meyvaert argues that the prophecy was originally composed and circulated under the name of Robert of Bridlington.

<sup>4</sup> Wright, *Political Poems* 1.123 n. 1.

<sup>5</sup> London, British Library Add. 40015, a late fourteenth-century copy, contains fragments on fols. 49r-50v of dist. 2, chap. 10 through dist. 3, chap. 2. An early fifteenth-century copy, London, Westminster Abbey 27, although much damaged by fire, preserves on fols. 3r-31v a legible fragment of dist. 1, chap. 7 through the end of the work.

thereof, and in one instance, Oxford, Bodleian Library Digby 186, a rather detailed sequence of marginal glosses along with the verses. The glosses in this manuscript, which I shall refer to hereafter as *D*, are found primarily in the right-hand margins of fols. 5r-11v, and are executed by the same mid-fifteenth-century hand which copied the prophecy itself. Both the heading and the colophon agree that the author of the *vaticinium* was a canon of Bridlington and that the date of composition was c. 1200.<sup>6</sup> The other contents of *D* are:

- (1) fols. 1r-4v: injunctions for the abbey of St. Mary at York
- (2) fols. 11r-16r: a chrestomathy of prophecies and pedigrees
- (3) fols. 16r-23r: a poem beginning 'Quid faciat virtus que spes speciosa beatis' (see Hans Walther, *Initia carminum ac versuum medii aevi posterioris latinorum. Alphabetisches Verzeichnis der Versanfänge mittellateinischer Dichtungen* [Carmina medii aevi posterioris latina 1; Göttingen, 1959], no. 15791)
- (4) fols. 23r-27v: a prose tract entitled *Quaedam narratio de nobili rege Arthuro*
- (5) fols. 27v-40r: a miscellany of poems
- (6) fols. 40r-41v: prophecies of the Sibyl and Gildas
- (7) fols. 42r-49v: an historical poem beginning 'Anglorum regum cum gestis nomina stirpe' (Walther, *Initia*, no. 1042)
- (8) fols. 50r-64r: notes on the lives of English kings
- (9) fol. 64v: a poem beginning 'Ter tria lustra tenent cum senis tempore Sexti'
- (10) fols. 65r-90r: a prose tract ostensibly on clerical abuses.

In the transcription of the glosses which follows, I have quoted from Wright's text the first few words of each of the lines of verse next to which the marginal glosses in *D* appear, and have indicated in parentheses the page in Wright where the verses can be found. Occasionally, the lemmata from Wright differ slightly from the verse in *D*, and in two cases (ll. 60 and 84-86) there are glosses on lines which do not appear in Wright; I have recorded these lines.

<sup>6</sup> *Heading* (fol. 5r): 'Vaticinium cuiusdam viri catholici canonici de Brydlynton. predicentis futura sibi divinitus ostensa, ita incipientis. Circa annum domini M. CC.'

*Colophon* (fol. 11v): 'Explicit propheta de fortuna et castigacione regis et regni Anglorum a tempore Edwardi secundi post conquestum usque ad tempus successoris Edwardi tercij inclusive, quam metrificavit et fecit scribi unus canonicus de Brydelyngton. decumbens in magnis febribus ante mortem suam. qui nunquam per prius sciverat versificare vel versus intelligere sufficienter. Et fuit circa annum domini millesimum ducentessimum.'

The attribution of authorship in *D* indicates that the glossator was either unaware of or attempting to avoid the specific fifteenth-century tradition which ascribed the prophecy to John or Robert of Bridlington. Pushing the date of composition back to 1200 may simply have been an attempt to establish the antiquity of the prophecy and its independence from the events foreseen. For a partial description of Oxford, Bodleian Library Digby 186, see N. R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain. A List of Surviving Books*, 2nd edition (London, 1964), pp. 217, 380; C. R. Cheney, 'A Papal Legate and English Monasteries in 1206', *English Historical Review* 46 (1931) 443-52, especially 449.

however, in the appropriate notes to the glosses.<sup>7</sup> In the margins to the left of his text the scribe has added pi-shaped chapter markers ( $\pi$ ) which correspond for the most part to the chapter divisions of the prophecy as they are traditionally found in the original version with commentary and in Wright's text. The chapter marker also functions as a *signe de renvoi* on *Rex insensatus* (l. 3) where it is repeated in the right margin next to the gloss on this passage. Similarly, the lines *Sic variis pannis* (l. 103) and *Taurus cornutus* (l. 112), though not the first lines of any chapters, are also accompanied by this sign in the left margin without, however, being repeated next to their corresponding gloss in the right. This marker also appears next to the gloss on *Summus contritum* (l. 6) without a corresponding *signe de renvoi* in the text. In the absence of *signes de renvoi*, my practice has been to assume that a gloss applies to the line or lines immediately adjacent to it in the text. I depart from this rule only in the few cases where the content of the gloss implies some spatial disjunction between it and the text of the prophecy. My transcription preserves the orthography of the manuscript, but all punctuation and capitalization are my own.

fol. 5r

*Scribere cum pennis* (p. 128): Prohemium in quo Deus iussit sibi componere hos versus de bellis futuris, et cetera.

*Rex insensatus est* (p. 131): Hic dicit quod dominus Edwardus de Karnarvan<sup>8</sup> in omni bello erit victus, et quod ipse fecit occidi plures nobiles regni sui et etiam cognatos suos  
5 et alios qui loquebantur pro iure regni Anglie, sicut comitem Loncastrie, et cetera.

*Summus contritum* (p. 131): Hic dicit quod idem rex debet generare filium, qui comparabitur tauro, scilicet Edwardum tercium qui nuper regnavit. Et idem Edwardus tercius debet exire de regno, et redire in regnum et regnare, patre suo vivente, et quod pater suus debet mori et perforari in ano, et cetera.

10 *Ex hirco taurum* (p. 131): Taurus est Edwardus iij.

*Ejus et interiet genitor* (p. 131): Mors Edwardi secundi.

*Taurus erit fortis* (p. 137): Hic dicit quod Edwardus tercius comparabitur tauro, et quod numquam erit victus, et quod semper indigebit pecunia.

<sup>7</sup> See below, notes 20 and 26. A complete inventory of the surviving manuscripts of *The Prophecy of John of Bridlington* shows that there is a total of thirty-two apparently genuine lines of poetry absent from the manuscripts which Wright examined in preparing his transcription, and hence in his printed text. Thirty of these lines are found in *D*, but only in the two instances mentioned above (i.e., ll. 60 and 84-86) are they even briefly alluded to in the glosses. I hope to make these thirty-two additional verses and their textual variants the subject of a future article.

<sup>8</sup> Edward II (*Edwardus de Karnarvan*), the fourth son of Edward I, was born at Carnarvon on 25 April 1284.

- Semper erit taurus* (p. 137): Hic dicit de floreno qui dicitur nobile, et quod argentum  
 15 tunc erit rarum.  
*Occultis portis lustris* (p. 137): Hic dicit de capcione domini Rogeri de Mortuo Mari  
 apud Notyngham.<sup>9</sup>

## fol. 5v

- Fraus mercatorum* (p. 138): Hic loquitur de falsis denariis qui vocantur luchburnes.<sup>10</sup>  
*Taurus regnabit* (p. 141): Hic loquitur de maritagio inter sororem regis Anglie et  
 20 David regem Scottorum.<sup>11</sup>  
*Quidam ballivus* (p. 141): Hic loquitur de Balliolo et de bello commisso inter ipsum et  
 Scotos apud Depelyngmorem<sup>12</sup> (Sepelyngmorem ms.).  
*Temporibus gentis* (p. 141): Hic loquitur de bello commisso apud Halyngdonhill<sup>13</sup> quo  
 Scoti fuerunt devicti per dominum Ed[wardum] de Baliolo.  
 25 *Galli cessare* (p. 144): De Gallis primo (*in left margin*). Hic probat quod Anglia habet  
 ius in regno Francie et hoc per sacram scripturam.  
*Numquam natura mutavit* (p. 144): Nota ius regis ad Franciam (*in left margin*).  
 Quomodo Christus fuit rex Iudeorum iure sue matris.  
*Matre sua dante* (p. 144): Hic vendicat regnum Francie.  
 30 *Jam reboant bella* (p. 146): Hic dicit quod regina Isabella est causa guerre inter Anglos  
 et Francos.  
*Frendent Barbani* (p. 146): Hic de Teotonicis et Brabanicis ac Flandrencis.

## fol. 6r

- Vellere Flandrenses* (p. 146): Pro lana.  
*Fraude sua tandem* (p. 146): Hic loquitur de fraude et falsitate Francorum illorum de  
 35 Flandria.  
*Cancro regnante* (p. 146): Bellum in mari.<sup>14</sup>  
*Hic ter centena* (p. 147): Id est, tot naves.

<sup>9</sup> Roger Mortimer was captured at Nottingham Castle on 19 October 1330.

<sup>10</sup> *luchburnes* or *lushburnes* were 'debased penny-like silver coins that originated in the duchy of Luxemburgh' (C. H. V. Sutherland, *English Coinage, 600-1900* [London, 1973], p. 83). Cf. *The Vision of William Concerning Piers the Ploughman ... by William Langland*, ed. W. W. Skeat, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1886; rpt. 1968), 1.459 (C Passus 18.72-75):

Men may lykne litterid men · to a Lussheborgh, other werse,  
 And to a badde peny · with a good preynthe.  
 For of muche moneye · the metal is ryght naught,  
 3ut is the prente pure trewe · and parfitliche graue.

See also 1.459 (C Passus 18.82-84) and 1.458 (B Passus 15.342-348).

<sup>11</sup> King David of Scotland married Joanna, sister of Edward III, on 12 July 1328.

<sup>12</sup> The battle of Dupplin Moor or Gledesmore (*Depelyngmore*) took place on 11 August 1332.

<sup>13</sup> The battle of Halidon Hill took place on 19 July 1337.

<sup>14</sup> These lines refer to the naval battle at Sluis on 24 June 1340.

*Treugas astringent* (p. 149): Treuga per papam in Britannia.<sup>15</sup>

40 *Tristia post fata* (p. 149): De quassacione navium dum rediivit (*ut vid. ms.*) de Britannia.<sup>16</sup>

*Perdent Flandrenses ductorem* (p. 149): Hic loquitur quomodo illi de Flandria occiderunt unum militem qui vocabatur Jacobus de Archefylde.<sup>17</sup>

45 *Dum ruet Angerus* (p. 149): Hic loquitur quomodo cognatus pape qui vocabatur Angerus fuit occisus, et quomodo papa venit nimis tarde ad dandum sibi benedictionem suam.

*Dum carus vicus* (p. 149): Nota facta per comitem Darby postea ducem.

*Me jam cessare* (p. 149): Hic excusat se per dolorem capitis ad metrificandum.

*Qui Deus est trinus* (p. 152): Hic dicit quod rex Anglie arripuit iter suum in Franciam versus bellum de Cressey.

50 *Sub cauda tauri* (p. 152): Sub cauda tauri, id est, in mense Maij quando sol est in fine signi tauri.

fol. 6v

*Arcubus utentes* (p. 153): Id est, sagittarii transeuntes per Normanniam facient magnam stragem in populo.

55 *Ca. cadet in portis* (p. 153): Id est, civitas de Cham (*in left margin*). Hic ostendit quomodo rex Anglie cepit villam de Cham de transitu aque de Somne.<sup>18</sup>

*Cum fuerint stricta* (p. 153): Simulacio pacis per nuncium pape.

*Phi. falsus fugiet* (p. 156): Bellum de Cressey.<sup>19</sup> Nota isti versus fuerunt inventi in quodam libro in Abbathia Sancti Vedasti in Aras in Picardia (*in left margin*).

*Pro nulla marcha* (p. 156): Prior Hospitalis.

60 *Ecce sagittantes*: Quando sagitte erunt equitantes.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>15</sup> This is a reference to the attempts of papal legates in 1341 to arrange a truce in Brittany between Edward III and Philip, king of France. See *Thomae Walsingham, quondam monachi S. Albani, Historia anglicana*, ed. H. T. Riley, 2 vols. (RS 28; London, 1863), 1.253.

<sup>16</sup> Concerning this disturbance in 1341, Walsingham notes (*ibid.* 1.253): 'In redeundo quoque de Britannia, maxima incommoda per marinam tempestatem perpeusus est, quae utique dicebatur per nigromanticos Regis Franciae procurari.'

<sup>17</sup> A downward-sloping hook on the final *d* of *Archefylde* may represent an inflection. Jacob Van Arteveldt was slain in Ghent in July 1345.

<sup>18</sup> Caan was taken on 28 July 1346.

<sup>19</sup> The battle of Crecy took place on 26 August 1346.

<sup>20</sup> At this juncture, the gloss comments on a verse in a passage of nine lines found only in *D* and in certain other manuscripts independent of the commentary. These lines follow immediately after the verse 'Pro nulla marcha salvabitur ille hierarcha' (Wright, *Political Poems* 1.156):

Cedent cardones, calones, centuriones,  
Brytes, blastones, blasfemantes, buceones,  
Bustifrages, libates, broccos, bardos, barratones,  
Bustifrages, libatos lustrenes, vispiliones,  
Cleptes armatos, lustrones, vispiliones.

*Testis erit culter* (p. 156): Rex Scottorum David capietur.<sup>21</sup>

*Suspitor et clerus, penetrans cognomine verus* (p. 156): Dominus Willelmus Souch, Percy, Henricus 2<sup>us</sup>.<sup>22</sup>

*Viscera Scotorum* (p. 156): Hic loquitur de bello de Doram in quo Scoti erant devicti per Archiepiscopum Eboracensem Souche et dominum de Percy et alios dominos, et cetera.

## fol. 7r

*Cum pauca gente* (p. 156): Hic loquitur de obsidione ville de Caleys facta per regem Anglie, et de fame que fuit in dicta obsidione, et cetera.

*Attamen est sana* (p. 158): Capcio Calisie.<sup>23</sup>

70 *Ad loca praefata* (p. 159): Hic loquitur de vicijs et peccatis et specialiter de luxuria.

*Dalida Sampsonem decepit* (p. 159): Mistice loquitur.

*Dedita gens* (p. 159): Prima pestilencia.

*Trippi Germani* (p. 159): Hic dicit quod expedit regi Anglie confidere proprio tauro in regno Anglie.

75 *Nam rex robustus* (p. 161): Commendacio regis.

## fol. 7v

*Moribus aptati* (p. 161): Hic dicit quod angeli Dei dum fuerint grati Deo, non infecti mortali peccato, nuncquam erant victi in bello.

*Nam longum castrum* (p. 162): Nota de duce Loncastrie in Britannia quomodo venit in adiutorium regis Anglie in obsidione ville de Caleys.<sup>24</sup>

80 *Carceribus captus* (p. 163): Capcio Karoli de Bloyse et eius redempcio per aurum.<sup>25</sup>

*Taurus Clementis* (p. 164): Inveccio contra papam Clementem.

*Vanis Clementis* (p. 164): Hic loquitur quomodo papa despendit bona ecclesie in bellis et alijs usibus malis et ars redarguit papam graviter super hoc per scripturam.

tre  
Ecce sagittantes interficient repedantes.  
Fiant eructantes hij qui fuerant equitantes;  
Omnipotens iustis condescendet sine crustis;  
Imbuti mustis perient vibramine fustis.

<sup>21</sup> David was captured at Neville's Cross, Durham, on 17 October 1346.

<sup>22</sup> The glosses *Willelmus Souch*, *Percy* and *Henricus 2<sup>us</sup>* have been placed not in the margin but superscript above *Suspitor et clerus*, *penetrans* and *cognomine verus* respectively.

<sup>23</sup> Edward III took possession of Calais on 4 August 1347.

<sup>24</sup> Henry of Lancaster arrived at Calais towards the end of May 1347 to help the king in his siege. Henry brought supplies and reinforcements for the English forces.

<sup>25</sup> Charles of Blois was captured at Roche Derien during the summer of 1347.

- Ac ampullantes*: Hic ostendit quomodo rex Francie collegit exercitum suum ad  
85 removendum obsidionem ville de Caleyis factam per regem Anglie, sed non obtinuit, et  
cetera.<sup>26</sup>

*Falsus non stabit* (p. 166): Fuga Philippi regis de bello.

fol. 8r

- Non valet immo* (p. 166): Ostendit hic quomodo Johannes rex Francie nova bella regi  
Anglie paravit, et cetera, et de fuga regis, et cetera.  
90 *In postris verbis* (p. 168): Hic loquitur de bello de Payters et de capcione regis Francie  
et ocisione et de fuga Gallicorum.<sup>27</sup>  
*Cum canis intrabit* (p. 168): Bellum de Payters.  
*Gallorum fortis* (p. 168): Capcio Johannis regis.  
*Pa. pariet* (p. 168): Pax per papam.  
95 *Spreta mensura* (p. 171): Hic loquitur quomodo rex Anglie cepit lanam pauperum  
regni sui contra legem, videlicet L s. de sacco,<sup>28</sup> et tamen Deus vult sibi parcere.

fol. 8v

*Gallos caecavit* (p. 173): In saligia sunt septem mortalia peccata. Et nota per s,  
superbiam; per a, avariciam; l, luxuriam; j, invidiam; g, gulam; j, iram; a, accidiam.  
*Milvi sex lustra* (p. 176): Nota vim cape frustra.

fol. 9r

- 100 *Rex cum regina* (p. 180): Nota pestilencia.  
*Nulla pejor pestis* (p. 183): Hic dicit quod unus erit proditor regis, et ipse ignoscetur  
pro hoc quod ipse bene potest servari in provincia.

<sup>26</sup> Here again the gloss is on a set of lines found only in manuscripts independent of the commentary; they follow 'Bussi burgenses, Bolones, Francigenenses' (Wright, *Political Poems* 1.166):

*Ac ampullantes, alares, altiboantes,  
Consul, censores, questores, malliatores,  
Ac equestores, stratores, feneratores,  
Zenodati bini, dictatores quoque trini,  
Yconomi quini, vestiti pondere lini,  
Sindicus, ascessor, legatus, garcio, messor,  
Iudex, rutelli pedites, veteresque novelli.*

See Meyvaert, 'John Erghome', 663 n. 37.

<sup>27</sup> The battle of Poitiers at which John, king of France, was taken captive took place on 19 September 1356.

<sup>28</sup> This gloss may possibly refer to the talliage on wool imposed in 1355 by Edward III. Concerning this tax, Walsingham comments (*Historia anglicana* 1.280): 'Eodem anno, in Parlamento apud Westmonasterium concessum est Regi, ut habeat de quolibet sacco lanae, per sex annos sequentes proximos, quinquaginta solidos.'



## fol. 9v

*Sic variis pannis* (p. 183): Hic loquitur de varietate pannorum et togis curtis.

105 *Mittet censores sex* (p. 187): Hic dicit quod rex Anglie mittet iusticiarios iniquos qui confundent pauperes et inferiores.

*Scriba velut scribit* (p. 189): Hic loquitur de morte regis Anglie, et dicit quod honor Anglorum transibit in eius obitu.<sup>29</sup>

## fol. 10r

*Singula tormenta* (p. 190): Hic dicit quod omnia elementa faciunt tormenta regi Anglie, ne ipse nimis fuerit magnificatus in prosperis sibi venientibus.

110 *Antiquos mores* (p. 192): Hic dicit quod rex Anglie mutabit omnes suos mores in meliores, et cetera.

115 *Taurus cornutus* (p. 192): Hic loquitur de eventu pro futuris, et cetera. Taurus cornutus, id est, bina gerens cornua, id est, duas coronas. Brutus est ex parte patris, Gallus ex parte matris, Anglicus ex parte ortus sui. Plurima vero de gestis tauri inseruntur in dictis prophecijis que requirantur ibidem. Solus secunda novit Deus ipse futura, et cetera. Nota Scripturam.

120 *Sed nimis acerba* (p. 194): Nota quod sequentes versus compositi fuerunt per quemdam episcopum Francie in derisum et obprobrium omnium Anglorum in villa de Arras in Pikardia ubi magnates utriusque regni fuerunt congregati pro pace tractanda. Et dux Burgundie absolutus erat de periurio suo per cardinalem Sancte Crucis, et cetera.

O gens Anglorum, cur non fles gesta tuorum?

Cur tu Francorum procures dampna bonorum

Servorum Christi quos tractas crimine tristi?

Et servant isti fidem quam bis renuisti.

125 Boemos turbasti de germine quod geminasti,

Sub specie casti tu fraudem semper amasti.

Scindas annosam caudam quam fers venenosam,

Et cantas prosam fidelibus exonerosam.

Exaudi presto me presulem, et memor esto:

130 Qui te caudavit, Deus ipsum sanctificavit.<sup>30</sup>

*Jam reboant bella* (p. 195): Bellum.

<sup>29</sup> Edward III died on 21 June 1377, but Ergome in his commentary interprets these lines as referring simply to the suffering that the English king will have to endure on account of his sins:

<sup>30</sup> The identity of the French bishop who supposedly composed these satirical verses will probably remain unknown. In his account of the ceremony at St. Vaast during the Congress of Arras (1435), however, Gautier Van den Vliet mentions that among the French bishops in attendance was Jean Juvénal des Ursins, then bishop of Beauvais (see F. Funck-Brentano, 'Le caractère religieux de la diplomatie au moyen âge', *Revue d'histoire diplomatique* 1 [1887] 120), and later the author of two polemics, 'Audite celi que loquor' on the Treaty of Arras, and the 'Traictie compendieux de la querelle de France' (see A. Bossuat, 'La littérature de propagande au xv<sup>e</sup> siècle. Le mémoire de Jean de Rinel, secrétaire du roi d'Angleterre, contre le duc de Bourgogne (1435)', *Cahiers d'histoire* 2 [1956] 142-43).

fol. 10v

*Tauri curta quies* (p. 201): De successore tauri.

fol. 11r

*Gallum de bruto* (p. 203): Hic incipit nomen regis de tauro in Gallicis.*Mors faciet gyrum* (p. 206): Hic dicit quod peccatum est causa mortis et pestilencie.135 *Quantum durabit* (p. 206): Hic loquitur de prima pestilencia futura que veniet propter peccatum hominum, et durabit per ij annos et dimidium, et cetera.*Fortunare bonam* (p. 206): Hic dicit quod Johannes rex Francie recusabit coronam Francie portare.140 *Nunquam Gallorum* (p. 206): Hic dicit quod ipsi de Francia negabunt pacta que fecerunt cum rege Anglie, nec observabunt eam, et cetera.

fol. 11v

*Inferni porta* (p. 211): Hic dicit quod regnum Francie reddetur regi Anglie apud Paryse in una porta que vocatur inferni.*Non divinavi* (p. 211): Hic excusat se de hoc opere quod fecit per sompnia, et dicit quod non curat quamvis homines credunt sibi vel non, et cetera.

The marginal notes in ll. 57-58 and 117-130 indicate that the glosses were originally written when the memory of the Congress of Arras (1435) was still fresh. Mention is made of the absolution of the duke of Burgundy *de periurio suo* by the cardinal of the Holy Cross. This is a clear allusion to the ceremony on 21 September 1435 in the church of St. Vaast in Arras, when an independent Franco-Burgundian treaty was ratified, and when Philip duke of Burgundy was solemnly absolved of his oath of loyalty to the English by Niccolò Albergati, the papal *legatus a latere*. This event by which the English were deprived of one of their principal allies was a major setback for their foreign diplomacy, and a serious blow to their political ambitions in France.<sup>31</sup> The duke's actions were regarded by the English as pure treachery and as a flagrant repudiation of his legal obligations to them under the Treaty of Amiens (1423). That the scene in St. Vaast was arranged and sanctioned by a papal legate only served to deepen the English sense of frustration and isolation. The duke had been urged for some time in publicist literature to come to terms with the French; Alain Chartier, for example, urged him to make peace with the

<sup>31</sup> See J. G. Dickinson, *The Congress of Arras, 1435. A Study in Medieval Diplomacy* (Oxford, 1955), especially pp. 49-77, 82, 99-102, 160-98, and Funck-Brentano, *ibid.*, 121-24.

French or suffer his good name to be sullied by the condemnations of chroniclers and historians:

Pensez de qui vous venistes  
Et yssistes,  
Et dont voz armes prenistes,  
et tenistes  
Honneur, terre, nom et gloire....

S'autrement faittes ou dittes,  
Voz conduittes  
Seront en honneur petites,  
Et maudites  
En cronique et en hystoire.<sup>32</sup>

The English for their part attacked the duke as the avatar of duplicity, and branded him the 'foundour of new falsehede'.<sup>33</sup> The continuator of the *Brut* comments:

Thou madist an oothe, be gret avisynesse,  
Vppon the sacrament at Amyas, in that toun,  
Ay to be trewe, voyde of dobylnesse.  
But vndyr the courteyne of fals collusioun,  
Thou gat at Araas an absolucioun,  
Thy feyned feythe vp falsly to resynge,  
Causing Flaundrys, to ther confusioun,  
Ageyn Ingelond prowldly to malynge.  
  
The pees purposyd at Araas in soothnesse,  
Whan our embassatourys, of hool affeccioun,  
Cam goodly thedyr, dyd ther bysynesse,  
To haue concluded a parfynt vnyoun  
Twyxt to reavmus, for ful conclusioun,  
Thou, shewyng there a face ful benyg[n]e,  
Vndyr a veyle of fals decepcioun,  
Record of Flaundrys, whiche falsly do the malygne.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>32</sup> *The Poetical Works of Alain Chartier*, ed. J. C. Laidlaw (Cambridge, 1974), p. 412. The date of *Le lay de Paix* from which this quotation is taken is in some dispute. One manuscript claims that the poem was sent to Philip, duke of Burgundy while he was attending the Council of Arras. Laidlaw, however, is of the opinion that it might date from as early as 1426 (p. 11).

<sup>33</sup> Wright, *Political Poems* 2.148.

<sup>34</sup> *The Brut or The Chronicles of England*, ed. F. W. D. Brie, 2 vols. (EETS OS 136; London, 1906-1908), 2.600-601. Other English polemics directed against the duke of Burgundy can be found in Wright, *Political Poems* 2.150-51. See also Bossuat, 'La littérature de propagande' (cited above, n. 30).

The annotator of *D*, who may have been in Arras during the negotiations,<sup>35</sup> adds fuel to the bitter polemical exchanges of 1435 by claiming to be in possession of a satire on the English composed by a French bishop at Arras *in derisum et obprobrium omnium Anglorum*. This ten-line poem is actually the first half of an exchange of barbs between a Frenchman and an Englishman, thought to have been composed some twenty years earlier shortly after the battle of Agincourt. The *responsio Anglorum* according to the version in London, British Library Harley 2406, fol. 9r runs:

Anglorum gentem cur false percutis ore?  
Et pro responso do tibi metra duo.  
Prævalet in lingua qui non est fortior armis,  
Nullus in hac pugna plus meretrice valet.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>35</sup> The use of the impersonal form of the verb in ll. 57-58 of the glosses renders this suggestion somewhat tentative, but this passage and ll. 117-130 seem to indicate some personal familiarity with the cloister of St. Vaast on the part of the glossator.

<sup>36</sup> Wright, *Political Poems* 2.128. The taunt *Anglici caudati* probably derives ultimately from a folk-motif attached to the legend of St. Augustine of Canterbury wherein the recalcitrant citizens of a certain town in Dorset had fishtails attached to them and their corrupt descendants for their abusive treatment of Augustine and his companions: 'Cumque prouinciam que Dorseta appellatur attigisset, et vbique vt angelus domini reciperetur; incidit in quandam villam, vbi plebs impia non solum audire nequibat viuifica documenta, verum ludibria et obprobria sanctis ingerentes, a possessione sua sanctos dei longe proturbabant, nec manu pepercisse creditur manus effrenis. Vir autem dei, excusso puluere pedum in eos, dignam suis meritis sententiam iniecit, quatinus sanctorum contemptores, tam in ipsis quam in omnibus posteris suis, debita pena redargueret, qui vite mandata repulissent. Fama enim est, illos marinorum piscium caudas sanctis appendisse, et illis quidem gloriam sempiternam peperisse, in se vero ignominiam perennem retorsisse, vt hoc dedecus degeneranti generi, non innocenti et generose imputetur patrie' (*Nova legenda Anglie* ..., ed. C. Horstman, 1 [Oxford, 1901], p. 96). See also *The Golden Legend or Lives of the Saints as Englished by William Caxton*, ed. F. S. Ellis, 7 vols. (London, 1892; rpt. New York, 1973), 3.201.

The same epithet seems to have been one of a number that were popular in Paris according to Jacques de Vitry: '...sed pro diuersitate regionum mutuo dissidentes, inuidentes et detrahentes, multas contra se contumelias et obprobria impudenter proferebant, anglicos potatores et caudatos affirmantes, francigenas superbos, molles et muliebriter compositos asserentes, teutonicos furibundos et in conuiuuiis suis obscenos dicebant, normannos autem inanes et gloriosos, pictauros peditores et fortune amicos' (*The Historia Occidentalis of Jacques de Vitry. A Critical Edition*, ed. J. F. Hinnebusch [Fribourg, 1972], p. 92). See Wright, *Political Poems* 1.176-77. Deschamps (fully cited below, n. 40) also alludes to this taunt:

Les François portent petit fès;  
Certes plus fors sont les Anglès.  
Car deux tonneaux portent adès  
Et une queue proprement.  
Certes plus fors sont les Anglès  
Que les François communement.  
(*Œuvres complètes* 4.130)

See also *Nigel de Longchamps, Speculum stultorum*, ed. J. H. Mozley and R. R. Raymo (Berkeley-Los Angeles, 1960), p. 65, ll. 1533-38; M. Houck, *Sources of the Roman de Brut of Wace* (University of California Publications in English 5; Berkeley, 1941), pp. 265-72.

There can be little doubt that the glosses draw on the commentary to clarify those cryptic passages of the prophecy which otherwise might remain totally obscure especially in the absence of Ergome's second preamble (Wright, *Political Poems* 1.126-27) where the ten species of prophetic 'occultations' are analyzed. A reader without previous knowledge of the mnemonic *saligia*, for example, would probably be stymied by the following line on the depravity of the French:

Gallos caecavit et eos saligia stravit (Wright, *Political Poems* 1.173).

The gloss on this line in *D* (97-98) provides the essential information from the commentary ('In saligia sunt septem mortalia peccata. Et nota per s, superbiam; per a, avariciam; l, luxuriam; j, invidiam; g, gulam; j, iram; a, accidiam') while dispensing with the commentary's characteristic prolixity:

Et nota quod in ista dictione *saligia* continentur septem literæ designantes septem peccata mortalia. Per s, primam literam, designatur superbia, quæ est primum peccatum mortale; per a, secundam literam, designatur avaritia, secundum peccatum mortale; per l, tertiam literam, designatur luxuria, tertium peccatum mortale; per i, quartam literam, designatur invidia, quartum peccatum mortale; per g, quintam literam, designatur gula, quintum peccatum mortale; per i, sextam literam, designatur ira, sextum peccatum mortale; per a, septimam literam, designatur accidia, septimum peccatum mortale. Quia igitur Gallici omni peccato mortali fuerant maculati, unde strati sunt ab Anglicis, dicit auctor *et eos saligia stravit* (Wright, *Political Poems* 1.174).

Yet the glosses in *D* are not simply a reduced version or a subject guide to the commentary; while the former are in some measure reliant on the latter, nevertheless, there are sufficient differences between the two to establish the independence of mind and intention of the glossator of *D*. Only in the glosses, for example, do we find mention of Mortimer's capture as having occurred at Nottingham (ll. 16-17), reference to Jacob Van Artevelde by name (ll. 41-42), identification of Angerus as a *cognatus* of Pope Clement (ll. 43-45), the interpretation of *penetrans cognomine verus* as applying to both Percy and Henry II (ll. 62-63), the construing of *moriatur fulmine sortis* to mean death by pestilence (l. 72), the anticipation of the battle of Poitiers in *Cum canis intrabit* (l. 92), the idea of the salvation *in provincia* of the *proditor* (ll. 101-102). Moreover, the glossator comments, as we have seen, on two passages of additional prophetic lines (ll. 60 and 84-86; see nn. 20 and 26) that are found in none of the surviving manuscripts of the commentary version.

More important than the departure in detail from the commentary, however, is the manner in which the glosses selectively draw the reader's attention to certain topics in the prophecy and, by omission, away from others. For instance, the reader is urged to notice the persistent military success of the

English against the French at Sluis, Vannes, Caen, Crecy, Calais and Poitiers, the venality of England's foreign allies and mercenaries, especially the Germans and the Flemings, the complicity of the papacy with the machinations of the French and its deceitfulness in negotiating truces, the untrustworthiness of the French in their treaties, the justice and sound scriptural basis of the English claim to the throne of France. On the other hand, among the characteristic topics of the prophecy which the *D* glossator tends to ignore completely or to note only perfunctorily are: the rampant civil disorder and moral corruption of the reign of Edward II, monetary chaos and the rule of simony in the early years of Edward III's reign, the king's lechery, his abusive treatment of his people, his prodigality, God's intention to punish him, his corrupt advisors, courtiers and judges, the famines, pestilences and natural disasters visited by God on the English for their waywardness.<sup>37</sup>

The extreme selectivity of the glosses often results in some loss of the original prophecy's meaning. Without the gloss on *Quidam ballivus* (21-22) few readers would be so clever as to see a reference here to Edward Balliol's rout of the Scots at Dupplin Moor:

Quidam ballivus, armis jam nominativus,  
Voce vocativus tauri, tauroque dativus,  
Sternet equos ligni, medio latitat leo signi.

(Wright, *Political Poems* 1.141)

Nevertheless, the absence of a gloss on the obscure grammatical analogy between the Latin case system and Balliol's political career tends to suppress the prophecy's intimation of connivance between the young Edward III and Balliol in the latter's invasion of Scotland in 1332. Ergome comments:

... et hoc dicit iste auctor, *Quidam ballivus nominativus jam in armis*, i. E. de Balliolle, quia tunc nominativus in armis fuit, et bellicosus reputabatur. *Vocativus voce tauri*, quia taurus eum forte vocavit contra Scotiam, vel quia voce tauri seu ejus nomine vocatus, scilicet Edwardus. *Tauroque dativus*, vel quia aliqua dona præbuit regni Angliæ, vel forte sibi concessit subjectionem Scotiæ et pacem inter regna postquam eam adquisiverit. *Sternet equos ligni*, i. naves; et hic utitur tertia occultatione. *Medio latitat leo signi*, i. leo scuti Scotiæ latitabat in medio navium, quem secum assumpsit tanquam verus hæres; et hic utitur secunda occultatione (Wright, *Political Poems* 1.142).

Moreover, the gloss on *Moribus aptati* (76-77) leads one to suppose that this line concerns the angels who as long as they were free from mortal sin remained invincible. In Ergome's commentary, however, the entire chapter in which this

<sup>37</sup> For the original prophecy's treatment of these matters, see the following pages of Wright's transcription: *Political Poems* 1.132-34, 140-41, 160, 171-72, 184-88, 191-92, 206-207, 209.

line is found (dist. 2, chap. 4) is interpreted as referring to Edward III's siege of Calais. The lines 'Moribus aptati, nunquam fient superati./Pondere peccati sunt plures pancratiati' (Wright, *Political Poems* 1.161) contain, according to Ergome, praise as well as blame for the moral stature of the English combatants:

Secundo ostendit iste auctor quod dum iste rex duxerit milites suos sine peccato, semper habebit victoriam; unde dicit, *Nobilis hic miles*, i. rex Angliae, *acies ducet juveniles*, scilicet in exercitu suo, *qui nunquam fient superati*, ab inimicis suis, *dum fuerant grati*, Deo et regi suo, et *peccatis non maculati*, scilicet in conscientia, sed bonis moribus aptati. Sed auctor jam dicit de eis quod *plures sunt pancratiati*, i. gravati et depressi, *pondere peccati*, quod isti portant in conscientiis suis propter maleficia sua (Wright, *Political Poems* 1.162).

There can be little doubt, therefore, that the author of these glosses in *D* was striving to diminish the original prophecy's denunciation of English vices, and to give disproportionate prominence to the prophecy's putative support of the English cause in France and to its attack on England's adversaries as they were defined c. 1435. The moderating elements in the chauvinistic original have been consigned to oblivion. We can thus observe how a tract for the 1360s was resurrected (not quite undamaged) for the post-1435 era. The mid-fifteenth-century reader with access to the kinds of glosses found in *D* could understand something of the general scope, if not the linguistic, numerological and symbolic niceties, of this vision of the destiny of English history. If we accept the rhetorical pretension of prophecy as most medieval readers did, this inspired work, uttered over 200 years earlier by a pious Augustinian friar immune from the accusations of self-interest and partisanship, foretold the ultimate defeat of the French, and justified English claims in France. Along the way, the reader was reminded of recent indignities, betrayals and taunts perpetrated by England's enemies and former allies. But the prophecy foresaw the day that would bring to inevitable fruition the right of the English nation: 'quod regnum Francie reddetur regi Anglie'.

The French had long recruited some of their most respected public and literary men as propagandists in the debate over England's claim to the French crown. Jean de Montreuil and Noël de Fribois were both secretaries to the king, Jean Juvénal des Ursins was a royal *avocat* and later archbishop of Reims, Robert Blondel was schoolmaster to François, count of Étampes and Charles of France, and author of the anti-English *Oratio historialis*; all these men turned their considerable talents to use in the field of publicist literature.<sup>38</sup> Even the

<sup>38</sup> Bossuat, 'La littérature de propagande', 142-43. See also P. S. Lewis, 'War Propaganda and Historiography in Fifteenth-Century France and England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th Ser., 15 (1965), especially 9-15.

sixty-seven-year-old poetess Christine de Pisan composed a prophecy on 31 July 1429 to celebrate Charles vii's entry without resistance into Paris.<sup>39</sup> Christine names Charles the *cerf-volant* and claims that prophecies foretell that he will one day be master of all kings.<sup>40</sup> More ominously for the English, she asserts that Merlin, the Sibyl and the Venerable Bede all predicted the advent and success of La Pucelle as the redeemer of the French.<sup>41</sup> In fact, the French were quite fond of interpreting Merlin to their own advantage. Jean Brehal quotes a prophecy of Merlin found in *historia Bruti* which predicts the magnificent accomplishments of Joan.<sup>42</sup> Elsewhere in what can only be regarded as a carefully edited version of book 7 of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britanniae*, Brehal glosses Merlin's prophecies in such a way as to have them predict the French annexation of Britain.<sup>43</sup> Similar French successes were supposedly foretold in the prophecies of Eugelida, daughter of the king of Hungary, and by the astrologer Johannes de Monte Alcino.<sup>44</sup> French publicists knew well the demoralizing effect that such literature could have on the English whose native bards and saints were being turned into prophets of French military victory. In at least one instance, French propagandists borrowed lines from *The Prophecy of John of Bridlington*, attributed them to

<sup>39</sup> Christine's prophecy is found in *Procès de condamnation et de réhabilitation de Jeanne d'Arc dite La Pucelle*, ed. J. Quicherat, 5 vols. (Paris, 1841-49), 5.4-21.

<sup>40</sup> *ibid.*, p. 8. The term *cerf-volant* was coined by Deschamps who used it with reference to Charles vi in a number of prophecies which Christine may have known. See *Œuvres complètes de Eustache Deschamps*, ed. le Marquis de Queux de Saint-Hilaire, 11 vols. (Paris, 1878-1903), 1.64, 165; 2.10, 57, 58; 5.330; 7.244, 245.

<sup>41</sup> *Procès de condamnation* 5.12-13. These three prophetic figures are drawn together along with le Brut in Deschamps' prophetic 'Autre Balade. (Contre l'Angleterre) [1385]', *Œuvres complètes* 1.106-107 (see also 2.33-34, 137-38; 5.329-30; 10.xiii-xiv). On the French exploitation of the prophecies of Merlin to lend legitimacy to Joan's career, see D. Fraioli, 'The Literary Image of Joan of Arc: Prior Influences', *Speculum* 56 (1981), especially 817-24.

<sup>42</sup> *Procès de condamnation* 3.339-40. Brehal was anticipated in his use of Merlin by Deschamps' 'De la prophécie Merlin sur la destruction d'Angleterre qui doit brief advenir' (*Œuvres complètes* 2.33):

Par leur orgueil vient la dure journée  
Dont leur prophete Merlin  
Prenostica leur dolereuse fin,  
Quant il escripst: 'vie perdrez et terre,  
Lors monstrent estraingier et voisin:  
Ou temps jadis estoit cy Angleterre.'

See also 6.185.

<sup>43</sup> *Procès de condamnation* 3.341-44.

<sup>44</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 341, 344-47. Brehal refers to a 'peritus astrologus Senensis, nomine Johannes de Monte Alcino' but Quicherat (p. 341 n. 2) informs us that the name should be Petrus de Monte Alcino. See L. Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, 8 vols. (New York, 1929-58), 4.80 and 90-93. I would like to thank Professor Richard Lerner for his help in identifying this personage.



Bede, and interpreted them as prophesying that Joan of Arc would come to aid Charles in his struggle with the English.<sup>45</sup> Perhaps Christine of Pisan knew this work. In any case, the *réchauffage* of *The Prophecy of John of Bridlington* during the mid-fifteenth century should be understood as a response in *genre* to the French reliance on prophecy as a powerful tool of propaganda in their disputes with the English.

The glosses in *D* demonstrate that English publicists followed this *littérature de circonstance*, and attempted to undermine some of its conventional juridical and pseudo-historical props. It is partly against the so-called Salic Law, for example, that the *taurus cornutus* episode in the Bridlington prophecy was written:

Taurus cornutus, ex patris germine Brutus,  
Anglicus est natus, Gallus de matre creatus;  
Anglicus et Brutus, Gallus certamine tutus,  
Triplex natura perquiret pristina iura.

(Wright, *Political Poems* 1.192)

Behind these same lines, but perhaps less well known than the Salic Law argument, is the attempt on the part of French publicists to deny that the English had any claim to Trojan ancestry. In *Le débat des hérauts d'armes de France et d'Angleterre* (c. 1456), for example, the herald of France says:

Item, or voyons, dame Prudence, comme le herault d'Angleterre mesprent et fourfait grandement en son office, car il se veult parer et couvrir d'autrui robe, et veult attribuer l'onneur des chevaliers dessus nommez, lesquels furent de la nacion de Bretaigne a la nacion de Saxonne, qui a present se nomme Angleterre.<sup>46</sup>

The Trojan link was an integral part of the racial consciousness of both nations and functioned to establish their nobility and antiquity. Furthermore, the French knew their Geoffrey of Monmouth, and did not mistake Saxons for Britons. The success of the Saxon wars in nearly exterminating the native British inhabitants of the island demonstrated that the English had forfeited long ago the right to claim noble Trojan lineage. Insofar as the French could trace their descent from Francion and the other Sicambrian Trojans, their claims to Aquitaine and Normandy were sanctioned by their antiquity. The Saxons, on the other hand, were mere interlopers whose notorious territorial appetite was sated by main force.<sup>47</sup> Bridlington's insistence on the *triplex natura*

<sup>45</sup> *Procès de condamnation* 3.338-39.

<sup>46</sup> *Le débat des hérauts d'armes de France et d'Angleterre suivi de The Debate between the Heralds of England and France by John Coke*, ed. L. Pannier and P. Mayer (Paris, 1877), p. 11.

<sup>47</sup> A. Bossuat, 'Les origines troyennes: leur rôle dans la littérature historique au xv<sup>e</sup> siècle', *Annales de Normandie* 8 (1958), especially 195-96. Brehal's claim (see above, n. 43) that Merlin's

of the *taurus cornutus* was intended to support the English cause by re-confirming the legitimacy of their British, that is to say, their Trojan ancestry. The fact that the glosses in *D* continued to stress the original prophecy's sanction of the English claim to a Trojan pedigree demonstrates how important the descent from Brutus was at least to one Englishman who seems to have followed recent political events as closely as he did French publicists' reflections on them.

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Admittedly, political prophecy's appeal is principally to the emotions, and its intention is to arouse and reflect feelings of indignation and national pride. The study of this genre of literature, however, offers us the opportunity to observe the shaping process of a nation's political sentiment at a critical moment in its history. Functioning as an instrument for the creation as well as the expression of political opinion, prophecy can be understood as both a self-confession and a self-revelation of identity. From the time of Geoffrey of Monmouth, prophecy flourished as an oblique mode of political discourse whose popularity reached its zenith during the fifteenth century when it played an important role in England and France in strengthening mutual stereotypes, and in helping thereby to crystalize notions of distinct national identities. Manuscripts of *The Prophecy of John of Bridlington* were in the possession of some very prominent men, but what influence the work exerted, if any, on their political views we shall probably never know.<sup>48</sup> The glosses in *D*, however, offer us, as we have

prophecy ('Accede Cambria, et junge lateri tuo Cornubiam') foretold a French conquest of Britain hinges on the French claim to descent from the Sicambrian Trojans: 'Accede Cambria, id est Franciae corona, a Sicambria, civitate antiqua Pannoniae, unde Franci provenere, sic dicta: nam et Clodoveo protochristiano regi baptismum suscipienti, ait Remigius: "Depone mitis colla Sicamber." Accede, inquam, quae longe a nobis et diutius quasi proscripta secessisti, et junge lateri tuo Cornubiam, id est Angliam, ut a parte una totum denominetur. Junge quidem lateri tuo, quoniam omnium nostrum votiva est fiducia, te felicius victoriarum successu, tuo imperio Angliam inde conjungere posse.'

<sup>48</sup> Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 851 (SC 3041) was owned by John de Wellis, an opponent of Wyclif, who was present at the Oxford trial in 1381 (see A. G. Rigg, 'Medieval Latin Poetic Anthologies [III]', *Mediaeval Studies* 40 [1978] 387-407). Thomas Lyseux, dean of St. Paul's (1441-56), owned Oxford, Bodleian Library Digby 89. John Whitgift, archbishop of Canterbury (1583-1604) and vice-chancellor of the University of Cambridge (1570-73), owned Cambridge, Trinity College B.1.37 (James 35). Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 487 (SC 2067) was in the possession of John Curteys (1457-1509), the Oxford antiquarian and fellow of New College and Winchester. William Molasch, prior of Christ Church, Canterbury (1428-37), owned Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 648 (SC 2291). London, British Library Arundel 66 may have been copied expressly for Henry VII (see H. L. D. Ward and J. A. Herbert, *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 3 vols. (London, 1883-1910), 1.301-302. Though he was not a politically prominent figure, we should perhaps note that the antiquarian Thomas Hearn's holograph copy of portions of London, Westminster Abbey 27 is now in Oxford, Bodleian Library Rawlinson D.366, fols. 1-4.

seen, a unique opportunity to observe the political climate in which the prophecy was revived, and the purposes it was thought to serve. *The Prophecy of John of Bridlington* was surely the most ambitious prophecy ever written in England, but one whose place in international publicist literature remains greatly undervalued.

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# THE HUMANISM OF THE PENITENTIALS AND THE CONTINUITY OF THE PENITENTIAL TRADITION

*Pierre J. Payer*

THE reputation of the ancient *libri penitenciales* tends to suffer at the hands of those discussing the new type of penitential literature which began to appear in the second half of the twelfth century, frequently referred to as *summae confessorum*. The penitentials are said to represent 'completely impersonal tariffs';<sup>1</sup> they present the sin and its punishment 'objectively and in the abstract';<sup>2</sup> they are 'mere tariffs of penances';<sup>3</sup> and they 'provide a rigid penal code to be applied mechanically by the confessors'.<sup>4</sup> The concluding remarks of a recent study of the penitentials are no less condemnatory:

Mais surtout le rôle pédagogique de nos livres a été négatif sur la sensibilité religieuse du chrétien. Nous inclinerions plutôt à croire que les *Libri paenitenciales* ont objectivement œuvré à l'abaissement de la moralité, consécutif au système de la taxation et de l'expiation *tarifée*, au 'do ut des', qui en est le fondement même.<sup>5</sup>

These are harsh judgments on a form of literature created to aid the priest in his intimate work of confessor and whose presence is felt in the West from the

<sup>1</sup> P. Michaud-Quantin, 'À propos des premières *Summae confessorum*. Théologie et droit canonique', *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* [= *RTAM*] 26 (1959) 265.

<sup>2</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> J. J. F. Firth, ed., *Robert of Flamborough, Canon-Penitentiary of Saint-Victor at Paris. Liber Poenitentialis. A Critical Edition with Introduction and Notes* (Studies and Texts 18; Toronto, 1971), p. 10.

<sup>4</sup> F. Broomfield, ed., *Thomae de Chobham Summa confessorum* (Analecta mediaevalia namurcensia 25; Louvain-Paris, 1968), p. xii.

<sup>5</sup> C. Vogel, *Les 'Libri paenitenciales'* (Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental 27; Turnhout, 1978), p. 112. Speaking of what he calls a turning point in the history of penance P. Delhayé says, 'Elle marque le passage des pénitentiels canoniques, adaptés à la pénitence tarifée et rigoriste, aux *summae confessoriarum* orientées vers une pratique plus souple et plus large' ('Deux textes de Senatus de Worcester sur la pénitence', *RTAM* 19 [1952] 208). For generally sympathetic observations on the penitentials see A. J. Frantzen, *The Literature of Penance in Anglo-Saxon England* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1983), pp. 3-10, 200, 204-205.

late sixth century until well into the twelfth. The penitentials circulated separately, were copied into manuscripts containing classical canonical collections, are found in liturgical contexts, and were incorporated as *auctoritates* into collections of canon law from the ninth century onwards. They take many forms: some are mere lists of penanced sins while others are more elaborate documents with prefaces, tables of contents, and epilogues. It seems almost an equivocal use of the term to call both the *Burgundian Penitential* and the *Excarpsus of Cummean* penitentials, to say nothing of the two works of Hrabanus Maurus which go under that name.<sup>6</sup>

The thinking underlying the negative comments about the penitentials focuses on three fundamental points: (1) the system of tariffs; (2) the mechanical application of the tariffs; and (3) a lack of concern for the individuality of penitents. The early works going by the name of penitentials certainly have as their most characteristic feature a system of tariffed censures of various sins. However, very few consist only of such lists of offences and, for example, some of those in the editions have been taken out of their liturgical contexts.<sup>7</sup> The second and third points go together since a mechanical application implies a disregard for the individuality of penitents. It is difficult to know how anyone who had read the penitentials could suggest that they promoted an automatic, mechanical imposition of predetermined penances in disregard of the personal status of the penitent. There is not a shred of evidence to support the claim, and overwhelming evidence to the contrary in the penitentials themselves. The charge of automatism in the levying of prescribed penances is usually made to contrast the penitential practice with the post-Gratian idea that penances are to be left to the discretion of the priest (*ad arbitrium sacerdotis*).

Of course the early works of Bartholomew of Exeter, Alan of Lille, Robert of Flamborough, and Thomas of Chobham are vastly superior to the traditional penitential manuals, as are the works sponsored by the Dominicans following the Fourth Lateran Council, particularly the immensely popular and influential *Summa* of Raymond of Pennafort.<sup>8</sup> Most are marked by sophisticated

<sup>6</sup> *Burgundian Penitential* in H. J. Schmitz, *Die Bussbücher und das kanonische Bussverfahren nach handschriftlichen Quellen dargestellt* (Düsseldorf, 1898; rpt. Graz, 1958), pp. 320-22; *Excarpsus (Cummean)*, *ibid.*, pp. 597-644; Hrabanus Maurus, *Paenitentiale ad Oigarium* (PL 112.1397-1424) and *Paenitentiale ad Heribaldum* (PL 110.467-94).

<sup>7</sup> For example the *Bobbio Penitential* from the Bobbio Missal, for which see E. A. Lowe, ed., *The Bobbio Missal. A Gallican Mass-Book (MS. Paris. lat. 13246)*, vol. 2: *Text* (Henry Bradshaw Society 58; London, 1920); *Paris Penitential*, for which see L. C. Mohlberg, L. Eizenhöfer, P. Siffrin, eds., *Liber sacramentorum romanae ecclesiae ordinis anni circuli (Cod. Vat. Reg. lat. 316/Paris Bibl. Nat. 7193, 41-56) (Sacramentarium Gelasianum)* (Rerum ecclesiasticarum documenta, Series maior, fontes 4; Rome, 1960), pp. 254-59.

<sup>8</sup> A. Morey, ed., *Bartholomew of Exeter, Bishop and Canonist. A Study in the Twelfth Century ... with the Text of Bartholomew's Penitential from the Cotton MS. Vitellius A.XII*

knowledge of contemporary canonical studies and by a reflective, probing consciousness resulting in careful analyses, resolution of ambiguities, and clarification of conceptual difficulties. Many are really handbooks containing the rudiments of pastoral knowledge required by priests engaged in the *cura animarum*. Even the works written before the Fourth Lateran Council which focus primarily on penance are virtual treatises on the subject, far transcending the rather narrow concerns of the *libri penitenciales*. Those concerns were the actual practice of confession: interrogation, instruction, imposition of penances. But all manuals, whether the ancient penitentials or the elaborate *summae* of Raymond of Pennafort and John of Freiburg,<sup>9</sup> are based on a theory touching the hearing of confessions and the imposition of penances. The thesis to be explored in this essay is that there is a continuity of theory and that the received opinion about the penitentials in contrast with the later *summae* is groundless. In pursuit of this thesis the following areas will be examined: (1) the role of the confessor and the imposition of penances in the penitentials; (2) the discretionary role of the confessor after Gratian; (3) the post-Gratian *canones penitenciales*.

### 1. *The Role of the Confessor and the Imposition of Penances in the Penitentials*

Certainly, what is most striking about the penitentials are their canons which name or describe offences and specify penances for the offences. However, very few penitential manuals are comprised exclusively of such canons. Most have discursive prologues and epilogues and even canons which provide advice and instruction for the priest both as to his role as confessor and as to the interpretation of penances. The discursive component in the earlier manuals is the raw material out of which later instructions are composed, sometimes made up of whole paragraphs of the earlier text, sometimes just isolated sentences, sometimes expanding on the original. Only by focusing on the canons in

(Cambridge, 1937); J. Longère, *Alain de Lille. Liber Poenitentialis*, vol. 2: *La tradition longue. Texte inédit publié et annoté* (Analecta mediaevalia namurcensia 18; Louvain-Lille, 1965); for Robert of Flamborough and Thomas of Chobham see nn. 3 and 4 above. For discussion of the nature of these works see J. Longère, 'Quelques *Summae de poenitentia* à la fin du XII<sup>e</sup> et au début du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles' in *Actes du 99<sup>e</sup> Congrès national des sociétés savantes, Besançon, 1974. Section de philologie et d'histoire jusqu'à 1610* 1 (Paris, 1977), pp. 45-58. I used the Rome 1603 edition for Raymond of Pennafort (*Summa stii. Raymundi de Peniafort Barcinonensis Ord. Praedicatorum, De poenitentia, et matrimonio cum glossis Ioannis de Friburgo*); the glosses are those of William of Rennes. For the works of the early Dominicans see L. E. Boyle, 'Notes on the Education of the *Fratres Communes* in the Dominican Order in the Thirteenth Century' in *Xenia medii aevi historiam illustrantia oblata Thomae Kaeppli, O.P.* (Rome, 1978), pp. 249-67.

<sup>9</sup> John of Freiburg, *Summa confessorum* (Rome, 1518).

isolation could one conclude that the early penitentials were blind to the peculiarities of individuals and reveal a mentality that is content with a mechanical assessment of tariffs.

The idea behind the penitentials is delineated very clearly by Columbanus (fl. 600 A.D.) and is simply stated: 'Diversity of offences causes diversity of penances', that is, different sins of differing gravity are committed and the length of penances ought to be in proportion to the gravity of the sins.<sup>10</sup> This is repeated for centuries afterwards and introduces the favoured analogy of the confessor as spiritual doctor and penance as the medicine for sins.<sup>11</sup> The physician of souls must know (*cognoscere*) the different illnesses, he must treat them (*curare*), and so restore (*revocare*) the sinner to a state of complete health. Only a few have these skills, and Columbanus offers some prescriptions from the tradition of the Fathers and a few of his own making to facilitate the work of the confessor.<sup>12</sup> Thus guidelines or suggestions strengthened by the sanction of tradition are given. It is understood that the wise and skilled doctor may have better treatments than those provided by Columbanus. The not so wise, however, will at least have guidance in his tasks of knowing, treating, and restoring to health.

There is nothing in Columbanus to suggest that the canons he proposes are to be applied blindly, but it might be suggested that the emphasis is placed on the objective measurement of the gravity of the sins and the corresponding penance, to the neglect of the sinner.<sup>13</sup> The deficiency, if there were one, was soon remedied by the Irish *Penitential of Cummean*. The prologue of this work begins with a medical analogy and ends with a simple statement that applies it: 'Contraries are cured by contraries',<sup>14</sup> a principle which would be used throughout the Middle Ages for the imposition of penances. In his epilogue Cummean counsels the confessor to consider additional features in the imposition of penances: the length of time the sinner remained in his sin, his degree of learning, the magnitude of his passion, his degree of strength, the intensity of his weeping, the force of the compulsion which drove him to sin.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>10</sup> See *Penitential of Columbanus* A. 1 in L. Bieler, ed., *The Irish Penitentials*, with an appendix by D. A. Binchy (*Scriptores latini Hiberniae* 5; Dublin, 1963), p. 96.

<sup>11</sup> *Penit. of Columbanus* B, prologue (*ibid.*, p. 99). See J. T. McNeill, 'Medicine for Sins as Prescribed in the Penitentials', *Church History* 1 (1932) 14-26. For an excellent survey of the diffusion of the Irish penitentials see R. Kottje, 'Überlieferung und Rezeption der irischen Bussbücher auf dem Kontinent' in *Die Iren und Europa im früheren Mittelalter*, ed. H. Löwe, 2 vols. (Stuttgart, 1982), 1.511-24.

<sup>12</sup> See *Penit. of Columbanus* B, prologue (*ibid.*, p. 98).

<sup>13</sup> '... so that in accordance with the greatness of the offences the length also of the penances should be ordained' (*Penit. of Columbanus* A. 1 [*ibid.*, p. 97]).

<sup>14</sup> *Penitential of Cummean*, prologue 15 (*ibid.*, p. 111). See also the earlier *Penitential of Finnian* 28, 29 (*ibid.*, pp. 82-84).

<sup>15</sup> *Penit. of Cummean*, epilogue 1 (*ibid.*, p. 133).

Here we have a clear indication of the need to deal with the individuality of the penitent because, as Cummean says, 'God ... will not weigh the weights of sins in an equal scale of penance'.<sup>16</sup> One could not find a clearer denunciation of a mechanistic approach to the imposition of penances. Presumably this advice is given to remind the confessor to modify the stated penances in accord with the subjective dispositions of the penitent.

Even so, some canons in the penitentials have penances so harsh as to be impossible or at least intolerable. There are indications, however, that very early this fact was recognized and a way was devised to meet it. The *Excarpsus of Cummean* locates itself squarely in the Irish tradition by quoting the prologues of Columbanus A and of Cummean and the latter's epilogue.<sup>17</sup> These items are followed by an observation on the various lengths of penances the compiler has encountered in 'the penitential or in the canons': seven, ten, or even up to twelve or fifteen years and of these one or two or three years are to be spent on bread and water. Quoting Cummean he adds, 'Now let it be understood that for whatever time anyone remains in his sins, for so long must his penance be increased.'<sup>18</sup> He continues, 'But according to some this judgment (*causa*) seems heavy and arduous.'<sup>19</sup>

The solution introduced is the system of commutations hinted at in the *Penitential of Cummean* and for which there was Irish precedent in *The Old-Irish Table of Commutations*.<sup>20</sup> These became very complex and certainly led to abuses.<sup>21</sup> The idea behind them, however, was the laudable desire to alleviate the arduous traditional penances while respecting the principle 'But it is good to fulfill what is written in the penitential if one is able.'<sup>22</sup> The commutations themselves usually consisted in concentrated numbers of prayers (psalms) for those for whom fasting was too difficult, or in the giving of alms for those who could not read.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>16</sup> *ibid.*, epilogue 2 (p. 133).

<sup>17</sup> *Excarpsus of Cummean* (ed. Schmitz [n. 6 above], pp. 599-601).

<sup>18</sup> *ibid.* (pp. 601-602). Citation is from *Penit. of Cummean* 9.4 (ed. Bieler, p. 127).

<sup>19</sup> *Ex. of Cummean* (ed. Schmitz, p. 602), my translation.

<sup>20</sup> See *Penit. of Cummean* 8.25-28 (ed. Bieler, p. 124); *The Old-Irish Table of Commutations* (*ibid.*, pp. 278-83).

<sup>21</sup> For this whole subject see the excellent analysis by C. Vogel, 'Composition légale et commutations dans le système de la pénitence tarifée', *Revue de droit canonique* 8 (1958) 289-318 and 9 (1959) 1-38, 341-59.

<sup>22</sup> *Ex. of Cummean* (ed. Schmitz, p. 603), my translation.

<sup>23</sup> The materials in the *Excarpsus of Cummean* already noted find their way either entirely or partially into other penitentials. See, for example, the *Reims Penitential* in F. B. Asbach, *Das Poenitential Remense und der sogen. Excarpsus Cummeani: Überlieferung, Quellen und Entwicklung zweier kontinentaler Bussbücher aus der 1. Hälfte des 8. Jahrhunderts* (Regensburg, 1979), appendix, pp. 2-77.



There is another major component in the development of discursive material which would be an integral part of many later penitential manuals. The *Penitential of Egbert* begins with a prologue which sharpens the advice to confessors and further develops themes already encountered. The medical analogy is introduced immediately as is the need for diversity in judgment 'lest the wounds of souls are made worse through a stupid doctor'.<sup>24</sup> At the same time the theme of the degree of discretion is highlighted. Thus, while the confessor is to judge according to the traditional rhetorical commonplaces (what, where, for how long, when, how), all are not to be evaluated in the same way. Discretion is to be shown in regard to the diverse qualities of penitents. There follows a long list of kinds of penitents distinguished according to economic condition, liberty, age, education, clerical status, marital status, state of health, state of virtue, voluntary nature of the act, place, condition, and time.<sup>25</sup>

The pastoral theology of hearing confessions and levying penances described thus far could be fairly judged to be wise and prudent. There is not the slightest hint that the penances are to be imposed mechanically, impersonally, or blindly. Rather, there is a sensitive consciousness of the need to take into consideration the individual differences of penitents and, whatever might be said about the eventual abuses of the system of commutations, it is clear that they were introduced to alleviate insupportable burdens.

The *Excarpus of Cummean* and the penitentials of Columbanus, Cummean, and Egbert seem to address the situation of private penance: the confessor and penitent in a one-to-one relationship. From the ninth century onwards no significant additions are made to the discursive material of what might be called 'exclusive' penitentials. By 'exclusive' I mean complete works consisting of a main body of penitential canons accompanied, perhaps, by some discursive introductory and concluding material of an instructional or explanatory nature. Numbered among this class would also be bodies of penitential canons which come down to us in liturgical contexts. Exclusive penitentials are contrasted with bodies of penitential canons with supplementary materials which make up part of larger collections such as the sixth book of the work of Halitgar of Cambrai and the nineteenth book of Burchard's *Decretum*.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>24</sup> *Penitential of Egbert*, prologue in F. W. H. Wasserschleben, *Die Bussordnungen der abendländischen Kirche nebst einer rechtsgeschichtlichen Einleitung* (Halle, 1851), p. 231, my translation.

<sup>25</sup> See *Penit. of Egbert*, prologue (*ibid.*, pp. 231-32).

<sup>26</sup> Halitgar of Cambrai, *De vitiis et virtutibus et de ordine poenitentium* (title as in PL 105.653), for which see R. Kottje, *Die Bussbücher Halitgars von Cambrai und des Hrabanus Maurus. Ihre Überlieferung und ihre Quellen* (Beiträge zur Geschichte und Quellenkunde des Mittelalters 8; Berlin-New York, 1980); Burchard of Worms, *Decretum* 19 (PL 140.949-1014).

Some of the supplementary material makes a decided contribution to the humane spirit of the penitentials and, although it is drawn from other sources, it should be mentioned here. There is, for example, Halitgar's preface (*Quamvis originalia*) which makes use of the magnificent preface to the early ninth-century collection known as the *Dacheriana* (*Exceptis baptismatis munere*).<sup>27</sup> The instructional 'Quotiescumque christiani ad penitentiam accedant' with accompanying prayers is further evidence of the concern the penitentials showed for the individual penitent.<sup>28</sup> All these traditional penitential materials plus the contributions of Halitgar are brought together, reorganized, and reworked at the beginning of the eleventh century by Burchard in book 19 of his *Decretum*, a section which would have a long history well into the thirteenth century.

The penitentials met a need implicit in the institution of penance, whether public or private. It was understood that penance, punishment, satisfaction must be inflicted on those who had sinned. There was a need, as Columbanus had said (above, p. 343), to know what the sins were and what the appropriate curative penances would be for the various kinds of sin. The literary form this information took paralleled the much more ancient conciliar practice of attaching penances to various infractions of church order and ecclesiastical law. Elimination of the penitentials might have resulted in less confusion, more consistency, and more recognisably authoritative prescriptions,<sup>29</sup> e.g., papal and conciliar canons such as are found in the great collections like the *Dionysio-Hadriana* and the *Hispana*. This gain, however, would also have involved harsh penances, objectivity, and a mechanical, legalistic spirit. There would have been no prescriptions in regard to numerous everyday offences not covered in the collections, nor would there have been a place for the decidedly humane directives we have noted in the penitentials.

## 2. *The Discretionary Role of the Confessor after Gratian*

After Gratian a new generation of manuals designed for the priest-confessor begin to be written reflecting the critical thought, amplitude of treatment, superior textual base, and discursive presentation so characteristic of the twelfth

<sup>27</sup> Halitgar (PL 105.653-58); *Dacheriana*, preface in L. d'Achery, *Spicilegium sive Collectio veterum aliquot scriptorum qui in Galliae bibliothecis delituerant*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1723), 1.510-12.

<sup>28</sup> Halitgar, book 6 (PL 105.693-97); for discussion of 'Quotiescumque' see Schmitz, *Die Bussbücher und das kanonische Bussverfahren*, p. 199 and Kottje, *Die Bussbücher Halitgars von Cambrai*, p. 188.

<sup>29</sup> As is well known, an attempt was made at the beginning of the ninth century to abolish the penitentials.

century.<sup>30</sup> Chronologically these works fall into two periods, that between Gratian and the Fourth Lateran Council and the period after the council. From most points of view the post-Gratian confessional or penitential manuals (usually referred to by contemporary writers as *summae confessorum*) are superior to the older penitentials. However, *pace* these same writers, the *summae confessorum* do not make a radical break with the theology and spirituality reflected in the penitentials.

The charges against the penitentials usually refer to the tariff mentality of these works, their mechanical imposition of penances, and their disregard of the individuality of the penitent. We have attempted to show how these charges cannot be maintained against the evidence provided by the penitentials themselves. However, the accusations are sometimes reinforced by the claim that only after Gratian was the principle of discretionary penances (*penitentiae arbitrarie* or *penitentiae ad arbitrium sacerdotis*) introduced. It is indeed true that such a principle is stated and that it is not emphasized in pre-Gratian penitentials. A problem of interpretation, however, arises since the authors provide lists of penitential canons which such a principle would seem to make unnecessary. This is an embarrassment for Michaud-Quantin, for example, in his use of Robert of Saint-Pair; but he insists that the important factor is the principle (not the canons?).<sup>31</sup>

Obviously, the question of discretionary penances and that of the existence of lists of penanced sins are closely related. For purposes of discussion, however, they shall be divided. First, some medieval interpretations of the discretionary principle will be canvassed and then the question of lists of canons will be examined.

Two texts of Gratian appear to lie behind the discretionary principle for the imposition of penances. Both are very old and were part of the penitential heritage for centuries prior to Gratian. The first and less used was enunciated by Pope Leo I long before there would have been widespread private penance. It simply makes the point encountered already: that in determining the length of

<sup>30</sup> In addition to the articles by P. Michaud-Quantin and J. Longère already cited see P. Michaud-Quantin, *Sommes de casuistique et manuels de confession au moyen-âge (xii-xvi siècles)* (Analecta mediaevalia namurcensia 13; Louvain, 1962). Although in need of updating, the most ample treatment of these works is to be found in J. Dietterle, 'Die *Summae confessorum* (sive de casibus conscientiae) – von ihren Anfängen an bis zu Silvester Prierias (unter besonderen Berücksichtigung ihren Bestimmungen über den Ablass)' published in a series of issues of *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* between 1903 and 1907. For the different types of pastoral works written after the Lateran Council (1215) and a proposed definition of *summa confessorum* see L. E. Boyle, 'Summae confessorum' in *Les genres littéraires dans les sources théologiques et philosophiques médiévales. Définition, critique et exploitation. Actes du colloque international de Louvain-la-Neuve, 25-27 mai 1981* (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1982), pp. 227-37.

<sup>31</sup> See Michaud-Quantin, 'À propos des premières *Summae confessorum*', 268-69.

time for penances the devotional quality, age, state of health of the penitent, and other threatening circumstances are to be taken into account.<sup>32</sup>

The second and more central text is one that at least since Burchard was attributed to St. Jerome:

Mensuram autem temporis in agenda poenitentia idcirco non satis aperte prae-figunt canones pro unoquoque crimine, ut de singulis dicant qualiter unumquodque emendandum sit, sed magis in arbitrio sacerdotis intelligentis relinquendum statuunt: quia apud Deum non tam valet mensura temporis quam doloris, nec abstinencia tantum ciborum quam mortificatio viciorum ....<sup>33</sup>

This is actually an excerpt from the preface of the *Dacheriana* which is also found in Halitgar's preface.<sup>34</sup> As it stands, the canon is clearly intended to point out that not all sins have explicit penances attached to them. In such cases the penance must be left to the discretion of the priest, but the text continues and in the final clause makes clear that existing penances are not to be abolished.<sup>35</sup> This theme will be discussed below.

What, then, did the medievals make of the suggestion that some penances are to be at the discretion of the priest? They seemed to arrive at the principle of discretionary penances but it is not quite clear what they meant by the principle, and there was certainly no unanimous agreement as to its proper understanding. A few examples will demonstrate the various interpretations.

Bartholomew of Exeter mentions the *Mensuram* text but later on he addresses himself directly to the question of the discretion of the priest.<sup>36</sup> He says that one ought not to wonder that definite penances have not been established for each and every sin. Where there are no established penances, the discretion of the prudent priest should be able to estimate the proper penance based on already existing penances.<sup>37</sup> Bartholomew goes on to remark that the diversity of penances for the same sin should not be deemed superfluous but rather should be seen as designed to cover the various circumstances in which the sin might be committed.<sup>38</sup> Alan of Lille seems to accept the existing system of penances and to make the same point, namely, that the prudent reader should be able to 'conjecture' others based on them. For Alan the *Mensuram* text sanctions the mitigation of the rigor of the received canons.<sup>39</sup> Interestingly,

<sup>32</sup> Gratian, C.26 q.7 c.2.

<sup>33</sup> Gratian, *De poenitentia*, D.1 c.86.

<sup>34</sup> *Dacheriana* (ed. d'Achery [n. 27 above], p. 512); Halitgar (PL 105.657).

<sup>35</sup> '... tamen pro quibusdam culpis poenitentiae modi sunt impositi' (Gratian, *De poenit.*, D.1 c.86).

<sup>36</sup> Bartholomew of Exeter, *Penitential* 26 (ed. Morey [n. 8 above], p. 195, ll. 25-36).

<sup>37</sup> *ibid.* 37 (p. 203, ll. 16-26).

<sup>38</sup> *ibid.* (p. 203, ll. 26-34).

<sup>39</sup> Alan of Lille, *Liber poenitentialis* 3.1 (ed. Longère [n. 8 above], pp. 127-28).

his justification of the diversity of penances for the same sin parallels closely that of Bartholomew.<sup>40</sup>

Alan's mention of the rigor of the canons introduces a theme which has already been encountered in the *Excarpsus of Cummean*, but in the post-Gratian period it receives a broader ideological interpretation. There seems to have been a belief that in the ancient church the people were hardier and were able to sustain the harsh penances passed down in the canons. However, the contemporary church is not made of such stuff and so is justified in relaxing the ancient penances. This claim is put forth, for example, by Alan of Lille and numerous subsequent authors.<sup>41</sup> A similar point is also made by Thomas of Chobham.<sup>42</sup>

The early *summae confessorum* are in general agreement that penances *prima facie* are not always to be left to the discretion of the priest. His discretion is to be exercised in two broad areas: to devise penances for sins for which there are not specified penances and to mitigate the harshness and rigor of the traditional penances which his contemporaries were unable to bear. The gloss on *in arbitrio* (cited above, p. 348) seems to place full discretionary power in the priest ('id est in arbitrio sacerdotis est relictum statuere tempus poenitentiae') and adduces Roman law and a previous canon of Gratian as its argument.<sup>43</sup> However, the gloss on the word *sacerdotis* brings us back to the interpretation already met: 'hoc tamen cum poena non est expressa: quia cum poena est expressa, illam debet inponere.' The use of Pope Gregory VII by Gratian ('Falsas poenitencias dicimus, quae non secundum auctoritatem sanctorum patrum pro qualitate criminum inponuntur') would almost ensure that no other interpretation of the discretionary power of the priest could be maintained.<sup>44</sup>

When Raymond of Pennafort takes up the question of the proper interpretation of the discretionary power of the confessor, he proceeds in scholastic

<sup>40</sup> *ibid.* 3.21 (p. 139). See T. N. Tentler, *Sin and Confession on the Eve of the Reformation* (Princeton, 1977), pp. 16-18.

<sup>41</sup> For ample references to this point see J. Longère, ed., *Petrus Pictaviensis, <Summa de confessione>*, *Compilatio praesens* in CCCM 51.64-65. The *Summa de penitentia* of Master Serlo summarizes this issue well: 'Et quod rigor canonum modo temperatur, multiplici cause imputatur: tam quia natura infirmior, fervor amoris corpulentior, gratia minor, casus frequentior' (J. Goering, [ed.], 'The *Summa de penitentia* of Magister Serlo', *Mediaeval Studies* 38 [1976] 12).

<sup>42</sup> Thomas of Chobham, *Summa confessorum* (ed. Broomfield, p. 325): 'defectus nostri temporis in quibus non solum merita nostra sed etiam corpora ipsa defecerunt non patitur districtionis antiquae censuram permanere'. The editor does not identify the source but see Gratian, D.34 c.7; cf. the tenth-century *Collection in Nine Books* (Vatican Library Vat. lat. 1349), 'quia his temporibus non est talis fervore penitendi qualis in antiquis erat quando canones efficiebantur' (fol. 217va).

<sup>43</sup> The gloss as in the edition of Paris, 1561. See *Dig.* 28.8.7.

<sup>44</sup> Gratian, *De poenit.* D.5 c.6.

fashion by confronting authorities in Gratian which seem to sanction wide discretionary power with those which seem to support the imposition of the traditional canons and concludes: 'His, et aliis multis modis videntur iura, et sancti sibi adversari.'<sup>45</sup> The details of the solution will be taken up later, since they depend on Raymond's understanding of the *canones penitenciales*, but, in brief, Raymond embraces the older interpretation while admitting that others claim that all penances are discretionary and that their view is supported by custom. He concludes: 'Prima tamen est tutior, licet difficilior.'<sup>46</sup> In his gloss on the text William of Rennes supports custom: '*Consuetudo*] quae tenenda est; quia revera hodie paenitentiae sunt arbitrariae, 26.q.7 tempora paenitudinis' [C.26 q.7 c.2]. But there is little thirteenth-century evidence to support William of Rennes' claim that penances were understood in his day to be indiscriminately left to the discretion of the confessor.<sup>47</sup> As will be seen, opinion would move against him in the years that followed, though the actual practice of the time remains to be ascertained.

### 3. The Post-Gratian Canones Penitenciales

In a famous canon of the *Decretum Gratiani* on items necessary for a priest to know, 'canones penitenciales' are mentioned.<sup>48</sup> The text probably originated in a diocesan statute of Haito of Basel in the ninth century and entered the collections through Regino of Prüm.<sup>49</sup> In Haito, Regino, Burchard, and the *Decretum* of Ivo of Chartres the expression is 'canon penitentialis' which probably connotes a penitential, thus reflecting the regulation of the Carolingian reform that each priest possess one.<sup>50</sup> Other terms such as

<sup>45</sup> Raymond of Pennafort, *Summa* 3.34.41 (p. 473b).

<sup>46</sup> *ibid.* 3.34.46 (p. 478a). Tentler says of Raymond's view: 'Whatever he preferred, however, the canons were becoming increasingly irrelevant' (*Sin and Confession*, p. 18). Were they? The emergence of a set list of canons (to be examined in the next section) suggests that at least the writers of the period believed the canons to be relevant but in need of reorganization.

<sup>47</sup> The 'Tract on Confession and Penance' appended to the Coventry synodal statutes (1224 X 1237) apparently assumes a complete discretionary power in the priest: 'Quia penitentie arbitrarie sunt, non diffinimus vobis aliquas certas penitencias quas debetis iniungere' (F. M. Powicke and C. R. Cheney, eds., *Councils & Synods with Other Documents Relating to the English Church*, vol. 2: A.D. 1205-1313, part 1: 1205-1265 [Oxford, 1964], p. 224). It would be interesting to pursue the interpretation of the *Mensuram* text through theological commentaries on Peter Lombard, *Sentences* 4.20.3 where it is cited. See for example Albert the Great, *In 4 Sent.* 20.14 (Borgnet 29.845) and on *Falsas paenitentias* see Albert the Great, *In 4 Sent.* 16.45 (Borgnet 29.635-36).

<sup>48</sup> Gratian, D.38 c.5.

<sup>49</sup> Haito of Basel, *Capitulare* 6 (PL 105.763).

<sup>50</sup> Regino of Prüm, *De synodalibus causis*, appendix 3.50 in F. W. H. Wasserschleben, ed., *Reginonis abbatis Prumiensis libri duo de synodalibus causis et disciplinis ecclesiasticis* (Leipzig, 1840), p. 485; Burchard, *Decretum* 2.2 (PL 140.625); Ivo, *Decretum* 6.22 (PL 161.450). The

*penitentialis*, *liber penitentialis*, *canon penitentialis* probably refer to a work of some kind. The plural 'canones penitenciales' is found in the printed edition of Ivo, *Panormia* 3.24 from which it probably entered Gratian.<sup>51</sup>

It is difficult to know what the plural form connotes in Gratian. Rufinus, in commenting on the previous canon which instructs priests not to be ignorant of the 'canones', says that this earlier canon is addressed to bishops who are not to settle ecclesiastical legal cases (*causas*) 'suo sensu sed canonum auctoritate'. He adds that, if this canon is understood to apply to priests, then the term 'canones' refers to 'canones penitenciales' which 'quidem ignorare nulli presbitero permittitur.' There follows a reference to Gratian, D.38 c.5 with no further comment.<sup>52</sup> It appears that the expression was understood as a general reference to any canon censuring an offence to which was added a specified penance. This is how Peter of Poitiers understands the expression when discussing the 'rigor canonum poenitentialium'. When commenting on those who adhere to the letter of the ancient decrees which, he says, are antiquated, he mentions Ivo's *Decretum* and claims that there are many such decrees in it.<sup>53</sup>

The expression certainly does not seem to refer exclusively to canons from the traditional ancient penitentials. The canons in question were mixed indiscriminately with papal and conciliar prescriptions enjoining penances. However, neither did the new manuals after Gratian discriminate against censures from the penitentials. In the latter half of the twelfth and the early years of the thirteenth century there is no sign of a specific reaction against the penitentials aside from a general agreement that their rigor must be modified, but this modification was allowed for more authoritative canons as well. Actual usage shows that a great variety of works continued to be produced at this time: some simply detached Burchard's *Decretum* 19, some compiled traditional collections, some of the newer *summae confessorum* used numerous penitential canons from Burchard, Ivo, and Gratian.<sup>54</sup> And there are surprises such as a

details of this canon are found in the preface to the *Penitential of Egbert* (Wasserschleben, *Die Bussordnungen*, p. 232) but its presence there is suspicious. However, without a critical text more cannot be said.

<sup>51</sup> PL 161.1135-36.

<sup>52</sup> See H. Singer, ed., *Die Summa decretorum des Magister Rufinus* (Paderborn, 1902), pp. 91-92. The gloss (ed. Paris, 1561) adds nothing to Rufinus.

<sup>53</sup> See Peter of Poitiers, *Compilatio praesens* (ed. Longère; CCCM 51.64-65). Thomas of Chobham, however, does understand the expression to refer to a book: '“Canones penitenciales” vocat libellum quemdam in quo ostenditur que penitentia cui peccato sit iniungenda ...' (*Summa confessorum* 4.2.II.a [ed. Broomfield, p. 88]). Note the Statutes of Worcester III: 'Item, diligenter examinentur sacerdotes conductitii de litteratura, ad curam animarum maxime presentati, et illi maxime qui in nostro episcopatu conversari sunt examinentur de sinodalibus constitutionibus et de penitentiali nostro ...' (Powicke and Cheney, *Councils & Synods*, p. 320).

<sup>54</sup> See for instance Alan of Lille, *Liber poenitentialis*, book 2 (ed. Longère, pp. 57-123); Robert of Flamborough, *Liber poenitentialis*, book 5 (ed. Firth, pp. 209-78).

work attributed to Robert Grosseteste consisting of a list of eighty-eight canons, most of which are taken from Burchard, *Decretum* 19.5.<sup>55</sup> Again we see the old penitentials playing an important role in works on penance.

Even a cursory glance at the sources commonly used for penitential canons (Burchard, Ivo, Gratian) suggests that it would be impossible for a priest 'to know' these sources in any detail. This would apply equally to the lists found in Alan of Lille and Robert of Flamborough, although a priest might have more success with a small work such as that of Master Serlo.<sup>56</sup> One might guess that someone would come along and try to systematize, institutionalize, and define the meaning of 'canones penitenciales'. In fact this is what happened. The result was a compact, finely planned new penitential in the middle of a great commentary on canon law.

The origin of this new penitential was quite unwittingly occasioned by Raymond of Pennafort. As we have seen, Raymond broaches the question of the discretionary power of the priest by juxtaposing canons which seem both to allow and to forbid such power. His detailed resolution of the conundrum proceeds in several steps. First, he points out that 'regularly' (as a rule) a penance of seven years is to be imposed for criminal actions such as adultery, perjury, fornication, and voluntary homicide.<sup>57</sup> Then, indicating that for aggravating reasons this rule of seven years can have exceptions, he proceeds to provide many detailed examples of canons, some taken from his own work, which stipulate more than a seven-year penance.<sup>58</sup> He concludes by saying that from a diligent inspection of the rule with its exceptions a studious and diligent investigator should be able to discover the procedure 'ad satisfactionem pro diversis criminibus secundum paenitentiales canones imponendam; nec debet sacerdos a forma praedicta recedere, nisi propter causam: et in hoc consistit eius

<sup>55</sup> See London, Lambeth Palace Library 144, fols. 138ra-140rb. The preface to this work is substantially that found in another work ascribed to Robert Grosseteste in London, British Library Harley 211, fols. 102r-103v + 103\*r-v and is also found in a manuscript of Thomas of Chobham, edited as appendix A (4) in Broomfield, pp. 578-79. I am indebted to Professor L. E. Boyle for pointing me in the direction of this material; see L. E. Boyle, 'Robert Grosseteste and the Pastoral Care' in *Medieval and Renaissance Studies. Proceedings of the Southeastern Institute of Medieval and Renaissance Studies, Summer, 1976* 8 (Durham, N.C., 1977), pp. 10-11. I do not know whether the interrogatory and penances of Lambeth Palace Library 144 are the work of Robert Grosseteste. However, it might be noted that at the end of 'Deus est' Grosseteste demonstrates a consciousness of this matter and says that he is not going to speak of it for the time being (*ad praesens*); see S. Wenzel, ed., 'Robert Grosseteste's Treatise on Confession "Deus est"', *Franciscan Studies* 30 (1970) 293.

<sup>56</sup> See J. Goering, [ed.], 'The *Summa de penitentia* of Magister Serlo' (n. 41 above), 1-53 and 'The *Summa* of Master Serlo and Thirteenth-Century Penitential Literature', *Mediaeval Studies* 40 (1978) 290-311.

<sup>57</sup> Raymond of Pennafort, *Summa* 3.34.41 (p. 473b).

<sup>58</sup> *ibid.* 3.34.42-45 (pp. 473a-77b).



arbitrium, scilicet pro qua, vel pro quibus circumstantiis, et quantum, et quando possit augeri, vel minui poena canonica.<sup>59</sup>

When Hostiensis discussed the question of the imposition of penances, he raised the apparent conflict between authorities and the custom which understands penances to be at the discretion of the confessor, and the authorities which required a rigid imposition of penalties. Hostiensis favours the latter view and he resolves to facilitate the work of the confessor by determining those situations for which there are canons stipulating definite punishments or penances. He continues, 'Nam canones penitenciales tenetur scire sacerdos alias vix in eo nomen sacerdotis constabit secundum Augu[stinum] xxxviii. dist. que ipsis [Gratian, D.38 c.5] et sunt hi.'<sup>60</sup> Beginning with Raymond's list of censures which Raymond had introduced as exceptions to the rule of seven years, Hostiensis proceeds to give forty-six canons. Following the canons, he comments on the necessity to respect differences in penitents and gives other pastoral advice. The result is that, tucked away near the end of a massive commentary on canon law, we find a new mid-thirteenth-century penitential. The *canones penitenciales* have been defined.

It is difficult to know whether these canons played any significant role in the actual practice of penance. What is certain, however, is that this chapter of Hostiensis did not go unnoticed and, at least in the literature on the imposition of penances, the canons were to have a fairly long history. Just as was the case with the older penitentials, later compilers did not hesitate to tailor the canons to their own needs with additions or subtractions, or to eliminate discursive material and simply quote the canonical text referred to in each of the canons. The tradition of a defined body of *canones penitenciales*, however, is easily identified. Some indication of the incorporation of these canons follows:

- (1) John of Freiburg, *Summa confessorum* 3.34.124 'Que penitentia sit pro peccatis singulis iniungenda'<sup>61</sup>

<sup>59</sup> *ibid.* 3.34.46 (p. 478b). For a discussion of this material see Michaud-Quantin, 'À propos des premières *Summae confessorum*', 302-303.

<sup>60</sup> Hostiensis, *Summa, una cum summariis et adnotationibus ...* 5.60 (Lyons, 1537; rpt. 1962), p. 283rb. See J. F. von Schulte, *Die Geschichte der Quellen und Literatur des canonischen Rechts von Papst Gregor IX. bis zum Concil von Trient 2* (Stuttgart, 1877), pp. 128-29; J. G. Ziegler, *Die Ehelehre der Pönentialsommen von 1200-1350. Eine Untersuchung zur Geschichte der Moral- und Pastoraltheologie* (Regensburg, 1956), pp. 276-77; Michaud-Quantin, *Sommes de casuistique*, p. 56.

<sup>61</sup> fols. 197rb-199ra (Rome, 1518). For discussion of the work of John of Freiburg see L. E. Boyle, 'The *Summa confessorum* of John of Freiburg and the Popularization of the Moral Teaching of St. Thomas and of Some of His Contemporaries' in *St. Thomas Aquinas, 1274-1974. Commemorative Studies*, ed. A. Maurer et al. (Toronto, 1974), pp. 245-68.

- (2) a piece edited by H. J. Schmitz entitled ‘“*Canones poenitentiales*” (Astesani)’ from Vatican Library ms. Reg. lat. 431<sup>62</sup>
- (3) *Confessionale* (falsely attributed to St. Bonaventure) 3.2-57<sup>63</sup>
- (4) the section in William of Pagula, *Summa summarum* entitled ‘Hec sunt penitencie in canonibus diffinite’<sup>64</sup>
- (5) the section in John of Burgo, *Pupilla oculi* entitled ‘De penitentiis a iure statutis’ (fols. 57rb-60rb)<sup>65</sup>
- (6) *Canones penitentiales* appended to several early printed editions of Gratian.<sup>66</sup>

With the *canones penitentiales* specified and institutionalized, as it were, we have come full circle and again find ourselves face to face with what can only be called a penitential. Certainly things are very different; if nothing else there is a vast body of pastoral, canonical, and theological literature to instruct the would-be confessor and to help him in his pastoral work. However, when all is said and done, there came a time in the administration of confession when the priest had to impose a penance against the background of a long, sometimes contradictory, certainly complex tradition of *formae traditae*. This situation created a human imperative to settle on the correct penance just as it must have done for the early Irish monks beginning to hear private confessions on the continent. As Hostiensis’ citation of ‘*contraria contrariis purgantur sive curantur*’<sup>67</sup> echoes the *Penitential of Cummean* across the centuries, so too do the *canones penitentiales* which follow.

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<sup>62</sup> See H. J. Schmitz, *Die Bussbücher und die Bussdisciplin der Kirche* (Mainz, 1883; rpt. Graz, 1958), pp. 800-808; A. Wilmart, *Codices Regimenses latini*, 2 vols. (Vatican City, 1937-45), 2.546.

<sup>63</sup> *Confessionale* in *S.R.E. Cardinalis S. Bonaventurae ... opera omnia*, ed. A. C. Peltier, 15 vols. (Paris, 1864-71), 8.359-92. For the attribution to Marchesinus of Reggio Emilia before 1315 see Michaud-Quantin, *Sommes de casuistique*, p. 55; but see also B. Distelbrink, *Bonaventurae scripta. Authentica dubia vel spuria critice recensita* (Rome, 1975), p. 105.

<sup>64</sup> See L. E. Boyle, ‘The “*Summa summarum*” and Some Other English Works of Canon Law’ in *Proceedings of the Second International Congress of Medieval Canon Law, Boston College, 12-16 August 1963*, ed. S. Kuttner and J. J. Ryan (Monumenta iuris canonici, Series C: Subsidia 1; Vatican City, 1965), p. 450. I have not personally seen this work of William of Pagula.

<sup>65</sup> John of Burgo, *Pupilla oculi* (London, 1516).

<sup>66</sup> See for example Lyons, 1560; Cologne, 1682; Paris, 1687; Cologne, 1779.

<sup>67</sup> Hostiensis, *Summa* 5.60 (p. 283rb).

# THE COMMERCIAL DOMINANCE OF A MEDIEVAL PROVINCIAL OLIGARCHY: EXETER IN THE LATE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

Maryanne Kowaleski

HISTORIANS interested in the urban oligarchies of medieval England have tended either to focus on constitutional developments or to offer biographical sketches of exemplary members of the ruling elite.<sup>1</sup> While the two approaches have revealed much about the expansion of urban self-government, the evolution of civic offices, and the prosopography of the burghal class, both have tended to concentrate on political issues to the exclusion of commercial developments. This excessive focus on the political powers of urban elites is inherently self-defeating; because local commercial clout and wealth usually formed the basis of municipal political power, commercial success was crucial for any one who aspired to political office. By focusing on the political manifestations of urban oligarchies, historians have put the cart before the horse. To understand the tight civic control of town elites, we must first understand the commercial power that laid the foundation for political hegemony. Of course, the juncture of political and economic power did not move in only one direction; although political strength relied upon prior commercial success, it was also actively sought because control of civic offices

<sup>1</sup> See, for example: Charles W. Colby, 'The Growth of Oligarchy in English Towns', *English Historical Review* 5 (1890) 633-53; Alice S. Green, *Town Life in the Fifteenth Century*, 2 vols. (London, 1894); James Tait, *The Medieval English Borough. Studies on Its Origins and Constitutional History* (Manchester, 1936); Susan Reynolds, *An Introduction to the History of English Medieval Towns* (Oxford, 1977). For the history of the oligarchy in individual towns, see *The Records of the City of Norwich*, ed. William Hudson and John Cottingham Tingey, 2 vols. (Norwich, 1906-10), introduction to vol. 1; Bertie Wilkinson, *The Mediaeval Council of Exeter* (History of Exeter Research Group 4; Manchester, 1931); Francis Hill, *Medieval Lincoln* (Cambridge, 1965); Colin Platt, *Medieval Southampton: The Port and Trading Community, 1000-1600* (London, 1973); Robert S. Gottfried, *Bury St. Edmunds and the Urban Crisis: 1270-1539* (Princeton, 1982), chaps. 4-6. The exception to this trend is Sylvia L. Thrupp, *The Merchant Class of Medieval London, 1300-1500* (Ann Arbor, 1948); however, London occupies a unique and atypical position in the urban history of medieval England as few provincial merchants reached the commercial or political positions enjoyed by many London merchants.

enhanced the holders' commercial dealings. The interplay between politics and commerce can be clearly seen in late fourteenth-century Exeter where the men who dominated town government not only controlled a significant portion of Exeter's local trade, but also enjoyed extensive commercial influence in regional and international trade networks.

# I

In the late fourteenth century, Exeter was a provincial town of moderate size inhabited by about 3,000 people.<sup>2</sup> As the seat of a bishopric, an administrative center for the king's itinerant justices, a military stronghold with a royal castle, and a thriving seaport, Exeter served as the chief market town of the south-western peninsula of England. Access to civic power in medieval Exeter was attained by admission into the 'freedom' of the city. Only members of this exclusive group were full-fledged citizens and could vote or run for high city office. In addition to political privileges, freedom members received numerous economic privileges, chief among them the right to trade at retail.<sup>3</sup> They also enjoyed monopolies in the cloth, wool, and woad trades, and in all trade in merchandise sold 'by weight' or 'by measure', except for victuals, and were free from the main market tolls in Exeter and in many other English towns. Freedom members also held certain legal rights within the local courts. Compared to similar freedom organizations in such other provincial towns as York, Norwich and Bristol, Exeter's freedom was highly selective; only 19 per cent of all the heads of household and a mere 3 per cent of the total population of 1377 Exeter actually enjoyed freedom membership.<sup>4</sup>

Entry into the freedom could be gained in a variety of ways: by patrimony, patronage, redemption, apprenticeship, and occasionally gift or service. From the fourteenth century onwards, however, entry into the Exeter freedom

<sup>2</sup> For the population estimate, see Maryanne Kowaleski, *Local Markets and Merchants in Late Fourteenth-Century Exeter* (Diss. Toronto, 1982), pp. 393-98.

<sup>3</sup> The rights and privileges of Exeter's freemen are detailed in *The Anglo-Norman Customal of Exeter*, ed. J. W. Schopp (History of Exeter Research Group 2; Oxford, 1925). For later developments concerning their trading privileges, see the introduction to M. M. Rowe and Andrew Jackson, *Exeter Freemen, 1266-1967* (Devon and Cornwall Record Society, E.S. 1; Exeter, 1973), pp. XII-XIII.

<sup>4</sup> For other freedom organizations, see Hill, *Medieval Lincoln*, pp. 302-303; R. B. Dobson, 'Admissions to the Freedom of the City of York in the Later Middle Ages', *Economic History Review*, 2nd Ser., 26 (1973) 1-22; *Records of the City of Norwich* 2.xxviii-xxxix; *The Great Red Book of Bristol*, ed. W. W. Veale (Bristol Record Society 2; Bristol, 1931), p. 21. See also D. M. Woodward, 'Freemen's Rolls', *Local Historian* 9 (1970) 89-95. In 1377 York, roughly 54 per cent of the heads of household became members of the town's freedom while only 32 per cent of Exeter's heads of household in 1377 joined their town's freedom. For the Exeter figure, see Kowaleski, *Local Markets*, pp. 37, 71-73 n. 15. For the York figures, see Jennifer I. Legett, 'The 1377 Poll Tax Return for the City of York', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 43 (1972) 130.

became increasingly restricted. For example, admittance by patrimony or succession was originally bestowed on all the sons of freemen, but, by the fourteenth century, only the eldest son was permitted to join upon the death of his father.<sup>5</sup> Younger sons enlisted either by apprenticeship or upon payment of a fine.

Concern about the excessive number of freedom members was probably the impetus behind the fourteenth-century restriction on the number of sons entering by succession. Complaints also arose in the 1340s over both the number and quality of men admitted.<sup>6</sup> The greatest outcry centered on the practice of nominating candidates 'at the instance of' prominent men who were often subsequently rewarded for their patronage. In 1308, for example, Walter Tauntefer, a one-time mayor of Exeter, received £3 in payment for sponsoring Thomas de Rewe's application for freedom membership.<sup>7</sup> Another widespread patronage custom was to admit men to Exeter's freedom at the request of influential non-citizens, such as the countess of Devon, bishop of Exeter, and members of the local gentry.<sup>8</sup> Other men were also allowed entry in reward for service to the town. But all these practices were halted in response to the complaints of the 1340s; regulations passed in 1345 required the consent of the Council of Twelve before anyone was admitted by patronage or by redemption. As a result, entry by patronage practically ceased after 1345, while the number of men admitted 'by gift' or as a reward for service dropped also. In comparison to the fifty men who entered 'by gift' from 1299 to 1349, only eleven candidates entered the freedom by this method from 1350 to 1400 and almost all of these entries occurred in the earlier part of the period, as shown in Table 1.

TABLE 1  
FREEDOM ENTRIES IN EXETER FROM 1299 TO 1349 AND 1350 TO 1400 BY TYPE OF ENTRY

Type of Entry	Entrants 1299-1349	Entrants 1350-1400
Redemption	229 (34%)	257 (80%)
Patronage	218 (32%)	0 —
Patrimony	139 (21%)	22 ( 7%)
By Gift	50 ( 8%)	11 ( 3%)
Service	27 ( 4%)	0 —
Apprenticeship	0 —	28 ( 9%)
Unknown	5 ( 1%)	3 ( 1%)
Total	668 (100%)	320 (100%)

Source: Rowe and Jackson, *Exeter Freeman*, pp. 5-38.

<sup>5</sup> Rowe and Jackson, *Exeter Freeman*, p. xiv.

<sup>6</sup> For the text of the complaints, see Wilkinson, *Mediaeval Council*, pp. 71-74.

<sup>7</sup> Rowe and Jackson, *Exeter Freeman*, p. xv.

<sup>8</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 1-27, *passim*.

The increased control over selection to the freedom was also evident in the fall in the number of men admitted after 1350. During the 1330s, 169 men entered the freedom; this was the highest number admitted in any one decade until the sixteenth century.<sup>9</sup> Indeed, as illustrated in Table 1, more than twice as many men entered the freedom in the first half of the fourteenth century as in the second half of the century. Declining population, as evidenced in the drastic reduction in the number of men entering by patrimony after 1350, was partially responsible for the decrease in freedom entrants. Nevertheless, the restriction on the number of sons entering the freedom by succession remained, although the citizenry was obviously experiencing difficulties in replacing itself after the damage wrought by the plague. In addition, even though evidence suggests immigration to Exeter was quite plentiful in this period, immigrants rarely possessed the necessary wealth to gain admittance to the freedom.<sup>10</sup> Nor did the increasingly powerful Council of Twelve show any desire to welcome a greater number of entrants. Thus a reduced population, combined with more rigid control over the selection process, worked to make the freedom of late fourteenth-century Exeter an increasingly exclusive organization.

While entry by patrimony, patronage, service and gift declined greatly in the second half of the fourteenth century, entry by redemption and apprenticeship increased. The most popular method of entry into the freedom was by redemption or payment, and the preponderance of this type of entry during the period is illustrated in Table 1; 80 per cent of all freedom entries from 1350 to 1400 were made upon payment of a fine. This situation indicates both the replacement problems of the old citizenry following the plague and the still fledgling state of the apprenticeship and craft institutions in the second half of the century. In fact, the first recorded admission by apprenticeship occurred in 1358 and the next did not take place until 1380.<sup>11</sup> Only eight men entered the freedom by apprenticeship in the thirty-two year period from 1358 to 1390, but thereafter their numbers grew rapidly. In the following ten-year period alone (1390-1400) fourteen men entered by virtue of apprenticeship; moreover, all new members who entered by this method had served masters who were major merchants and were politically prominent in the borough. Only after the last decade of the fourteenth century, when the practice had become established, did apprentices serving craftsmen regularly enter the freedom. This rise in the number of men entering the freedom as apprentices to craftsmen reflects the

<sup>9</sup> *ibid.*, p. xvii.

<sup>10</sup> Kowaleski, *Local Markets*, pp. 40, 44.

<sup>11</sup> But the practice of apprenticeship continued from 1350 to 1380; the Mayor's Court Roll (hereafter M.C.R. [unless noted otherwise, all documents cited here are deposited in the Devon Record Office, Exeter, hereafter D.R.O.]) recorded apprenticeship contracts in 22 November 1361 and 4 April 1362; neither of the apprentices was ever mentioned again in the records, however; they may have died or left Exeter before their terms were up.

growth of industry (especially the cloth trade) in Exeter and foreshadows the emergence of the craft guilds in the later fifteenth century.<sup>12</sup>

The increasingly selective nature of the Exeter freedom was consciously maintained by the town's ruling elite or oligarchy. Indeed, the economic institution of the freedom was intimately linked with political organization in medieval Exeter. Membership in the exclusive freedom of the city was a prerequisite for both commercial success and political power; only those belonging to the freedom could trade without restraint and were eligible to be elected to the higher municipal offices of mayor, steward, and councillor, or to be an elector for such offices. This system of restricting the full rights and privileges of citizenship to a select few was not unusual in medieval English boroughs. In discussing the freedom organization of York, R. B. Dobson notes that freedom admissions served as 'a mechanism deliberately designed to subserve the policies of city oligarchies'.<sup>13</sup> An oligarchy, composed of men who had served the city as mayor, steward, councillor or elector, also controlled admissions into the freedom of Exeter. Entry by patrimony ensured that the sons of the ruling elite inherited the privileges possessed by their fathers. More significantly, admission by apprenticeship or redemption introduced an element of choice and therefore control into the selection process. Potential candidates had to prove themselves not only to the members of the freedom, but also to those who exercised control over the freedom, the high officials or oligarchy of the town.

Occasional glimpses reveal how the oligarchy exercised its jurisdiction over the freedom. In 1340, while the thirty-six electors were absent on election day, 'by an impetuous clamor of many men inconsiderate of the profit and honor of the city, a burdensome multitude of men were elected to the freedom'.<sup>14</sup> As a result, the oligarchy passed a number of ordinances designed to reaffirm their power. In the future, no one was to be admitted to the freedom on election day in the absence of the more powerful men of the city. Moreover, no one could be elected mayor unless he had prior official experience (a minimum of one year's service as steward) and resided in the city with substantial property holdings.

The crisis of 1340 was not the last time the members of the freedom showed a desire to limit their numbers to a select few. In 1345 another civic crisis occasioned the promulgation of a new set of ordinances intended to reinforce the authority of the Council of Twelve which governed the town with the

<sup>12</sup> For the growth of the cloth trade and craft guilds, see E. M. Carus-Wilson, *The Expansion of Exeter at the Close of the Middle Ages* (Exeter, 1963); Joyce Youings, *Tucker's Hall, Exeter: The Expansion of a Provincial City Company through Five Centuries* (Exeter, 1968).

<sup>13</sup> Dobson, 'Admissions to the Freedom', 18.

<sup>14</sup> Misc. Roll 2, m. 54. For the printed text, see Wilkinson, *Mediaeval Council*, pp. 71-72.

mayor and stewards.<sup>15</sup> Henceforth, no one was to be admitted to the freedom without the Council's consent, nor were any amercements or fines to be condoned without its permission. Those disagreeing with these and other ordinances passed at the time were deemed to be 'rebels and enemies of the city' and had to suffer expulsion from the freedom, never to hold office again. Thus, the higher ranking members of the town government solidified their control over both entry into the freedom and the governing of the town.

Late fourteenth-century Exeter was governed by a mayor with the aid of four stewards, one of whom was the town receiver and, as such, was responsible for the city's annual accounts.<sup>16</sup> The mayor presided over the main borough court, called the Mayor's Court, while the stewards oversaw the Provosts' Court which primarily heard pleas of debt. The so-called 'common' Council of Twelve of the 'better and more discreet' men or *meliores* of the borough advised the mayor on all important business.<sup>17</sup> Originally the Council was designed to check the abuses of the mayor and stewards, but, in practice, the members of the common Council came from the same pool of citizens as did the mayor and steward; indeed, the interests of both groups were identical. The power of the Council grew considerably over the course of the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. No bonds, letters of pensions, or acquittances were to be sealed without its consent. After 1345, no one was admitted to the freedom without the Council's approval, nor were any fines or amercements condoned without its permission. The men who held the high-ranking offices in late fourteenth-century Exeter (mayor, four stewards, twelve councillors – hereafter called Rank A) represented only one per cent of Exeter's total population and were reelected year after year; in 1377, only 30 of a total 528 heads of household in Exeter (6 per cent) had ever served in one of these offices. Furthermore, their right to exercise this political power was linked with their personal wealth; a mayoral candidate, for example, had to own 100s. worth of property.<sup>18</sup> In the 1377 murage roll, which taxed all heads of household according to property wealth, fourteen out of the seventeen most highly assessed taxpayers had served as mayor, steward or councillor.<sup>19</sup> In view of

<sup>15</sup> Misc. Roll 2, item 32. For the printed text, see Wilkinson, *ibid.*, pp. 72-74.

<sup>16</sup> The early history of Exeter's town government has been thoroughly discussed by Wilkinson, *ibid.* and by R. C. Easterling in her introduction to Wilkinson, pp. xi-xxxiv. For more on the duties of each official, see the work of the sixteenth-century Exeter historian, John Vowell alias Hoker, *The Description of the Citie of Excester*, ed. W. J. Harte, J. W. Schopp, H. Tapley-Soper, 3 parts (Exeter, 1919), 3.801-45.

<sup>17</sup> Along with Bristol, Exeter possessed the first recorded common Council in medieval England; see Tait, *Medieval English Borough*, pp. 330-33. The 1345 ordinances established the Council permanently but such a group had appeared sporadically from the 1260s on; see Easterling, introduction to Wilkinson, *Mediaeval Council*, and Misc. Roll 2, m. 54.

<sup>18</sup> Misc. Roll 2, m. 54; Wilkinson, *ibid.*, pp. 71-72.

<sup>19</sup> These men paid from 4s. to 15s. in murage tax; see Misc. Roll 72. All the election returns



their tight control over the freedom and civic government, their greater wealth, and their small numbers, this group can justifiably be characterized as an oligarchy: 'government by the few'.

The mayor, stewards, and councillors were elected annually at Michaelmas by a body of thirty-six electors.<sup>20</sup> These electors were also chosen yearly by an elaborate selection process which favored the *meliores* or *maiores*. The first four electors, chosen from men who had already served in high office (Rank A men), nominated the remaining thirty-two electors. There is some evidence that the middling men of the town also had a hand in the election process; in 1267, for example, twelve of the electors selected were termed *mediocres*.<sup>21</sup> Indirect evidence also argues that electors were consciously drawn from among the middling men as well as the wealthier, higher-ranking citizens (see Table 2). Therefore, the Exeter 'oligarchy' was actually composed of two political groups: Rank A men and Rank B men – who attained the office of elector, but no higher, and who were separated from Rank A men by wealth, as well as by political standing.<sup>22</sup> In the 1377 murage tax, assessed according to wealth in property, Rank A members of the oligarchy paid an average of 4s. 6d. in tax, while Rank B men rendered on the average only 2s. 1d.

TABLE 2  
OCCUPATIONAL STANDING OF POLITICAL RANKS A AND B IN 1377 EXETER

	Rank A	Rank B
Total	30	33
Occupations:		
Merchants	21	8
Craftsmen	1	13
City Officials	0	4
Unknown	8	8
Average Murage Tax Paid*	4s. 6d.	2s. 1d.
No. in Overseas Trade	22	8

Sources: Misc. Roll 72; M.C.R. election returns, 1350-77; Exeter Port Customs Accounts, 1365-91.

\* Does not include the three members of the oligarchy not listed in the murage roll.

were enrolled on the dorses of membranes 1 and 2 of each Mayor's Court Roll. Of the three who did not reach the highest offices, two served as electors, thereby placing them in the Rank B oligarchy. The third man, Stephen Boghewode, held no offices at all, perhaps because he was said to be 'in the service of the king' in M.C.R. 3 October 1373.

<sup>20</sup> See Hoker, *Description* 3.789-801 for a discussion of the election reforms of 1497 in which he cites the old way of electing city officials.

<sup>21</sup> Easterling, introduction to Wilkinson, *Mediaeval Council*, pp. xxiv-xxxii.

<sup>22</sup> These political ranks were assigned on the basis of the highest office achieved by 1377. Thus Rank A men often had previously held lower offices. Rank B includes all those who attained office no higher than elector, bridge-warden, bridge-elect, or warden of Magdalene Hospital.

Occupational standing also differed between the two groups; Rank A men tended to be merchants, many of whom regularly traded overseas, while Rank B men were generally craftsmen. There were some merchants in the lower ranking, but their commercial activities were inclined to be on a much smaller, more local basis than the mercantile dealings of Rank A citizens. Moreover, three of the eight Rank B merchants in 1377 eventually reached Rank A. Politically, the influence of Rank B citizens remained tenuous. While Rank A men appeared in office year after year, seventeen of the thirty-three members of Rank B in 1377 served in office only two years or less, which hardly represented continuous civic responsibility. But because Rank B men voted in the electoral process, could hold lower-level offices such as bridge warden, and were always members of the freedom, they had some political power and must be counted as members of the 'oligarchy'. Nevertheless, they were financially, socially and politically inferior to Rank A citizens who held the higher offices.

Below the Rank B offices of electors and wardens were a host of minor municipal offices, such as aldermen (who, in Exeter, were only wardsmen with few powers), gatekeepers, bailiffs and assorted market officials. These men formed a third group of officeholders (called Rank C) in medieval Exeter whose offices did not require freedom membership and who held no real political power because they had no say in either the city elections or the civic decision-making process. However, the duties of their offices, often crucial to the everyday functioning of the town (notably in terms of police control) endowed them with a certain measure of civic responsibility.

At the bottom of the scale of municipal power and responsibility were those residents who held no offices at all (called Rank D). Their only voice in town government came through occasional appearances as jury presentors in the town courts. But even these duties were more frequently carried out by the wealthier, more highly-placed citizens. Of the 528 heads of household in 1377 Exeter, 434 (82 per cent) never held any type of political office. Only thirty-nine of these Rank D men (9 per cent) belonged to the freedom and they tended to be wealthier than most other members of Rank D. The majority of Rank D taxpayers were very poor; their average murage rate in 1377 was only 8*d.*, compared to 1*s.* for Rank C, 2*s.* 1*d.* for Rank B, and 4*s.* 6*d.* for Rank A taxpayers. Table 3 shows the high correlation between wealth, political office and commercial privilege (as represented by membership in the freedom) among Exeter heads of household in 1377. As one's personal wealth rose, so too rose one's chances of attaining economic and political privilege. In some few cases, economic privilege (i.e., freedom membership) could have preceded personal wealth, but this was unlikely considering the selective nature of admittances and the emphasis placed on ability to pay the entrance fee. More often than not, as Table 3 dramatically illustrates, political power, economic

privilege and personal wealth went hand-in-hand in late fourteenth-century Exeter.

TABLE 3  
FREEDOM MEMBERSHIP AND POLITICAL RANK OF EXETER HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD  
IN 1377 BY WEALTH (PROPERTY TAX GROUPS)

Tax Group	No. Taxed	In Freedom		Rank A		Rank B		Rank C		Rank D	
		No.	Row %	No.	Row %	No.	Row %	No.	Row %	No.	Row %
2d.-3d.	26	0	—	0	—	0	—	1	4%	25	96%
4d.-6d.	202	12	6%	0	—	1	1%	9	4%	191	95%
7d.-18d.	122	39	32%	5	4%	11	9%	15	12%	91	75%
2s.-5s.	61	47	77%	17	26%	20	33%	3	5%	22	36%
7s.-15s.	6	6	100%	6	100%	0	—	0	—	0	—
Unknown or Unenumerated	111	6		2		1		3		105	
Total	528	110	21%	30	6%	33	6%	31	6%	434	22%

Sources: Misc. Roll 72; M.C.R. election returns, 1350-77; Rowe and Jackson, *Exeter Freemen*, pp. 22-33; for Unenumerated, see Kowaleski, *Local Markets*, Appendix 2.

## II

The privileges of high political rank in Exeter worked to favor the commercial dealings of highly-placed civic officials in several ways. First, politically active citizens received preferential treatment in both financial assessment and in the allocation of borough business to private contractors. Second, such citizens were appointed ministers of the king both in the commercial sphere (e.g., as customs collectors or aulnagers) and in the political sphere (appointments to special inquisitions or juries). Third, they benefited from personal and business relationships with the king's officials, the local gentry, and the leading merchants of other towns.

The powers of political office were frequently manipulated for personal financial gain in medieval Exeter. The yearly City Receiver's Accounts regularly condoned the amercements and fines of the more powerful members of the oligarchy. Rents were excused for some of the wealthiest men of the town. For instance, the wardens of Exebridge noted in their 1381/82 account that John Talbot's rent of 40s. for a garden in Paulstreet 'could not be raised' even though Talbot ranked as the second wealthiest man in the 1377 murage tax.<sup>23</sup> Aside from escaping some of the basic costs of citizenship, the members

<sup>23</sup> Exebridge Wardens' Account (hereafter E.B.W.) 1381/82; see also E.B.W. 1385/86.

of the oligarchy also enjoyed privileged access to town contracts. They habitually obtained first choice of the profitable farms of the customs of the city (for fish, meat and stallage, brewing and baking, etc.) and had first selection of the city-owned pastureland. From 1372 to 1392, a small group of forty-six people controlled all the customs farms in Exeter.<sup>24</sup> The oligarchy was responsible for 57 per cent of these farms even though it made up only 12 per cent of all the heads of household in 1377 Exeter. Business generated by civic activities frequently passed to the oligarchy. Wine and ale sent as gifts or bribes to influential officials were invariably purchased from members of the oligarchy as were most materials bought for the building or repair of city property.<sup>25</sup> The major merchants in town were undoubtedly the most likely candidates for such business, but their close association with the town government assured that all such trade was funnelled their way. Moreover, they were chosen, and paid handsomely, to supervise such civic projects as the building of the city wall and ditch, the repair of mill leats and weirs, and the construction of the city barge; usually, such activities were not directly related to the commercial dealings of the appointed merchants. Richard Bozoun, for example, a wealthy overseas merchant and four-time mayor of Exeter, received the princely sum of £20 for 'supervising' the new construction work on the city wall in 1387, the same year he was first elected mayor.<sup>26</sup> Such extra tasks greatly augmented the income of already wealthy and powerful men. In fact, the assignment of these positions undoubtedly hinged on political rank.

The influence of the Exeter oligarchy was also substantially reinforced by frequent appointments to royal offices like controller, customer, havener, and aulnager.<sup>27</sup> The appointments, generally available only to Rank A members of

<sup>24</sup> The customs were farmed out each year and were listed annually in the Mayor's Court Rolls immediately following the yearly municipal elections on the dorsos of the first two membranes of each roll. This link between the customs and the elections suggests that the customs were bid upon or handed out when the town's most powerful political officials were present so that they could reserve the customs for themselves, or, at the very least, certainly influence who received the farms. From 1372 to 1392, there were 132 customs farmed out to only 46 people.

<sup>25</sup> The purchases were enrolled each year in the City Receiver's Accounts (hereafter C.R.A.) under *Dona et Exhennia* and *Expensi necessari*. See also the Duryard manorial accounts under mill expenses; the Exebridge Wardens' Accounts under mill expenses and bridge repair work; the accounts for the city barge in Misc. Roll 6, mm. 17, 25 to 28; and for expenses on city weirs, walls, ditches, gates and the pillory, as well as a new Duryard mill built in 1377/78, see mm. 1-5, 8-12, 22-24, and 29-34.

<sup>26</sup> C.R.A. 1386/87.

<sup>27</sup> References to the appointment of Exeter citizens as port customs officials may be found in the relevant E 122 series of customs accounts in the Public Record Office, London (= P.R.O.) and scattered throughout the *Calendar of Fine Rolls* (= *Cal. F.R.*) and *Calendar of Patent Rolls* (= *Cal. P.R.*). Aulnager appointments are in E 101 338/11 and E 358, 8 and 9, no. 8 in the P.R.O.

the oligarchy, endowed their holders not only with political pull but also with additional opportunities for financial gain (either legal or illegal). Indeed, at least four former mayors of the city were indicted and convicted (although two were ultimately pardoned) of fraud in the collection of customs.<sup>28</sup> Members of the oligarchy served as both collectors and farmers of these port customs for years at a time. Their position as merchants, regularly engaged in the overseas and coastal trades, gave them the experience and knowledge to supervise port customs and subsidies, as well as the occasion to use their office and influence to profit financially. But it is important to note that the king was not simply passively supporting Exeter's oligarchic structure by siphoning all appointments in their direction. He was also building up a strong political base that often bore fruit. Several members of the oligarchy, such as Richard Bozoun and Walter Thomas, served the king on expeditions to such troublesome spots as Ireland.<sup>29</sup> Others, such as Robert Wilford, the richest man in 1377 Exeter, lent Edward III over £195 in assistance.<sup>30</sup>

Many members of both A and B Ranks of the oligarchy also served in minor royal offices, primarily at the county level. As tax collectors, commissioners on special inquisitions, coroners and escheators, the Exeter oligarchy participated in the political and economic life of the Devon county community, brushing shoulders with the local gentry who also served in these offices.<sup>31</sup> The royal and county appointments fostered the close ties that linked many of the highest ranking members of the oligarchy with the local aristocracy. Such powerful and wealthy citizens as John Grey, Robert Wilford, and John Webber numbered among the 'esquires' of the earl of Devon, Edward Courtenay's retinue, in 1384.<sup>32</sup> Robert Wilford provided for masses for the soul of Sir Hugh Courtenay, earl of Devon, in his 1397 will.<sup>33</sup> Other members of oligarchic families also remembered local gentry as friends in their wills, or even

<sup>28</sup> These men were Roger Plente, John Grey, Richard Bozoun and Robert Noble (*Cal. P.R.*, Edw. III, 14.52 and Rich. II, 8.234; *Cal. F.R.* 7.98).

<sup>29</sup> *Cal. P.R.*, Rich. II, 7.390 and Henry IV, 1.234.

<sup>30</sup> *Issue Roll of Thomas de Brantingham*, ed. F. Devon (Publications of the Record Commissioners; London, 1835), p. 187. For other loans by oligarchic merchants of Exeter to the king, see *Cal. P.R.*, Edw. III, 9.143.

<sup>31</sup> For such positions held by the Exeter oligarchy and local landed gentry, see, for example: *Cal. P.R.*, Edw. II, 10.494 and Rich. II, 2.143, 3.392; *Cal. F.R.* 8.390, 9.55, and 9.231; Misc. Roll. 6, m. 17; J. J. Alexander, 'Exeter Members of Parliament. Part II. 1377 to 1537', *Transactions of the Devonshire Association* 60 (1928) 201-205, 213-14. See also Martin Cherry, 'The Courtenay Earls of Devon: The Formation and Disintegration of a Late Medieval Aristocratic Affinity', *Southern History* 1 (1979) 71-90.

<sup>32</sup> Additional Charter 64320 in the British Library, London. See also Cherry, *ibid.*, 73, 82, 85-87.

<sup>33</sup> M.C.R. 8 January 1387.

appointed them executors of their estates.<sup>34</sup> Men of the Exeter oligarchy stood as mainprise for the local gentry, and vice versa, in purchases of land or in debt suits.<sup>35</sup> Proximity and common interests, of course, influenced such social intercourse between gentry and oligarchy; ties with certain families were especially strong. The relationship between the Rank A oligarchy and the Courtenay family (which included the earls of Devon who resided at Tiverton and Powderham, both less than ten miles from Exeter) was close, if not always friendly.<sup>36</sup> City officials also formed fairly strong ties with John Holond, earl of Huntingdon and duke of Exeter, and even lent him money on several occasions.<sup>37</sup>

Members of Exeter's oligarchy, especially those of Rank A, formed similar strong relationships with the leading merchants of other towns. Prominent merchants of other Devon towns, such as the one-time mayors of Plymouth and Dartmouth (Humphrey Passour and John Hawley respectively), possessed commercial ties with Exeter merchants of the Rank A oligarchy, stood as mainprise for these same merchants, and served with them on county commissions, as members of Parliament, and as port customs officials.<sup>38</sup> Other Exeter merchants formed business and even personal relationships with merchants from as far away as London, appointing these outsiders as executors of their estates, or joining their families through marriage.<sup>39</sup> These relationships, as well as those between Exeter merchants and the local gentry, were facilitated by Exeter's preeminent position in the South West as a regional market town, port, merchant staple, ecclesiastical center and administrative center (county courts, for example, were held at the local Rougemont Castle). Indeed, many of

<sup>34</sup> See, for example, the wills in M.C.R. 21 July 1371, 7 May 1375, 17 December 1403.

<sup>35</sup> See, for example, *Cal. F.R.* 9.368-69 and 10.54, 62, 121-22; Book 53A, fol. 28v; ED/M/501.

<sup>36</sup> Andrew Jackson, 'Medieval Exeter, the Exe and the Earldom of Devon', *Transactions of the Devonshire Association* 104 (1972) 57-79; A. G. Little and R. C. Easterling, *The Franciscans and Dominicans of Exeter* (History of Exeter Research Group 3; Exeter, 1927), pp. 39-44; *Powderham Castle Muniments, Precis of Leases, etc. ... 1271-1724*, ed. Olive Moger, no. 80 (manuscript deposited in the D.R.O.); D.R.O. Court Rolls and Account Rolls, nos. 534, 543. See also Cherry, 'Courtenay Earls of Devon', 71-90.

<sup>37</sup> C. J. Tyldesley, *The County and Local Community in Devon and Cornwall from 1377 to 1422* (Diss. Exeter, 1978), pp. 168, 190. See also *Cal. Inq. Misc.* 7, nos. 65 and 137; C.R.A. 1390/91. In 1400, an armed uprising on Holond's behalf occurred in Exeter but the oligarchy's role in this short-lived rebellion is unclear.

<sup>38</sup> Passour: Provosts' Court Roll (hereafter P.C.R.), 19 September 1381, 5 October 1385; *Cal. F.R.* 10.121-22; E 122 158/28 in the P.R.O.; R. N. Worth, *A History of Plymouth* (Plymouth, 1931), p. 277. Hawley: P.C.R. 4 November 1385, 27 June 1387; Cherry, 'Courtenay Earls of Devon', 85, 91, 94; Stephen P. Pistano, 'Henry IV and John Hawley, Privateer, 1399-1408', *Transactions of the Devonshire Association* 111 (1979) 145-63.

<sup>39</sup> See, for example: M.C.R. 31 December 1380, 24 August 1383, 7 September 1388, 18 November 1392, 17 June 1398, 29 March 1423 and ED/M/484.

the gentry and even some of the non-Exeter merchants such as Humphrey Passour owned land or tenements in Exeter.<sup>40</sup> Thus personal relationships, fostered through common interests, political ties, commercial connections, and even intermarriage, built associations between the three groups, which bolstered the already high status of Exeter's ruling elite.<sup>41</sup>

The upper oligarchy's connections with the central government also appeared in their frequent election (or appointment) as representatives to Parliament. As specified in the first writ summoning Exeter and other towns to Parliament in 1268, the parliamentary representatives of Exeter were always from among the 'better, richer, more discreet and more powerful men of the city'.<sup>42</sup> Exeter members of Parliament tended to be either prosperous landowners from the Exeter area, wealthy merchants of the oligarchy, or professional lawyers from Exeter. The remuneration paid to members of Parliament was very small, and the inconvenience of travelling was very great, but merchants probably used such trips to London for business purposes; they predominated among Exeter parliamentary representatives throughout the fourteenth century.<sup>43</sup>

In the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, professional lawyers increasingly appeared as parliamentary representatives for Exeter and other Devon towns. The movement coincided with much pluralism, especially in the West Country where the hardships of travel to London were not taken lightly.<sup>44</sup> Members of the oligarchy often considered parliamentary representation to be an onerous responsibility because representatives had to be absent from Exeter for as long as seventy-five days at a time.<sup>45</sup> In fact, while municipal, county or royal office offered opportunities for political power and financial gain, the duties, were, nonetheless, sometimes considered an unwelcome burden by potential officeholders. Like other towns, Exeter occasionally had to use

<sup>40</sup> Gentry holdings in Exeter were numerous; see the various Exeter deed collections. For Passour, see M.C.R. 26 October 1360. For other non-Exeter merchants' property in Exeter, see M.C.R. 9 May 1379, 6 March 1396 and ED/M/460.

<sup>41</sup> For intermarriage between the gentry and oligarchy, see Alexander, 'Part II', 203-207. Only the richest and most powerful of the oligarchic families, such as the Wilfords and Talbots, formed such alliances. For instances of the oligarchy benefiting from their ties with the local gentry, see M.C.R. 4 November 1387 and Tyldesley, *County and Local Community*, pp. 17-18.

<sup>42</sup> May McKisack, *Parliamentary Representation of English Boroughs in the Later Middle Ages* (London, 1932), p. 3.

<sup>43</sup> For the small pay awarded to Exeter M.P.s, see McKisack, *ibid.*, pp. 91-92 and the City Receiver's Accounts. Both Exeter and Dartmouth tended to send mainly merchants to Parliament; see Tyldesley, *County and Local Community*, pp. 38, 41, 43.

<sup>44</sup> J. J. Alexander, 'Exeter Members of Parliament. Part I: 1295-1377', *Transactions of the Devonshire Association* 59 (1927) 185 and Tyldesley, *ibid.*, pp. 43-44 and his 'Summary'.

<sup>45</sup> *Calendar of Close Rolls* (= *Cal. C.R.*), Rich. II, 1.498 and 2.134, 300; Henry IV, 1.331; and C.R.A. 1389/90.

borough regulations, threats, fines and ultimately imprisonment to convince some burgesses to perform the more onerous and less profitable civic duties.<sup>46</sup>

The reluctance of some Exeter citizens to fulfill all their civic responsibilities points out some of the disadvantages of high political rank. In the first place, the demands of office took time, distracting the merchant or craftsman from his regular business. Much time and effort were expended on elections, council meetings, civic expeditions to London or other towns on city business, entertainment of visiting justices, and the innumerable arrangements required for the repair and upkeep of city property. Moreover, the oligarchy's most important and time-consuming task consisted in keeping the peace and administering justice in the town. The mayor and stewards spent at least one day a week presiding in court, the receiver and wardens of Exebridge collected rents and compiled annual accounts, and all members of the oligarchy frequently served as jurors in the city courts. High-ranking officials were also subject to financial liabilities by virtue of their civic office. The outgoing mayor, for example, was required to give a feast for all the most prominent town officers at his own expense on election day.<sup>47</sup> Special expenses, such as the construction of a barge for the king's service or rebuilding of a burned city mill could only be met by loans from wealthy citizens. For instance, in the mid-1360s, seven leading citizens, six of whom had served as mayor of Exeter, each lent the city from £1 to £8 to subsidize the repair of the city wall.<sup>48</sup>

The oligarchy's sense of civic responsibility extended even to bequests. The testaments of members of the oligarchy often included grants to the city for public projects such as the upkeep of Exebridge, the construction of a water conduit 'for the easement of the whole community' or the foundation of almshouses and hospitals for the poor and sick of the community.<sup>49</sup> In Exeter and other medieval towns, civic responsibility and wealth were inextricably intertwined. Oligarchic rule by a wealthy merchant elite was often considered the best possible means of government since that class was the best equipped to bear the burdens of public office. Members of the oligarchy considered themselves the best qualified directors of borough affairs not only because their leading role as merchants in the town's economy gave them the right to govern

<sup>46</sup> Exeter men were reluctant on occasion to serve in such minor offices as gatekeeper or market warden; see, for example, M.C.R. 3 October 1373, 13 October 1376, 13 October 1404. Others also tried to avoid constant appointments on county commissions and juries; see, for example, *Cal. P.R.*, Rich. II, 1.598. But no men ever tried to escape serving in any of the major Rank A or B offices. For a recent discussion of this problem, see Jennifer I. Kermode, 'Urban Decline: The Flight from Office in Late Medieval York', *Economic History Review*, 2nd Ser., 35 (1982) 179-98.

<sup>47</sup> Hoker, *Description* 3.914.

<sup>48</sup> Misc. Roll 6, m. 16. For other loans to the city by members of the oligarchy, see mm. 16 and 20 in Misc. Roll 6 and C.R.A. 1393/94, 1396/97.

<sup>49</sup> E.B.W. 1369/70, 1391/92; M.C.R. 22 September 1421; Hoker, *Description* 3.858-59.



the town, but also because their wealth enabled them to meet the often excessive demands of town government.<sup>50</sup>

### III

The preeminence of the oligarchy within the local markets of Exeter can be illustrated through an analysis of 4,526 debt cases in the local courts over a ten-year period from 1378 to 1388.<sup>51</sup> In the absence of notarial contracts such as exist for continental Europe, debt cases provide the best reflection of the commercial world of medieval English towns. About 70 per cent of the debts concerned purely commercial matters such as credit purchases, loans, custom payments and cash transactions. The remaining 30 per cent were roughly divided between salary disputes, unpaid rent or relief disputes, and cases concerning unpaid legal and pledging costs. Supplemented by information on occupations and political ranks from the voluminous and detailed Exeter records of this period, the type and extent of commercial participation by individuals in Exeter's local markets can be broadly measured by the frequency and nature of their appearances in debt cases in the local courts. The dominance of the oligarchy in the local markets, especially by those of Rank A, can be illustrated, first of all, by a comparison of both the creditors' and debtors' political rank.

TABLE 4  
CREDITORS AND DEBTORS IN EXETER BY POLITICAL RANK, 1378-88

Political Rank	% of Heads of Household in 1377 (N = 528)	Creditors (N = 4629)	Debtors (N = 4702)
A	6 %	21 %	3 %
B	6 %	12 %	5 %
C	6 %	10 %	9 %
D	75 %	36 %	46 %
Women	7 %	4 %	8 %
Clergy		3 %	4 %
Non-Exeter Residents		14 %	25 %
Total	100 %	100 %	100 %

Sources: Misc. Roll. 72; M.C.R. election returns, 1350-1400; M.C.R. and P.C.R. debt cases. 1378-88.

<sup>50</sup> Exeter's oligarchy expressed this sentiment in the regulations of 1345; see Wilkinson, *Mediaeval Council*, p. 71. For an excellent discussion of class distinctions in medieval London and the right of the merchant oligarchy to rule, see Thrupp, *Merchant Class of London*, pp. 14-27.

<sup>51</sup> There were 4,629 creditors and 4,702 debtors involved in these 4,526 debt cases. See Kowaleski, *Local Markets*, Appendix 3, for a full rationale and explanation of this project. Except for Table 4, all further tables will exclude data on women, clergy and non-Exeter residents since they were all ineligible to run for office.

As Table 4 shows, members of the oligarchy, who accounted for only a very small percentage of the total population, nonetheless were responsible for a much larger proportion of the local trade (as reflected in their appearances in debt cases in the Exeter courts). Furthermore, their more frequent appearance as creditors (they were about seven times more likely to come into court as creditors than as debtors) emphasizes their financial solvency in the community. In contrast, members of Ranks C and D, who exercised little or no political influence and who were unlikely to enjoy the privileges of freedom membership, were more often at a disadvantage in their commercial dealings as evidenced by the regularity of their appearance as debtors. In addition, their less frequent appearances overall in debt cases (in proportion to their numbers within the town's population) indicates their less commercially active position as artisans and laborers.

Indeed, the economic strength of the oligarchy largely resulted from their wealth and occupational status. As Table 5 illustrates, Rank A men overwhelmingly operated as distributor/retailers and were rarely involved in the actual manufacture of goods, while those of lower political rank were more likely to work either as artisan/retailers (both manufacturing and selling their own products, such as bakers, skimmers and weavers), or as mere processors or laborers (such as fullers, millwards or carpenters).

TABLE 5  
POLITICAL RANKS OF EXETER CREDITORS AND DEBTORS BY OCCUPATIONAL FUNCTION,  
1378-88 (N = 5662)

Occupational Function	Rank A	Rank B	Rank C	Rank D
Distributor and/or Retailer	76 %	50 %	34 %	16 %
Artisan/Retailer	23 %	49 %	55 %	64 %
Processor	1 %	1 %	11 %	17 %
Servant	0	0	0	3 %
Total	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %

Sources: M.C.R. election returns, 1350-1400; M.C.R. and P.C.R. debt cases, 1378-88.

As distributors, members of the Exeter oligarchy, like the grocers of medieval London studied by Sylvia Thrupp, functioned as both wholesalers and retailers.<sup>52</sup> Retail trading by Exeter's oligarchy provided a valuable addition to wholesaling activities. Compared to the merchants of the larger market towns of London, Bristol and Southampton, Exeter merchants operated on a

<sup>52</sup> S. Thrupp, 'The Grocers of London: A Study of Distributive Trade' in *Studies in English Trade in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. Eileen Power and M. M. Postan (London, 1933), pp. 247-92.

smaller, more provincial scale, suffering from smaller amounts of capital and fewer national commercial connections. Nevertheless, in Exeter's own local markets the oligarchy served as the most important middlemen, selling either to a retailer or directly to a consumer. For example, Richard Bozoun imported large quantities of wine, herring, figs, oil, iron, bowstaves, boards, wainscot and other goods, while exporting primarily cloth and small amounts of wool and hides. He sold lead *in grosso*, as well as consignments of madder and woad. He also retailed smaller amounts of goods such as malt, oats, ale, wine and building stone.<sup>53</sup> Other members of the oligarchy specialized in certain commodities. John Aisshe, termed both 'vitner' and 'merchant' in the records, regularly imported and sold large quantities of wine to retailers while he also directly retailed wine, as well as ale, mead and wood. Like many other members of the oligarchy, he also exported cloth, acting as middleman between textile producer and overseas retailer.<sup>54</sup>

Members of the oligarchy were distinguished occupationally from the rest of the local working population not only by their occupational function, but also by their involvement in the trade by sea. Overseas trade required large amounts of capital, the ability to take financial risks, and good commercial connections. Membership in the freedom was also helpful since non-freedom members had to pay port customs and were barred from certain types of retail and wholesale activity in the cloth and woad trades. As a result, only thirty Exeter citizens, twenty-two (73 per cent) of the A Rank and eight (24 per cent) of the B Rank, were engaged in some aspect of the port trade in 1377; they represented slightly more than 5 per cent of all the Exeter heads of household. Furthermore, this small group of prominent merchants controlled roughly one third of all trade through the port of Exeter.<sup>55</sup> Their overseas (and coastal) commercial activities must have proved extraordinarily profitable since these few men enjoyed a local monopoly on such crucial imports as wine, iron, salt, woad, and a variety of foodstuffs. Moreover, the oligarchy's predominance as distributors made them the natural middlemen for other importers who wanted to wholesale their

<sup>53</sup> Exeter Port Customs Accounts (hereafter P.C.A.) 1371/72, 1372/73, 1382/83, 1383/84, 1385/86, 1386/87; E 122 158/31, 158/34, 193/23, 40/8, 40/6, 40/18 in the P.R.O. Wholesale activities: M.C.R. 20 September 1389; P.C.R. 5 May 1386, 12 May 1386; E 101 338/11, no. 6 in the P.R.O. Retail activities: C.R.A. 1380/81, 1386/87; P.C.R. 6 October 1384; South Quarter Mayor's Tourn 1374 to 1388. The amount of individual debts also serves as a rough guide to retailing and wholesaling activities; Bozoun's debts ranged from 8 marks to 2s. 6d.

<sup>54</sup> M.C.R. 3 August 1377, 2 February 1383, 21 November 1390; P.C.R. 15 January 1379, 30 June 1384; North Quarter Mayor's Tourn 1373-74-76-83-86; C.R.A. 1386/87; P.C.A. 1365/66 to 1372/73, 1381/82, 1383/84, 1384/85; E 122 158/24, 40/8, 193/23 in the P.R.O.

<sup>55</sup> P.C.A. 1381/82 to 1391/92; Exeter merchants accounted for 289 of a total 954 importers at the port of Exeter during this period.

goods in Exeter. Obviously control of the profitable and commercially prestigious port trade contributed to the ruling elite's domination of the local markets through the wealth such trade generated.

Within the port trade, two activities, linked to one another, predominated: the exportation of cloth and the importation of wine. As the chief export of the region, cloth was the basis for the growing wealth of Devon in the late fourteenth century.<sup>56</sup> On the other hand, wine was always the major product imported through the port of Exeter; from 1381 to 1391, for example, 60 per cent of all importers at the port of Exeter imported wine.<sup>57</sup> During this period, Exeter merchants controlled 38 per cent of the total volume of wine imported at Exeter.<sup>58</sup> While similar precise figures on oligarchic participation in cloth exporting are unavailable because the cloth customs were farmed in the 1370s and 1380s, our scattered references do indicate that exports through Exeter were almost always local cloth.<sup>59</sup> Many Exeter merchants were heavily involved in the town's cloth industry, contracting with weavers, fullers and dyers to perform various manufacturing processes on wool, yarn, and cloth which the merchants then sold or exported.<sup>60</sup> Licences granted to Exeter merchants to trade overseas usually stipulated that the merchants take local cloth to France (Gascony) in exchange for wine or, occasionally, for other merchandise such as woad.<sup>61</sup> Even oligarchic distributors such as John Nymet, a 'cutler' who supplied iron and coal to local smiths, or Thomas Smythesheghes, a 'ferrouer' who also sold iron, marketed wine and cloth.<sup>62</sup> Thus, regardless of specialization, the common occupational characteristics of the ruling elite of late fourteenth-century Exeter were: (1) their function as distributors (and, to a lesser extent, as retailers) within particular trades; (2) their local monopoly of Exeter's port trade; and (3) their focus upon the profitable cloth and wine trades. Even though members of political Ranks C and D dominated numerically all but the occupation of general merchant, they were

<sup>56</sup> Carus-Wilson, *Expansion of Exeter*.

<sup>57</sup> P.C.A. 1381/82 to 1391/92: 574 of the total 954 importers imported wine.

<sup>58</sup> P.C.A. 1381/82 to 1391/92; Exeter merchants imported 1832.25 tuns of a total 4861.25 tuns imported at Exeter during this period.

<sup>59</sup> E 122 158/24, 158/32, 158/31, 40/8, 193/23, 102/14, 102/14A, and 158/34 in the P.R.O.

<sup>60</sup> For a full discussion of the oligarchy's influence in the local cloth trade and industry, see Kowaleski, *Local Markets*, pp. 111-18.

<sup>61</sup> See, for example, *Cal. P.R.*, Edw. III, 12.510, 521.

<sup>62</sup> Nymet: Rowe and Jackson, *Exeter Freeman*, p. 30; P.C.R. 19 November 1381, 10 October 1387; M.C.R. 15 December 1382, 13 June 1390, 26 June 1391; C.R.A. 1386/87; P.C.A. 1369/70 to 1371/72, 1387/88 to 1389/90; E 122 158/34, 40/8, 193/23 in the P.R.O. Smythesheghes: P.C.R. 2 August 1382, 15 October 1383, 22 March 1386, 27 June 1387, 9 January 1388, 15 February 1388; M.C.R. 13 May 1387.

spread more evenly throughout the various occupations and tended to hold inferior positions as artisans and processors.<sup>63</sup>

The concentration and dominance of the oligarchy in the town's local markets may also be seen in the cash value of the debts contracted. As Tables 6 and 7 point out, members of the oligarchy, whether creditors or debtors, were more likely to become entangled in large debts. The fact that oligarchic debtors owed the largest cash amounts emphasizes the premier place occupied by the oligarchy in the town's commercial sphere. While men of lower political rank outnumbered men of Ranks A and B in the local markets, the oligarchy compensated for its small numbers by controlling most of the major trade in these markets. Furthermore, major trade required major expenditures; high debts were the natural offshoot of such ventures. Such heavy debts stress the risky nature of some of the oligarchy's commercial ventures. Although members of the oligarchy could expect higher returns on their greater investments, so too they had to accept potentially greater losses.

TABLE 6  
DEBT AMOUNTS OF EXETER CREDITORS AND DEBTORS BY POLITICAL RANK, 1378-88

Political Rank	Debt Amount						Total
	1d.-1s.	1s.-5s.	5s.-10s.	10s.-£1	£1-£5	£5-£50	
<i>Creditors</i>							
Oligarchy (N = 624)	7 %	48 %	20 %	13 %	9 %	3 %	= 100 %
Ranks C and D (N = 863)	16 %	52 %	16 %	9 %	6 %	1 %	= 100 %
<i>Debtors</i>							
Oligarchy (N = 135)	7 %	32 %	21 %	16 %	16 %	8 %	= 100 %
Ranks C and D (N = 1297)	11 %	51 %	20 %	10 %	7 %	1 %	= 100 %

Sources: M.C.R. election returns, 1350-1400; M.C.R. and P.C.R. debt cases, 1378-88.

Note: The oligarchy includes Ranks A and B.

The high risks undertaken by the merchants of the oligarchy were revealed most dramatically in overseas and coastal trade. The dangers of such trade were well known to Exeter merchants; storms at sea, pirates, and the constant threat of war (especially in the late fourteenth century) all combined to present real

<sup>63</sup> For an examination of the occupational status of non-oligarchic Exeter residents, see Kowaleski, *Local Markets*, pp. 110, 168-93.

hazards to the merchant willing to embark on such ventures.<sup>64</sup> The capital needed to finance the overseas enterprises could be furnished only by the wealthier merchants. Thus, participation in the shipping trade was closely connected to wealth, high political office and occupation. For example, of the nine wealthiest men in 1377 Exeter, all belonged to the Rank A oligarchy, functioned as a merchant wholesaler, and possessed interests in the sea trade through the port of Exeter.<sup>65</sup>

TABLE 7  
AVERAGE AMOUNT OF DEBT OF EXETER CREDITORS AND DEBTORS BY POLITICAL RANK, 1378-88

Political Rank	Average Debt of Creditors	Average Debt of Debtors
Oligarchy (Creditors = 624) (Debtors = 135)	17s. 8d.	37s. 6d.
Ranks C and D (Creditors = 863) (Debtors = 1297)	8s. 9d.	9s. 1d.

Sources: M.C.R. election returns, 1350-1400; M.C.R. and P.C.R. debt cases, 1378-88.  
Note: The oligarchy includes Ranks A and B.

The financial risks and cash flow problems associated with both overseas and wholesale trade were often eased by forming financial partnerships.<sup>66</sup> The Exeter evidence suggests that partnerships in the seagoing trade were particularly beneficial to those beginning a commercial career who lacked the requisite capital (or experience). For example, both John Talbot and Thomas Estoun began their sea-trade activities by importing wine in partnership with well-established merchants.<sup>67</sup> Although Talbot and Estoun began their commercial ventures without benefit of freedom membership or high political office, both men went on to attain entry into the freedom, Rank A status in the oligarchy, and great wealth. While their success underlines the important role that investment in overseas trade played in attaining commercial and political

<sup>64</sup> For the hazards of sea trade experienced by Exeter merchants and others trading off the south Devon coast during this period, see *Cal. P.R.*, Edw. III, 12.83 and Rich. II, 1.356, 6.584-85; *Cal. C.R.*, Edw. III, 10.32, 83, 87.

<sup>65</sup> The one exception was Robert Dene, an artisan/retailer in the leather and skin trade who paid 5s. in murage tax and achieved no higher than B political rank.

<sup>66</sup> M. M. Postan, 'Partnership in English Medieval Commerce' in *Medieval Trade and Finance* (Cambridge, 1973), pp. 65-91; M. K. James, 'A London Merchant of the Fourteenth Century', *Economic History Review*, 2nd Ser., 8 (1956) 369-70; Thrupp, *Merchant Class of Medieval London*, pp. 104, 108, 111.

<sup>67</sup> Talbot: P.C.A. 1372/73; Estoun: P.C.A. 1384/85.

power, it was necessary to mitigate the high risks of their initial forays into overseas trade by forming partnerships with wealthier, established merchants.

Even established merchants who frequently traded overseas occasionally formed importing partnerships with others. The partnerships were almost always made with fellow citizens who were also wealthy merchants of the oligarchy.<sup>68</sup> On less frequent occasions, Exeter merchants entered into partnerships with shipmasters who used Exeter as a home base. Men such as John Bole and John Trote, both members of the Exeter oligarchy, not only mastered ships sailing along the coast and overseas but also shared investments in the cargoes as well.<sup>69</sup> The commercial partnerships between merchants or between merchants and shipmasters considerably alleviated the financial and organizational problems of both sea and inland trade and were undoubtedly facilitated by the networks formed in Exeter by family, friendship, neighborhood, and public office.

Exeter merchants pooled resources not only in their overseas commercial enterprises, but also in domestic and coastal trade. For example, a theft recorded in 1403 reveals that John Talbot and Simon Grendon (both members of the Exeter oligarchy) jointly purchased large quantities of oil, almonds and figs from a Dartmouth merchant.<sup>70</sup> Unhappily, the goods turned out to be stolen. Grendon and Talbot had pooled their resources on other occasions as well. In 1398 and 1402 they bought several parcels of land in Exeter from various sellers, one of which cost the substantial sum of £40.<sup>71</sup> Their partnership was eased by their common service in public office and shared commercial interests. Both served as mayors of Exeter: Grendon in 1395 and Talbot a year later in 1396. For at least fourteen years, they both held seats in the powerful city Council and for eight years served together as electors. Both also exported cloth and imported wine (although Talbot's trade was more diversified and included dealings in salt, herring and iron).<sup>72</sup> The advantages of partnership to both men (despite the unhappy theft of 1403) resulted in frequent trading ventures.

<sup>68</sup> See, for example, P.C.A. 1367/68, 1369/70, 1370/71, 1372/73, 1386/87, 1388/89.

<sup>69</sup> Bole: P.C.A. 1365/66, 1366/67, 1367/68, 1369/70, 1372/73; Misc. Roll 72; E 122 40/8, 193/23 in the P.R.O.; Rowe and Jackson, *Exeter Freeman*, p. 31. Trote: P.C.A. 1369/70; M.C.R. 29 May 1374, 17 August 1383; East Quarter Mayor's Tourn 1372; Rowe and Jackson, *Exeter Freeman*, p. 33.

<sup>70</sup> *Cal. Inq. Misc.* 7, no. 251.

<sup>71</sup> M.C.R. 23 September 1398; ED/M/599. It was not unusual for members of the Exeter oligarchy to own or to lease property together. In many cases (although not in Grendon and Talbot's) this was due to (1) the joint action of executors of estates who were responsible for selling off lands of the deceased, or (2) those who inherited land together, usually executors. At any rate, these practices established joint property ownership patterns among the oligarchy.

<sup>72</sup> M.C.R. 22 December 1382, 22 January 1392; P.C.A. 1383/84, 1388/89, 1390/91 to 1411/12; E 101 338/11, nos. 6 and 7 and E 122 40/18, 158/34, 40/8 in the P.R.O.

As indicated in the property acquisitions of Talbot and Grendon, landed wealth was an important economic resource for members of Exeter's oligarchy. A large proportion of the oligarchy's commercial income was funnelled into property investments. As a general rule, the wealthier the man, the more intense his participation in the land market. Robert Wilford, the richest resident of Exeter in 1377, owned dozens of properties scattered throughout the town, including shops, houses, messuages, gardens, pastureland, cellars, and solars; he leased many of these properties.<sup>73</sup> The investment represented by the properties must have been considerable. For example, in 1384, Wilford and his wife Elizabeth paid £40 for just one tenement in Exeter.<sup>74</sup> All but one of the references to Wilford's property transactions concern acquisitions. Similarly, all eleven property transactions of Richard Bozoun, another well-to-do merchant and landowner of the oligarchy, involved either the acquisition or leasing of property.<sup>75</sup> The types of debts contracted by members of the oligarchy reflect the tendency for the governing elite to act as buyers and landlords in the town's property market. After sales debts, the oligarchy's most frequent debts occurred in property and rent disputes. The oligarchy appeared much more often as creditors in such disputes (48 creditors, 15 debtors). This trend was especially noticeable among the Rank A oligarchy; three times as many Rank A as Rank B citizens prosecuted renters for debt. The degree of the oligarchy's involvement in the local land market suggests that property investment assured a steady income, part of which provided further capital for the landlord's riskier commercial or industrial activities.<sup>76</sup>

An examination of the other types of debts contracted by oligarchic litigants sheds additional light on their presence in the local markets.<sup>77</sup> Half of all debts tried centered around sales; oligarchic creditors were slightly more likely to be involved in sales debts than were non-oligarchic creditors (52 per cent

<sup>73</sup> C.R.A. 1376/77, 1377/78; Book 53A, fols. 29, 63, 75; E.B.W. 1390/91, 1386/87; Misc. Roll 4, m. 3v; ED/M/520; M.C.R. 27 March 1378, 24 June 1381, 1 July 1381, 6 October 1382; Duryard Court Roll (hereafter D.C.R.) 21 October 1396; St Sidwell's Court Roll (hereafter S.C.R.) 20 April 1390; Dean and Chapter Accounts of Collectors of Rents in Exeter 5155-5156 and Dean and Chapter Deeds, nos. 119, 121 in the Exeter Cathedral Library; Ethel Lega-Weekes, 'An Account of the Hospitium de le Egle, Some Ancient Chapels in the Close, and Some Persons Connected Therewith', *Transactions of the Devonshire Association* 44 (1912) 484, 490, 505-507.

<sup>74</sup> M.C.R. 12 December 1384. For the one property Wilford sold, see ED/M/546.

<sup>75</sup> M.C.R. 16 April 1375, 4 June 1380, 15 December 1382, 6 October 1382, 9 December 1409; D.C.R. 13 October 1383, 13 May 1389 and 1382/83, m. 13; S.C.R. 20 April 1382; Book 53A, fols. 55, 76; *Cal. P.R.*, Rich. II, 3.522.

<sup>76</sup> Derek Keene noted a similar trend in medieval Winchester; see his *Some Aspects of the History, Topography and Archaeology of the North-East Part of the City of Winchester with Special Reference to the Brooks Area* (D. Phil. thesis Oxford, 1972), pp. 154-55.

<sup>77</sup> Information on the type of debt is based on responses for 794 creditors and 816 debtors.



compared to 47 per cent). Among debtors, however, the differences were greater; only 34 per cent of the oligarchy (and 23 per cent of Rank A alone) owed money on previous purchases while 50 per cent of the men of Ranks C and D incurred such debts. Instead, oligarchic debtors appeared in cases concerning rents (22 per cent), *obligationes* (10 per cent), and service (9 per cent). Oligarchic creditors also prosecuted more often cases concerning rents (22 per cent) and cash loans (6 per cent). Such data corroborate the patterns already established for the oligarchy. Its weightier representation in sale cases as creditors rather than debtors bespeaks the commercially dominating role of distributor in the local markets. As employers rather than employees, members of the oligarchy naturally appeared more frequently as debtors in cases concerning unpaid wages or stipends. As the major landowners in the town, with heavy investments in property, they were also more likely to become entangled in rent disputes. As the wealthiest men in the borough, the oligarchic citizens were also the natural moneylenders, and thus were more likely to appear in litigation concerning unpaid loans. Finally, as the leaders in the commercial sector of the town, with personal and business connections overseas and throughout Devon, they more frequently appeared in cases regarding *obligationes* (the formal, court-enrolled legal promise to pay usually large amounts of money to a creditor).

The immense power and influence of the Exeter oligarchy affected even the administration of justice in the community. As illustrated in Table 8, oligarchic creditors in debt cases were more likely to receive a favorable decision than were creditors of lower political rank. The same principle applied when oligarchic citizens were sued as debtors; they were less likely to receive unfavorable verdicts than were men of Ranks C or D. For example, oligarchic debtors were less often judged guilty ('in mercy') than debtors of lower political ranks while oligarchic creditors more often won guilty verdicts against their debtors. Similarly, members of the oligarchy obtained *non prosequitur* verdicts (in which the creditor was fined for failing to pursue the case) less frequently as creditors, but more frequently as debtors when this decision became advantageous. The same trends occur in the false query decisions. Little difference, however, exists for the licence of concord decision or the failure to wage law. Members of the oligarchy generally possessed a distinct advantage in the local courts; their wealth and power encouraged them to pursue suits at the same time that such advantages discouraged their opponents.<sup>78</sup> In most cases, those of the highest group of the oligarchy, Rank A, received better verdicts

<sup>78</sup> Similar trends were evident in rural England; Barbara Hanawalt, *Crime and Conflict in English Communities, 1300-1348* (Cambridge, Mass., 1979), p. 53 notes that primary villagers were convicted less often than poorer villagers of lesser status in criminal cases.

than any other group. Only 14 per cent of Rank A debtors, for instance, were convicted of debt and only 3 per cent of Rank A creditors were found guilty of pleading a false query. The wealth, commercial status, and public offices enjoyed by the Rank A litigants obviously influenced the court (run by the same oligarchic group) in handing down its decisions.<sup>79</sup>

TABLE 8  
COURT DECISIONS FOR EXETER CREDITORS AND DEBTORS BY POLITICAL RANK, 1378-88

Political Rank	Guilty	Plea Not Pursued	Court Decisions Licence of Concord	False Query	Failure to Wage Law	No Infor- mation	Total
<i>Creditors</i>							
Oligarchy (N = 1515)	31 %	23 %	15 %	4 %	2 %	25 %	= 100 %
Ranks C and D (N = 2153)	25 %	34 %	14 %	7 %	4 %	16 %	= 100 %
<i>Debtors</i>							
Oligarchy (N = 381)	18 %	34 %	15 %	8 %	2 %	23 %	= 100 %
Ranks C and D (N = 2594)	34 %	25 %	14 %	6 %	4 %	17 %	= 100 %

Sources: M.C.R. election returns, 1350-1400; M.C.R. and P.C.R. debt cases, 1378-88.

Note: The oligarchy includes political Ranks A and B.

#### IV

'Oligarchy' has not only denoted 'government by the few' but has also frequently been interpreted as a closed system of government that recruited new members from among the families already in power. Thus this type of government has been viewed as confining public power and prestige, year after year, to a small, privileged group of prominent families or individuals. This outlook ignores the social mobility characteristic of medieval urban life. The vicissitudes of commercial life, the failure to produce heirs, and the occasional drain of the wealthy urban elite to the rural gentry, combined with the constant flow of immigration to the town, entrepreneurship, simple good fortune, and advantageous marriages to ensure that the town's oligarchy was not restricted

<sup>79</sup> The mayor presided over the Mayor's Court, the stewards ran the Provosts' Court and jurors in both courts were usually chosen from among members of the oligarchy.

to the same pool of oligarchic families; the oligarchic pool remained small but not stagnant.

In Exeter, demographic failure to produce heirs dealt the most devastating blow to oligarchic fortunes. The inability to produce an adequate number of male heirs (aggravated by high infant mortality) cut short the rise of many oligarchic families in medieval English towns.<sup>80</sup> Moreover, there was no assurance that sons would follow their fathers into commerce (or have any talent for such a career). Thus the only son of Roger atte Wille, a prosperous member of the Rank A oligarchy with interests in the local cloth industry, became a Franciscan monk. After Roger and his wife died, his land escheated to the king because the clerical status of his son made him ineligible to inherit the property.<sup>81</sup>

Other members of the oligarchy, such as Henry Scam, William Oke, and Simon Grendon, left no heirs at all, and their goods and properties were sold off by their executors.<sup>82</sup> A different solution was found by Richard Goldsmith of Rank A whose two marriages had produced two daughters who both predeceased him. Rather than dissolving his estate, he bequeathed all his goods, properties, and tools of his goldsmith trade to his servant, John Russell, another goldsmith. Only a year after Goldsmith's death, John Russell was already well-established in his trade and paid 2s. in the 1377 murage tax. In 1378 he entered the freedom, paying a higher than usual entry fine. Russell went on to serve in municipal office as well, attaining Rank B oligarchic status.<sup>83</sup>

Of course, some families endured and retained oligarchic status for more than two or three generations. The Gerveys family, for example, was active in Exeter from the early thirteenth into the fifteenth century.<sup>84</sup> The Wilfords also produced several generations of extremely successful and wealthy merchants who served the town as mayors and members of Parliament in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.<sup>85</sup> Other members of the late fourteenth-century

<sup>80</sup> Thrupp, *Merchant Class of Medieval London*, pp. 191-206; Colin Platt, *The English Medieval Town* (London, 1976), pp. 98-102.

<sup>81</sup> Little and Easterling, *Franciscans and Dominicans*, pp. 23-24. Thrupp found that barely two thirds of aldermen's sons in medieval London followed their fathers into trade (*ibid.*, p. 205).

<sup>82</sup> M.C.R. 9 June 1382, 22 June 1416, 9 January 1413.

<sup>83</sup> Goldsmith: M.C.R. 22 December 1382, 12 March 1380; ED/M/464. Russell: Misc. Roll 72; Rowe and Jackson, *Exeter Freeman*, p. 34; Russell paid a £1 6s. 8d. entry fine to the freedom, i.e., more than the usual fine of £1.

<sup>84</sup> Rowe and Jackson, *ibid.*, pp. 4, 8, 13, 23, 30; M.C.R. 16 February 1400; *Mayors of Exeter from the 13th Century to the Present Day*, comp. M. M. Rowe and J. Cochlin (Exeter, 1964), pp. 2, 5. The Gerveys (or Gervase) family was responsible for the first stone bridge over the Exe River outside the west gate of the city; see W. G. Hoskins, *Two Thousand Years in Exeter* (Chichester, 1960; rpt. 1969), pp. 28-31.

<sup>85</sup> M.C.R. 8 January 1397, 9 July 1414; Tyldesley, *County and Local Community*, pp. 37-38.

oligarchy also produced adequate heirs: John Gist left seven heirs, Adam Golde had three daughters, a son and a grandson when he died, and Ralph Swan left behind two sons and a daughter.<sup>86</sup> Although no precise figures are available for Exeter, it appears that the town's oligarchic families followed a pattern observed in other medieval towns. Some families endured for several generations without any lack of male heirs, but few survived past three or four generations.<sup>87</sup>

Besides the failure to produce adequate heirs, financial and commercial risks weakened the ability of some oligarchic families to survive.<sup>88</sup> The accumulation of misfortune by certain members of the oligarchy certainly suggests that commercial failure was not uncommon. For example, Walter Fouke, an oligarchic merchant of Rank A who participated in both local and overseas trade, was never as wealthy as other members of the elite; he paid only 18*d.* in the 1377 murage, far below the 4*s.* 6*d.* average for other Rank A citizens.<sup>89</sup> Fouke, quite simply, did not enjoy the commercial successes experienced by other Rank A merchants. He was frequently sued in the courts for large sums; in 1375, he owed Henry Martyn of Chumleigh 16 marks; in 1376, he was prosecuted by John Seyneet, a spicer, for 50*s.*; in 1379, he acknowledged a debt of over 36*s.* to Thomas Canon, and in the same year, Robert Wilford successfully sued him for £16.<sup>90</sup> His own actions as a creditor were equally unfortunate. For example, Thomas Webber had incurred a debt to Fouke of £10, which he failed to pay. After Webber died, Fouke went to Webber's widow, Helewisia, for payment but she put him off since she had decided to marry again. After the wedding, Fouke tried to claim the debt but Helewisia and her new husband stalled again. To complicate matters, Webber had died intestate and his affairs took years to settle, so Fouke was required to pursue the case in the Exeter courts over a course of many years; unfortunately, no verdict was ever recorded.<sup>91</sup> Other misfortunes also befell Fouke. His house was burglarized in 1375 and goods valued at 26*s.* were taken. In 1378 several malefactors forcibly entered his house and set it afire to the damage of £20. He also failed to meet a custom payment and suffered the distraint of his goods to

<sup>86</sup> M.C.R. 18 March 1381, 14 August 1396, 21 October 1415.

<sup>87</sup> Étienne Fournial, *Les villes et l'économie d'échange en Forez au XIII<sup>e</sup> et XIV<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Paris, 1967), p. 259 notes that 93 per cent of families in the Forez region towns disappeared in less than three centuries; most families died out within three generations.

<sup>88</sup> See, for example, James, 'London Merchant', 369-74.

<sup>89</sup> P.C.A. 1365/66 to 1371/72. Fouke was elected steward in 1371 and 1375 and served as an elector twelve times from 1366 to 1381. See Misc. Roll 72 for his murage payment.

<sup>90</sup> M.C.R. 12 March 1375, 15 September 1376; P.C.R. 28 April 1379, 8 October 1379.

<sup>91</sup> P.C.R. 14 October 1378; M.C.R. 30 May 1379, 6 June 1379.

cover the cost of the custom debt.<sup>92</sup> When Fouke died in 1381, his widow Christine was immediately sued by numerous creditors, including at least one former business partner of her husband.<sup>93</sup> This postmortem debt litigation continued to plague Christine for nearly a decade; as late as 1390 a Lamport merchant claimed she owed him 5 marks as Fouke's widow and executor.<sup>94</sup> All this must have been too much for Christine; in 1393 the City Receiver pardoned her court fines with the comment 'because she is a pauper'.<sup>95</sup> Whether Fouke's misfortunes were due to a lack of business acumen, an unpleasant personality, personal tragedy, or just plain bad luck, we will never know. While his continuous financial difficulties underline dramatically the problems and risks that faced Exeter's merchants, the wealthiest merchants of Exeter rarely suffered such unrelenting financial disasters. Secure in their business dealings and landed wealth, and acknowledged as the governors of their town, the more prosperous members of the Exeter oligarchy reigned supreme within their provincial setting. In London, the urban oligarchy had to deal with much more intense competition for both trade and political influence. Therefore the risks undertaken by London's merchants were necessarily greater, as were the corresponding successes and failures.

Although several historians have argued that the wealthy urban elite escaped as soon as possible from their commercial origins and established gentry pretensions in the countryside, this pattern did not exist in Exeter.<sup>96</sup> A few Exeter merchants certainly owned property outside of Exeter and sometimes such holdings were quite considerable, bringing in substantial rents each year.<sup>97</sup> Their rural holdings, however, did not transform urban merchants into landed gentry, nor did they create urban exploitation of the countryside.<sup>98</sup> There is no evidence that members of the Exeter oligarchy either worked for or desired the life of a country gentleman. The disinterest of Exeter merchants in gentry living

<sup>92</sup> P.C.R. 8 May 1382; M.C.R. 23 July 1375, 8 November 1378.

<sup>93</sup> M.C.R. 16 February 1383. For his previous dealings with Aisshe, see P.C.R. 19 September 1381.

<sup>94</sup> M.C.R. 5 December 1390. For other debts of Fouke she had to deal with, see M.C.R. 12 January 1383, 6 August 1386.

<sup>95</sup> C.R.A. 1392/93.

<sup>96</sup> Thrupp, *Merchant Class of Medieval London*, pp. 279-87; Platt, *Medieval Southampton*, p. 63; Platt, *English Medieval Town*, pp. 102-103.

<sup>97</sup> *Cal. Inq. P.M.* 13, no. 18.

<sup>98</sup> Historians of continental Europe have dwelt more on the exploitation of the town, led by the landed interests of the oligarchy or 'patriciate', than have historians of English towns. This may be due to the greater size of many continental cities, as well as the evolution of city-state systems there. See, for example, David Nicholas, *Town and Countryside: Social, Economic and Political Tensions in Fourteenth-Century Flanders* (Bruges, 1971), pp. 267-330; Richard Hoffmann, 'Wrocław Citizens as Rural Landholders' in *The Medieval City*, ed. Harry A. Miskimin, David Herlihy, and A. L. Udovitch (New Haven, 1977), pp. 293-312.

could reflect the relatively modest means of a provincial urban elite compared to the greater towns of London, Bristol, or York. But reports of such transformations may well be exaggerated. Although some moves from wealthy town merchant to country squire undoubtedly took place, they probably involved an extremely small (albeit highly visible) proportion of any town's oligarchy. The traditional view of wealthy burgesses scrambling to escape to the life of country gentlemen may well be overstated.

The weaknesses in the oligarchic class (threats of commercial and financial disaster, failure of heirs, and the occasional elevation of wealthy merchants to the landed gentry) required that the ranks of the ruling elite be bolstered periodically with new members. Those born into a lower political rank, as well as new immigrants to the town, could still hope to climb the urban ladder to commercial, political and social success. Opportunities came in several different forms. Some, like the goldsmith John Russell, received money, property, and a head start in his chosen occupation as a reward for faithful service to a childless master. Others, like John Talbot and Thomas Estoun (see above, p. 374), appear to have succeeded through commercial risk-taking and business acumen. Other members of the Rank A oligarchy, such as Adam Golde, Ralph Swan, and John Piers, also took part in the risky business of overseas trade before they gained either entry into the freedom or high political office.<sup>99</sup> This scenario suggests that participation in sea trade, combined with some element of 'entrepreneurship' or plain luck, may have served as an avenue to greater wealth and political power. It is also significant that examples of this type of upward mobility are found mostly in the decades immediately following the Black Death when the deaths of many townspeople created more opportunities for immigrants and less well-off inhabitants. Finally, marriage to a wealthy woman often provided access to the merchant elite as well. For example, Philip Seys, John Holm, and Richard Kenrigg all attained entry to the Exeter freedom the same year they married wealthy widows of the oligarchy.<sup>100</sup> All three men also went on to obtain oligarchic status.

Although such examples show that upward social mobility was certainly possible in medieval Exeter, the combination of wealth, commercial success,

<sup>99</sup> Golde: P.C.A. 1365/66 to 1372/73, 1381/82 to 1383/84, 1386/87, 1388/89; M.C.R. 1 October 1369, 2 October 1374; E 122 40/8, 193/23; Rowe and Jackson, *Exeter Freeman*, p. 31; Golde entered the freedom in 1362, achieved Rank B in 1369 and Rank A in 1374. Swan: P.C.A. 1381/82 to 1383/84, 1385/86, 1387/88, 1388/89; M.C.R. 2 October 1385, 30 September 1398; E 122 40/8, 193/23, 40/26, 40/15; Rowe and Jackson, *Exeter Freeman*, p. 34; Swan entered the freedom in 1374, Rank B in 1385 and Rank A in 1398. Piers: P.C.A. 1372/73; Rowe and Jackson, *Exeter Freeman*, p. 33; he joined the freedom in 1374, was elected to Rank B in 1377 and Rank A in 1381.

<sup>100</sup> Rowe and Jackson, *ibid.*, pp. 34-35; M.C.R. election returns, 1378-90; P.C.R. 14 October 1378; M.C.R. 14 July 1382, 12 January 1383.

and political power necessary for entry into the higher echelons of the oligarchy was not attained easily or frequently. Birth was still the best path to success in medieval town life and the families of the Exeter oligarchy tried at all times to maintain their status in the borough. Moreover, the oligarchic class always remained a small, tightly-knit community united by wealth and common occupational backgrounds. For instance, only 40 of the 472 non-oligarchic heads of household in 1377 went on to join the oligarchy.<sup>101</sup> Their average murage was 1s. 6d. compared to the 1s. 1d. average. The distinction between Ranks A and B also remained firm. Of those reaching Rank A, 53 per cent functioned as distributor/retailers while only 22 per cent of the future Rank B citizens belonged to this group, and most of these men were more active in the retail trade than as wholesalers. The vast majority (70 per cent) of the men who eventually attained Rank B were artisan/retailers (i.e., craftsmen).

Rank A always remained more selective; only 17 of the heads of household in 1377 (who were not already in Rank A) went on to join Rank A and six of these men had already reached Rank B by 1377. Twenty-three of the non-oligarchic citizens in 1377 went on to join Rank B of the oligarchy. Thus, Exeter inhabitants certainly realized that the chances of boosting themselves into the oligarchy were slim without a background of wealth. This wealth could be gained through family connections (whether by inheritance or marriage) or through commercial success or luck. Yet to attain high political rank and its commercial privileges, and to maintain this status, wealth was the overriding factor. Wealth delineated the sectors of the Exeter community, and determined political rank, occupational function, and social status.

There is little doubt that the less privileged inhabitants of Exeter noted the immense gap which separated them from the oligarchy. Reports of abuses of power by the oligarchy and of the resulting resentment of the lower classes were not uncommon in the town. This resentment, however, rarely went beyond the stage of heated words and accusations, and usually the trouble-makers were successfully prosecuted by the oligarchy in court. For example, Robert Plomer, a craftsman and a marginal member of Rank B (he served as elector once), was presented by twelve sworn men in the city court because he 'maliciously and falsely said openly that Robert Wilford, recently mayor of Exeter, had sealed a charter of Felicia Kirton with the seal of the mayor against her will'.<sup>102</sup> John Cole, a skinner who held no political offices, was sued by William Rok, a wealthy merchant of Rank A, for calling William a false juror in the city court.<sup>103</sup> Still other accusations of fraud and deceit in town

<sup>101</sup> Kowaleski, *Local Markets*, Appendix 4.

<sup>102</sup> M.C.R. 8 November 1389.

<sup>103</sup> M.C.R. 12 January 1383.

government came from men such as Robert Coble who accused John Talbot, then mayor of Exeter, of unjustly fining a woman in the Mayor's Court when she was not present. Apparently Coble accompanied this accusation with a rude gesture, for Talbot became angry and cautioned Coble that as mayor he should not be insulted since he sat in court in place of the king. Coble answered back that the office of mayor stood for nothing since Talbot maintained prostitutes and other *lurdicos* in the city, as well as forestalling and regrating wine, herring, and other merchandise. Talbot promptly called Coble a liar, arrested him and threw him into prison.<sup>104</sup>

These incidents underline contemporary awareness that members of the Exeter oligarchy could and did manipulate public office to their own advantage. But the oligarchy's firm grip on municipal government and justice prevented most malcontents from expressing this awareness or proffering accusations openly. Moreover, the Exeter oligarchy never experienced overt challenges to its authority, nor did 'class' disputes in Exeter ever reach the level of bitterness seen in other English towns.<sup>105</sup>

The lack of such virulent quarrels between the privileged and less privileged groups of society in Exeter was most likely due to the small size and moderate wealth of the town, as well as to the absence of a strong local lord. The gap between wealthy and poor, enfranchised and disenfranchised was not as large in Exeter as in the bigger, more prosperous towns of Bristol and London. Moreover, Exeter's electoral system, which allowed men of more moderate means to have some say in local government, and which created a buffer zone or 'middle class' (Rank B) between the truly wealthy and the poorer majority, may have also eased social and political tensions within the town. But as the economy of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Exeter grew more vigorous and the town emerged as a major market center, the authority of the oligarchy expanded.<sup>106</sup> Similar movements occurred in other English towns; as trade grew more complex and profitable and the wealth of individual merchants increased, town governments became more elaborate and subject to the control of a select few.<sup>107</sup>

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<sup>104</sup> M.C.R. 9 July 1397.

<sup>105</sup> In Bristol, for example, fourteen members of the oligarchy were forced to flee the city for over a year following a riot by the townspeople angry with the way the fourteen had coopted the customs of the port and market for themselves; see Green, *Town Life* (n. 1 above), pp. 266-68.

<sup>106</sup> Wilkinson, *Mediaeval Council*, pp. 24-29.

<sup>107</sup> Green, *Town Life*, pp. 280-87; Reynolds, *English Towns*, pp. 175-77.



## A NEW BENEVENTAN CALENDAR FROM NAPLES: THE LOST 'KALENDARIVM TVTINIANVM' REDISCOVERED \*

Virginia Brown

OF the known surviving medieval calendars of the Neapolitan Church, the oldest is the 'Kalendarium marmoreum' whose entries were chiseled on two large slabs of marble in the ninth century, perhaps between 847 and 877.<sup>1</sup> At least three centuries intervened before the compilation of what has commonly been judged to be the next oldest Neapolitan calendar that is extant, namely, the 'Kalendarium Tutinianum'. This takes its name from Camillo Tutini (1594?-1670), the energetic Neapolitan scholar, whose autograph copy of and observations on a 'Kalendarium uetus Ecclesiae Neapolitanae' were first published by Alessio Simmaco Mazzocchi in the eighteenth century.<sup>2</sup>

\* I should like to thank the owner of the Beneventan calendar who graciously allowed me to study the manuscript *in situ* at Geneva and to publish my findings and plates of the entire text. I am also indebted to P. Salvatore Loffredo, director of the Archivio Storico Diocesano, Naples, for permission to publish plates of Cod. misc. 1 (*fondo Ebdomadari*) and for kind assistance in obtaining microfilms of Neapolitan calendars in this manuscript.

<sup>1</sup> This is the date suggested by D. Mallardo, *Il calendario marmoreo di Napoli* (Bibliotheca 'Ephemerides liturgicae' 18; Rome, 1947), p. 44 and reported by N. Cilento, 'La chiesa di Napoli nell'alto medioevo' in *Storia di Napoli* 2.2 (Cava dei Tirreni, 1969), p. 690. H. Delehaye, 'Hagiographie napolitaine', *Analecta bollandiana* 57 (1939) 59 proposed a date of 849 to 872. Both dates are essentially based on the fact that the 'Kalendarium marmoreum' does not contain a commemoration of Bishop Athanasius I of Naples (15 March 849-15 July 872, translated in 877).

<sup>2</sup> A. S. Mazzocchi, *De sanctorum neapolitanae ecclesiae episcoporum cultu dissertatio* (Naples, 1753), pp. 310-25. D. Mallardo, *Il calendario lotteriano del sec. XIII* (I calendari della chiesa napoletana I; Naples, 1940), pp. 14 ff. noted that the calendar and observations published by Mazzocchi are preserved in two manuscripts at the Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples: Branc. I F 2, fols. 24r-27v (the calendar, beginning with 23 April and ending at 31 December, occupies fols. 25r-27r), the autograph of Tutini; VIII B 26, fols. 3r-9r [now numbered 2r-8r], the autograph of Antonio Caracciolo (d. 1642). In this study Mallardo does not attempt to resolve the problem of whether Tutini copied from Caracciolo or Caracciolo from Tutini, but in *Il calendario marmoreo*, p. 48 he remarks that Tutini copied from Caracciolo. Certainly Tutini and Caracciolo were acquainted and had similar scholarly interests (cf. E. M. Martini, 'La vita e le opere di Camillo Tutini', *Archivio storico per le provincie napoletane* N.S. 14 [1928] 196, 198), and so an exchange of information is possible. The question, however, is not relevant to the subject of the present article and will not be treated here; for the sake of convenience, references in part I below to the contents of the 'Kalendarium Tutinianum' will denote, where applicable, the version printed in Mazzocchi and not the copies in mss. VIII B 26 and Branc. I F 2.

Mazzocchi's dating of the calendar is ambiguous, for he assigned it to the end of the twelfth century as well as to the period 1207-31; neither he nor Tutini gave any palaeographical information about the calendar, and the latter suggested a date of late twelfth/early thirteenth century based on the inclusion and omission of certain saints.<sup>3</sup>

For the next two hundred years scholars relied on Tutini's transcription and his and Mazzocchi's dates,<sup>4</sup> and the location of the original itself seems not to have been known. Nor was there any reason to believe that the original had even survived until, in 1940, the eminent Neapolitan liturgist Domenico Mallardo published a study of another Neapolitan calendar (the 'Kalendarium Lotterianum') in which he promised an edition of the 'ancient' *Kalendarium Tutinianum* of the twelfth century.<sup>5</sup> By 1947, when Mallardo published his text and exhaustive study of the 'Kalendarium marmoreum', the edition of the 'Kalendarium Tutinianum' had not yet appeared, but it is clear that he had not abandoned the project and had, in fact, explored the manuscript to some extent. A number of times he refers to the promised edition, and he describes the codex as being written in Beneventan script, saec. XIII in.:<sup>6</sup> never does he indicate the whereabouts of the manuscript or how he came to have access to it. Mallardo died in 1958 without publishing a study of the 'Kalendarium Tutinianum', and the thirteenth-century Beneventan manuscript which he reports seems to have been lost once again.

<sup>3</sup> Mazzocchi, *ibid.*, p. 310 has, as a heading to his introduction preceding the text of the calendar, 'De monumento II. Kalendarii veteris S. Ecclesiae Neapolitanae, extremo saeculo XII. compositi', and on p. 84 he states that the calendar was copied approximately 550 years ago ('Id ante quingentos et quinquaginta circiter annos fuisse conscriptum ...'). Tutini says: 'Post necem Sancti Thomae Cantuariensis, sive ut hoc Kalendario legitur, Contuberni, et ante Divos Bernardum, Dominicum, et Franciscum scriptum hunc Neapolitanae Ecclesiae Codicem existimo, quia illum habet et hos non habet, alioquin proculdubio habiturus, si post adeo Neapoli celebrium Divorum obitum scriptus fuisset' (*ibid.*, p. 319). In his comment on Tutini's estimated date of the calendar, Mazzocchi (p. 320 n. 3) narrows the date down to 1207-31, reasoning that the calendar commemorates on 16 February and 30 October respectively Saints Iuliana and Maximus whose bodies were translated from Cumae to Naples in 1207 while it does not commemorate St. Dominic whose followers were granted a church in Naples in 1231.

<sup>4</sup> e.g., L. Parascandolo, *Memorie storiche-critiche-diplomatiche della chiesa di Napoli* 3 (Naples, 1849), pp. 223-28 (reprint of the text of the calendar from Mazzocchi) and G. Alagi, 'Il martirologio del monastero di S. Patrizia in Napoli', *Asprenas* 13 (1966) 63 ('Per noi è certo che all'epoca del Calendario Tutiniano [sec. XII-XIII] ...').

<sup>5</sup> Mallardo, *Il calendario lotteriano*, p. 68 n. 2: 'Di questo prezioso calendario napoletano [i.e., the 'Kalendarium Tutinianum'] del sec. XII – il più antico dunque dopo il marmoreo – sto preparando una edizione critica, che sarà la prima, da un codice membranaceo della fine del XII o dei primi del sec. XIII.'

<sup>6</sup> Mallardo, *Il calendario marmoreo*, p. 48: 'Ma l'archetipo da cui dipende l'VIII B. 26, ancora inedito, e di cui ho promessa la pubblicazione, in scrittura beneventana degli inizi del sec. XIII ....' Cf. also *ibid.*, p. 126: 'Così ha pubblicato il Mazzocchi dal codice Tutiniano (sec. XVII), ma il membranaceo del sec. XIII da cui darò, quando sarà possibile, l'edizione critica ....'

In 1979 a calendar in Beneventan script was sold at Sotheby's on 19 June as lot 71. The description in the sale catalogue gave no details regarding former ownership, and it has not been possible to obtain further information.<sup>7</sup> A private collector purchased the calendar, which is now on deposit at Geneva, Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire with the shelf mark 'Comites latentes 195'. I believe that this calendar is the original 'Kalendarium Tutinianum' and hence that it is the manuscript known to Mallardo. While I cannot prove the latter point, I shall try in this article to establish the identity of ms. Comites latentes 195 with the 'Kalendarium Tutinianum', to illustrate its contents as they relate to other Beneventan and southern Italian hagiographical material and to ascertain the date and circumstances of the calendar's compilation.

## I

The calendar in ms. Comites latentes 195 occupies six parchment folios measuring 233-237 × 159-166 (199-205 × 115-127) mm.<sup>8</sup> They are preceded by a single fly-leaf of modern parchment and followed by three parchment fly-leaves of which the first is contemporary with the calendar and forms a bifolium with fol. 2. On fol. 1r the writing is on the flesh side; on fols. 1v-2r it is on the hair side, the facing folios being arranged so that hair side always faces hair side and flesh side faces flesh side. Ruling on fols. 1r-v, 2r-v, 3r-v, 4r is in ink, with prickings in the inner and outer margins on fols. 1-4 to guide the ruling; fols. 4v, 5r and 6v show traces of ruling in lead, and it is possible that all six leaves may have been ruled in lead and then some of them reruled in ink. The gatherings display the scheme i + 1 + 1<sup>6</sup> + ii. Red ink is used for Neapolitan and major feasts; otherwise the entries are in brown ink. The codex is bound in red leather over boards, with the coat of arms of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies stamped on the front.

A single scribe is responsible for the calendar. The script is the Beneventan type associated with Naples, for some letters (e.g., *l*, *r*, *s*) often lean slightly to the right and have a low 'spread out' appearance. There are several indications that at least a thirteenth-century date should be assigned to this hand: ligatures apart, the letters tend to be written separately and rather stiffly, and not to touch each other; *r* has a straight shoulder when written in ligature with any other

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts and Miniatures ... which will be sold by auction by Sotheby Parke Bernet & Co ... Tuesday, 19th June, 1979*, p. 80. My suggestion in this description that the calendar and other fragments in the Archivio Storico Diocesano, Naples are *membra disiecta* of the same manuscript was based solely on palaeographical grounds; in this article the possibility is further explored. I have not been able to discover how the calendar came to be sold at Sotheby's or to contact the previous owner.

<sup>8</sup> The folios are actually unnumbered; beginning with the month of January, I have numbered them '1r-6v' for convenient reference.

letter except *i*: *a* and *t* are often carelessly made and it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between them; the upper loop of *e* is sometimes left open; omitted *r* is indicated by a superscript 2-symbol.<sup>9</sup> As might be expected in a text of this kind, punctuation is minimal; usually a point or a point surmounted by an oblique line occurs after the last word of an entry, and sometimes a point separates words within the entry. Illumination is also minimal, consisting of a vertical stroke in red ink through the first letter of the first word (and occasionally the first letter of the second word) in an entry. A non-Beneventan hand has made corrections and additions in black ink (e.g., at 9 February, 28 June, 28 October), and there are erasures at 27 June and 4 October. A later non-Beneventan hand has added the date in arabic numerals before the name of the saint or feast being commemorated.

There are entries for every day of the year but two (31 August and 31 October), and each month occupies the recto or verso of a folio. At the beginning of every month three statements, each written on a separate line though not always in the same order, function as headings and convey information about the number of solar and lunar days in the month, the number of hours for that month in the day and night, and the dates of the 'evil days' (*dies Aegyptiaci*). The material treating of the evil days is written in leonine hexameters, and this particular set of verses was widely used in English calendars from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century.<sup>10</sup> To signal the evil days, a kind of red majuscule theta with an extended horizontal line through the

<sup>9</sup> Some of these characteristics are also found in Beneventan manuscripts copied at Naples in the sixteenth century; cf. V. Brown, 'The Survival of Beneventan Script: Sixteenth-Century Liturgical Codices from Benedictine Monasteries in Naples' in *Monastica. Scritti raccolti in memoria del XV centenario della nascita di S. Benedetto (480-1980)* 1 (Miscellanea cassinese 44; Monte Cassino, 1981), p. 257.

<sup>10</sup> J. Hennig, 'Versus de mensibus', *Traditio* 11 (1955) 84 and n. 78 prints the verses (in his set III) and cites occurrences in English calendars. The verses in our calendar exhibit a number of corrupt and possibly contaminated readings, of which the most striking are: (January) *truncat ut ensis* Hennig, *a fine minatur* ms.; (February) *prosternit* Hennig, *persternit* ms. *fortem* Hennig, *morte* ms.; (March) *mandantem* Hennig, *mandute* ms. *bibentem* Hennig, *bibent* ms.; (April) *vulnere* Hennig, *uiuere* ms.; (July) *Julii denus labefactat* Hennig, *decimus labefacta* ms.; (August) *necat* Hennig, *negat* ms. *cohorte* Hennig, *mortem* ms.; (November) *nece* Hennig, *uoce* ms.; (December) *exanguis* Hennig, *et saguis* ms. *denus* Hennig, *decus* ms. This set of verses did not circulate widely in the Beneventan zone; the parallels cited below on pp. 393 ff. display them very seldom and not as a whole (the verse for January appears in Monte Cassino, Archivio della Badia 193 and the verse for April in London, British Library Additional ms. 23776). To judge from the parallels, the most popular verses in the Italian-Dalmatian Beneventan zone on the evil days were the verses by Priscian (Hennig's 'set I' on p. 83) found in: Vatican Library Vat. lat. 4928 and Vat. lat. 6082 (here mostly added by a non-Beneventan hand); Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale VIE 43 and VIII C 13 (in this instance only for January and February); London, British Library Egerton 3511; Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz Lat. fol. 920; Benevento, Biblioteca Capitolare V 26.

middle is placed to the far right of the entry on the evil day in question, which corresponds with that indicated in the verse. To the far left of every entry are first the golden number (I-XIX) and then the dominical letter (a-g). Some zodiacal information is also given: at 17 April there is the observation 'sol in tauro'; at 18 May 'Sol in genuos (*sic*) eo quod adam et eua de uno corpore facti sunt'; at 18 July 'Sol in leone quod daniel fuit in lacum leonum'; at 18 October 'sol in scorpiione eo quod pharao pro cupiditate mersit (*sic*) in mare'; and at 18 December 'Sol in capicornium (*sic*) eo quod moises coniunta (*ut uid.*) faciem habuit'.

A comparison between the text of the calendar in ms. *Comites latentes* 195 (given below on pp. 398 ff.) and that of the 'Kalendarium Tutinianum' printed by Mazzocchi demonstrates that they are identical except for orthography and inclusion of two of the headings at the beginning of the month.<sup>11</sup> Every feast reported in the printed version appears also on that day in the manuscript at Geneva, and in the same order if two feasts are commemorated on the same day. The blanks at 31 August and 31 October and the apparent blanks (owing to erasures) at 27 June and 4 October are likewise found in our manuscript, which exhibits in red ink the eighty-nine feasts marked by Mazzocchi as being written in red. In the observations of Tutini that follow the text of the calendar in Mazzocchi, the zodiacal entries for May, July, October and December are noted, as is the corrupt reading 'mersit' (18 October).

All these correspondences between the text of the calendar in ms. *Comites latentes* 195 and the text of the 'Kalendarium Tutinianum' printed by Mazzocchi are submitted as conclusive proof that they are one and the same. Henceforth in this article the term 'calendar', unless otherwise qualified, will signify the text of the 'Kalendarium Tutinianum' in ms. *Comites latentes* 195.

## II

There are 341 days in the calendar with a commemoration of a single feast, 21 days with two feasts, and 1 day with three feasts. The total comes to 386 commemorations and hence the calendar may be described as a 'plenary calendar'<sup>12</sup> or 'martyrologium breuiatum'.<sup>13</sup> In the sense of the latter term, the

<sup>11</sup> Mazzocchi's printed version uses 'classical' orthography, and gives for January the heading concerned with the number of days in a month but for February through December the number of hours in the day and night.

<sup>12</sup> This is the term used by E. Munding, *Die Kalendarien von St. Gallen aus 21 Handschriften neuntes bis elftes Jahrhundert. Texte* (Texte und Arbeiten 36; Beuron, 1948), p. 1: '... die Plenarkalendare, die eigentlich Martyrologien sind, aber auf die bündigste Form zurückgeführt für jeden Tag einen Heiligen verzeichnen ....'

<sup>13</sup> Cf. J. Hennig, 'Martyrologium and kalendarium' in F. L. Cross, ed., *Papers Presented to the*

function of our calendar would not be 'liturgical', i.e., intended to serve a particular church, but rather 'historical',<sup>14</sup> which implies a different reason for its compilation and does not necessarily presuppose a commemoration on the liturgical date since inclusiveness was a principal aim.

Naturally many sources could have been used to make up the calendar, the most obvious being martyrologies and other calendars available in Naples and southern Italy at that time. There is no comprehensive study of the surviving manuscripts representing these two types, and their contents are mostly unknown. It would be instructive to see which and how many feasts they share with our calendar, and the comparison would show clearly, at least on the basis of the present evidence, what is truly peculiar to the 'Kalendarium Tutinianum', and this in turn will help to explain its purpose and to suggest a date.

Accordingly I have examined surviving calendars (both 'liturgical' and 'historical') and martyrologies from Naples, Capua and the Beneventan zone.<sup>15</sup> Included in the survey are all the extant calendars and martyrologies (except for

*Third International Conference on Patristic Studies Held at Christ Church, Oxford, 1959. Part III ...* (Studia patristica 5; Berlin, 1962), p. 71: 'One reason for the lack of clarity in the terms is that we rarely find a pure calendar or a pure martyrology in the sense of Dom Munding's definitions. Indeed Dom Munding had to establish an intermediary group described by him as "plenary calendars, properly speaking martyrologies, listing for each day one and only one Saint". In my opinion the term "calendar" becomes senseless when we have an entry for each day; I therefore have proposed for such works the term *martyrologium breuiatum*.'

<sup>14</sup> In the original, longer version of the article cited in the preceding note Hennig explains more fully the difference between calendar and martyrology: 'Eine der literarischen Gestaltung als Ganzes fähige Einheit lässt sich nur durch eine Überlagerung der kalendarischen Anordnung, durch die Einführung natürlicher oder geistiger Elemente herstellen. Vom Stoffe selbst her bietet sich die geographische oder historische Anordnung an. Der Unterschied zwischen Kalender und Martyrologium lässt sich auf mehrfache Weise ausdrücken. Ersteres dient liturgischen, letzteres historischen Zwecken. Daraus ergibt sich, dass das Kalender auf der Unterscheidung zwischen Fest und Nichtfest aufbaut, also wesentlich nicht an jedem Tag eine Eintragung hat, während das Martyrologium grundsätzlich wenigstens jeden Tag eine Eintragung hat' ('Kalender und Martyrologium als Literaturformen', *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft* 7 [1961] 25). In Munding's classification as well the 'plenary calendars' do not serve the liturgy directly: 'Sie dürften in sich das liturgische Kalender einschliessen, das dann herausgearbeitet werden muss' (*Die Kalendarien von St. Gallen*, pp. 1-2).

<sup>15</sup> For the contents of these calendars and martyrologies I have relied on personal inspection, microfilm and in a few cases editions. Some of the Neapolitan and Capuan material is later in date than our calendar; it was included so as to show hagiographical continuity and to aid in the identification of certain saints. All the Neapolitan, Capuan and Beneventan calendars cited as parallels are 'liturgical' except for the calendar in the necrology of the Neapolitan monastery of Santa Patrizia (= N), the fifth Capuan calendar (= v), and the calendars in Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Borgia lat. 211 (= 4), Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana B 32 (= 5), Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale VI E 43 (= 7), and Monte Cassino, Archivio della Badia 444 (= 12); these six exhibit a feast for every day and so are 'historical'. The entries in the Vallicelliana manuscript also contain topographical indications, which serve to underscore the martyrological origins of such 'plenary calendars'.

fragments<sup>16</sup>) in Beneventan script that are presently known to me, and the resulting table arranged on facing pages below provides common hagiographical denominators for medieval southern Italy. On the verso is my transcription of the entries from the calendar in ms. Comites latentes 195. The three headings are placed at the top of the page and then follow, in vertical order, the dates in arabic numerals (which I have added for the sake of convenience) and in Roman fashion (as given, sometimes erroneously, in the calendar<sup>17</sup>); opposite these are the names of saints or feasts. The orthography and majuscule letters of the manuscript have been preserved, and the capitalization of proper names has been standardized. Entries written in red (except for dates) are set in boldface type; italics are used for additions and corrections by later hands. Typographically it would have been too difficult to reproduce the various symbols used for abbreviation and contraction, and so I have expanded in these instances according to convention.<sup>18</sup> For the same reason, a simple point indicates the scribe's point as well as his point with oblique line. For lack of space it was not possible to insert the golden numbers, dominical letters and theta-signs marking the evil days, but the plates of the calendar at the end of the article will remedy this omission.

<sup>16</sup> e.g., Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana R 32, fols. 35-36 (s. xi ex.) and Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Ottob. gr. 250, fly-leaves (a. 1058-87). I have seen these and other fragments but did not report their contents because the remains were either too fragmentary or because they could be assigned to a certain monastery (such as Monte Cassino for the above-mentioned items) and only repeated what is to be found in much more complete martyrologies with the same origin.

<sup>17</sup> Thus, for September and November, there was a slip after the Ides in numbering the days before the Kalends of the next month. It is usual for calendars to signal the first day of the month with 'Kl. Ianuarii' or 'Kl. Februarii', etc., but this is not the case in our calendar. Although for every month there is a large 'KL' written to the left of the headings, its function seems to be decorative only, for the first day of a month can be designated variously as 'Idus' (1 February), 'Marcius' (1 March), 'Non. Aprilis' (1 April), etc. The name of the month, when given alone, is always in the nominative case ('Marcius', 'Madius', 'Augustus', 'September', 'October', 'Nouember', 'December'), and in my transcription I have not coupled the name with 'KL', nor placed 'KL' next to the headings because space was lacking.

<sup>18</sup> e.g., *sct* = *sancti*, *sce* = *sancte*, *p̄bri* = *presbyteri*. *m̄m* (or *m* with the superscript 2-sign) seems to signify both *martiris* and *martirum* (cf. 21 April 'Sanctarum decem uirginum *m̄m*') and has been expanded to the plural when necessary. At 26 May and 9 December *epi* is rendered as *episcopi* (its evident form elsewhere in the calendar) even though it occurs at the end of an entry commemorating, apparently, two bishops. *Neap̄* and *Neap̄li* have been expanded to *Neapolitani* (after *Neap̄litani* at 23 May). *Kl.*, *Non.* and *Id.* are regularly given as the standard abbreviations for these terms even when the calendar occasionally displays *K.* or *No.* In presenting the text of the calendar, I have been guided by the editorial principles of F. Wormald, *English Kalendars before A.D. 1100* 1 (Henry Bradshaw Society 72; London, 1934), pp. viii-ix: 'In editing the texts two principles have been held in view. The first was to maintain the appearance of the original as far as possible, and the second was to make the texts as comprehensible to liturgical students in general as was consistent with the first principle.'

Parallels from Neapolitan sources are also given on the verso, and on the recto are the parallels from Capuan calendars, Beneventan calendars and Beneventan martyrologies (i.e., calendars and martyrologies in Beneventan script). When the parallels offer different dates for the celebration of a feast, those agreeing with our calendar are cited on the top line while those that vary are given on the second line. The + sign signifies that the feast has been added by another hand (whether contemporary or later, Beneventan or non-Beneventan) to the calendar or martyrology. Again for reasons of space it was not possible to cite every parallel individually; hence the entry '1-5' or 'II-V' means that calendars 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 or martyrologies II, III, IV, V have the same commemoration as our calendar. It is obvious, of course, that such a 'bald' report does not do justice to the complexities and variants of the parallels, and a fuller study of them is planned for the future.

The notes that follow the table detail such textual difficulties as damage to the manuscript or problematic readings. They have too the modest aim of reporting more specifically the information supplied by the parallels, especially in the case of the occurrence of more than one feast on the same day or the identification of an 'obscure' saint. In light of the calendar's 'historical' function, not every entry needs to be interpreted relentlessly as 'Neapolitan', that is, a feast which was actually celebrated at Naples. The parallels, together with other calendars and martyrologies from the Beneventan zone that have not survived, contributed to a general 'pool' of hagiographical information that the compiler could have drawn on to suit his purpose. The Neapolitan element in this 'pool' would, of course, be of prime importance, but many saints are commemorated in our calendar who were venerated elsewhere and indeed in some cities with more devotion than in Naples. The feast of the 'XII fratres' on 1 September is a good illustration; although it occurs in our calendar, the principal cult of these martyrs was located at Benevento. Notice must be taken, I believe, of the general veneration of saints throughout the Beneventan zone before the idiosyncrasies of a 'historical' calendar will emerge. It would also be imprudent to identify in a 'historical' calendar seemingly 'obscure' saints without a consideration of surviving sources from the general region; the apparently unique case of an 'importation' of a saint or a radical change in the date of his feast can sometimes be explained by recourse to these parallels which may offer similar names on the same or proximate date.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Cf., e.g., Mallardo, *Il calendario lotteriano*, p. 68 who identifies the saint in the entry 'Sancti Gilberti confessoris' for 4 February in the 'Kalendarium Lotterianum' as Gilbert of Sempringham, founder of the Gilbertine Order, and then comments: 'Giacchè tra i calendari dell'Italia meridionale che ricordino questo Gilberto, io non ne conosco uno più antico del nostro, se si eccettui il Tutiniano, nel quale però si legge, ma ai (sic) 20 marzo, un "Gilibertus Episc.".' In my note on the entry for 20 March (pp. 425-26 below), I have suggested that the saint in question



The sigla used in the table below are the following:

#### NEAPOLITAN SOURCES

- C = Monte Cassino, Archivio della Badia 193 (a. 1332), pp. 1-12: 'Kalendarium Franciscanum ad usum prouinciae neapolitanae'.<sup>20</sup>
- E = Naples, Archivio storico diocesano Ebdomadari cod. misc. 1, fasc. XII (s. xiv/xv): 'Kalendarium Eligianum'.
- L = Naples, Archivio storico diocesano Ebdomadari cod. misc. 1, fasc. XI (s. xiii/xiv): 'Kalendarium Lotterianum'.<sup>21</sup>
- M = Naples, Palazzo arcivescovile, 'Kalendarium marmoreum' (s. ix).<sup>22</sup>
- N = Naples, Biblioteca della Società di Storia Patria Cuomo 2-4-10 (s. xvi<sup>1</sup>): 'Necrologium monasterii sanctae Patriciae'.<sup>23</sup>
- P = Naples, Biblioteca della Società di Storia Patria Cuomo 2-4-12 (s. xvi<sup>1</sup>): 'Martyrologium monasterii sanctae Patriciae'.<sup>24</sup> Now missing from the manuscript are folios containing entries for 1 January-18 March, 26 March-5 April, 25 June-8 July, 29 September-3 October.

#### CAPUAN CALENDARS<sup>25</sup>

- i = M. Monaco, *Sanctuarium Capuanum* (Naples, 1630), pp. 391-403: 'Primum kalendarium praemissum psalterio parui Codicis Longobardi, conseruati in Monasterio Monialium Sancti Ioannis'.

is Cuthbert, bishop of Lindisfarne, who is recorded in Beneventan martyrologies on this date. Another instance of what I believe to be mistaken identification concerns the entry for 6 February, 'Sancti Maximi episcopi', who, if he is identified as the tenth bishop of Naples as has been suggested, enjoys a seemingly arbitrary and hitherto unknown feast day on this date instead of the 11 June commemoration attested by other sources; see my note on pp. 423-24 below for another identification.

<sup>20</sup> I have used the edition of this calendar in 'Florilegium Casinense', *Bibliotheca Casinensis* 4 (Monte Cassino, 1880), pp. 224-32.

<sup>21</sup> Mallardo, *Il calendario lotteriano*, pp. 39-58 has edited the text of this calendar; I have used this edition and consulted a microfilm of the manuscript containing the calendar.

<sup>22</sup> My readings are taken from the editions of Delehaye, 'Hagiographie napolitaine', 8-44 and Mallardo, *Il calendario marmoreo*, pp. 20-25.

<sup>23</sup> The calendar of the necrology has been transcribed by G. Alagi, 'Testi e note integrative per il "Martirologio di S. Patrizia"', *Asprenas* 13 (1966) 295-304. I have consulted this edition as well as a microfilm of the codex.

<sup>24</sup> The complete text of the martyrology is provided by Alagi, 'Il martirologio' (n. 4 above), 206-48, and I have used this transcription.

<sup>25</sup> According to the brief notice which Monaco inserted before the text of each of the five calendars, the first, second and third were written 'caractere Longobardo' (i.e., in Beneventan?) and the fourth 'caractere Romano'. Only for the third calendar does he give an indication of date, observing that on 10 September there is the obit of Andrea Pandone, archbishop of Capua 1305-11, and hence the calendar must have been written 'circa annum 1300' (*Sanctuarium Capuanum*, p. 412). To judge from the various entries, the first calendar is perhaps the oldest

- ii = *ibid.*, pp. 404-11: 'Secundum kalendarium praemissum Diuersis Orationibus, Letanijs, Officio B. Mariae, atque Defunctorum, Codicis parui, Chori Monialium Sancti Ioannis'.
- iii = *ibid.*, pp. 412-22: 'Tertium kalendarium inuentum in Thesauro Capuano, scriptum caractere Longobardo, et fere totum rubro'. This calendar begins with the feasts for 11 February.
- iv = *ibid.*, pp. 423-35: 'Quartum kalendarium Codicis Capuani manuscripti'. Monaco notes (p. 423) that the pages containing the entries for March and April seemed to have belonged originally to another calendar.
- v = *ibid.*, pp. 436-538: 'Kalendarium quintum, praefixum Breuiario Capuano impresso, quod et manuscriptum asseruant in arca Capitulari'. The text of this calendar is accompanied by Monaco's commentary.

#### BENEVENTAN CALENDARS

- 1 = Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Vat. lat. 4928 (s. xii in.), fols. 9r-14v: written for the monastery of Santa Sofia, Benevento.
- 2 = Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Vat. lat. 6082 (s. xii), fols. 1r-6v: copied at Monte Cassino.<sup>26</sup>
- 3 = Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Urb. lat. 585 (a. 1099-1105), fols. 14r-19v: copied at Monte Cassino.
- 4 = Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Borgia lat. 211 (a. 1094-1105), fols. 1v-13r: copied at Monte Cassino.<sup>27</sup>
- 5 = Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana B 32 (a. 1059-70), fols. 1v-10r: copied at Veroli.
- 6 = Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale VI B 12 (a. 817-835), fols. 258r-261v: origin uncertain; at Troia in the twelfth century. The calendar is extant for the months of January through August; fols. 258r-260v are palimpsest, the lower script (mostly unreadable) containing the calendar.
- 7 = Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale VI E 43 (a. 1099-1118), fols. 5r-11v: written for the monastery of Santa Sofia, Benevento.

since it does not exhibit the feasts of St. Thomas Becket (29 December), St. Francis (4 October), and St. Dominic (5 August) as do the other four. For the second, third and fourth calendars Monaco states (pp. 404, 412, 423) that entries which have been added will be signified by the use of a + sign; in fact, this sign is not always inserted. He occasionally remarks in his commentary on the fifth calendar that the feast in question has been added to one of the above, but the + sign is often lacking in the appropriate entry. I have checked the commentary for all feasts and added the + sign where necessary. Only in the fifth calendar is there a classification of feasts as 'duplex', etc.; this is not found in any of the other parallels.

<sup>26</sup> See L. Duval-Arnould, 'Un missel du Mont-Cassin chez les chanoines du Saint-Sauveur de Bologne (Vat. lat. 6082)', *Rivista di storia della chiesa in Italia* 35 (1981) 450-55 who notes that the ex libris on fol. 1r is actually that of the monastery of San Salvatore, Bologna and not of Monte Cassino as E. A. Loew had reported in *The Beneventan Script*, 2nd revised and enlarged edition, 1 [Rome, 1980], p. 72). This, however, does not affect the Cassinese origin of the codex (Duval-Arnould, 451-52).

<sup>27</sup> I have used the edition of this calendar in H. Hoffmann, 'Der Kalender des Leo Marsicanus', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 21 (1965) 99-126.

- 8 = Cava, Archivio della Badia 2 (a. 779-797), fols. 70r-72v: copied at Monte Cassino.<sup>28</sup>
- 9 = Cava, Archivio della Badia 19 (a. 1280), fols. 2v-8r: written at Cava.
- 10 = Monte Cassino, Archivio della Badia 230 (a. 969-987), pp. 17-28: copied at Monte Cassino.<sup>29</sup>
- 11 = Monte Cassino, Archivio della Badia 127, pp. 1-6 (s. XIII):<sup>30</sup> part of a composite manuscript; pp. 540-544 (s. XII) contain documents and prayers from the monastery of Santa Maria di Albaneta.
- 12 = Monte Cassino, Archivio della Badia 444 (a. 1075-90), pp. 1-12: copied at Monte Cassino.
- 13 = Monte Cassino, Archivio della Badia 540 (s. XI/XII), p. 3-14.
- 14 = Monte Cassino, Archivio della Badia 546 (s. XII/XIII), pp. 161-165.
- 15 = Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense 641 (a. 811-812), fols. 76v-81v: copied at Monte Cassino.<sup>31</sup>
- 16 = London, British Library Egerton 3511 (olim Benevento, Biblioteca Capitolare VI 29) (s. XII), fols. 5r-7v: written for the monastery of San Pietro intra muros, Benevento.
- 17 = Oxford, Bodleian Library Canon. Liturg. 277 (s. XI ex.), fols. 4r-18v: written for the monastery of St. Mary, Zadar.
- 18 = Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz Lat. fol. 920 (s. XII<sup>1</sup>), fols. i<sup>v</sup>, 1r-4r: written for the use of Kotor. The folios which would have contained the months of June, July, August and September are missing.
- 19 = Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum IX 1 (olim Monte Cassino, Archivio della Badia 199 and Aachen, Peter Ludwig Collection IX 1) (a. 1153), fols. 117r-122v: copied at Monte Cassino.
- 20 = Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine 364 (a. 1099-1105), fols. 9r-14v: copied at Monte Cassino.
- 21 = Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 7530 (a. 779-797), fols. 277v-280r: copied at Monte Cassino.<sup>32</sup>
- 22 = Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery W. 6 (post a. 1054), fols. 2r-9v: written for the use of Canosa.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>28</sup> An edition of this calendar was published by G. Morin, 'Pour la topographie ancienne du Mont-Cassin. Appendice. Les quatres plus anciens calendriers du Mont-Cassin (VIII<sup>e</sup> et IX<sup>e</sup> siècles)', *Revue bénédictine* 25 (1908) 486-97 in which he corrects errors in E. A. Loew, *Die ältesten Kalendarien aus Monte Cassino* (Munich, 1908).

<sup>29</sup> I have used the edition of this calendar in 'Florilegium Casinense', *Bibliotheca Casinensis* 4.365-71 and also consulted the manuscript.

<sup>30</sup> I have used the edition of this calendar in 'Florilegium Casinense', *Bibliotheca Casinensis* 3 (Monte Cassino, 1877), pp. 131-34 and also consulted the manuscript.

<sup>31</sup> Editions of this calendar were published by Loew and Morin (n. 28 above). Morin did not include the numerous additions by contemporary and later hands.

<sup>32</sup> P. Lejay, 'Notes latines V', *Revue de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes* N.S. 18 (1894) 44-50 published an edition of this calendar and included as comparative witnesses the calendars designated here as 10, 11 and 20.

<sup>33</sup> An edition of the entire manuscript may be found in S. Rehle, *Missale Beneventanum von Canosa* (Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W6) (Textus patristici et liturgici 9; Regensburg, 1972) (text of the calendar on pp. 31-47).

## BENEVENTAN MARTYROLOGIES

- I = Monte Cassino, Archivio della Badia 439 (s. x), pp. 278-282: 'Martyrologium Erchemperti'.<sup>34</sup>
- II = Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Vat. lat. 4958 (c. 1087), fols. 2v-93r: copied at Monte Cassino; martyrology of Usuard, with adaptations.
- III = Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Ottob. lat. 3 (s. xii/xiii), fols. 1r-31r: copied at Monte Cassino; martyrology of Bede, with adaptations.
- IV = Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Barb. lat. 421 (s. xi in.), fols. 1r-16r: martyrology of Jerome, abridged. Between fols. 8v and 9r those folios are missing which contained the entries for 2 May through the beginning of 24 August.
- V = Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Vat. lat. 5949 (s. xii ex.), fols. 3r-66bisr: written for the monastery of Santa Maria del Gualdo, diocese of Benevento; martyrology of Usuard, with adaptations.
- VI = Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale VIII C 5 (s. xii<sup>2</sup>), fols. 1r-128v: 'Martyrologium sanctae Mariae ad Plescum'; martyrology of Usuard, with adaptations. Fols. 1r-4v were copied by a later, non-Beneventan hand; fol. 2v ends with the entries for 6 January and fol. 3r begins with those for 16 January. Since fols. 1r-4v display the same format as the Beneventan portion of the codex, it is to be assumed that they are copies of the original leaves which may have been removed because of damage. The text ends on fol. 128v with the commemorations for 11 November (complete).
- VII = Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale VIII C 13 (s. xii), fols. 1r-61r: 'Martyrologium Pulsanense'; martyrology of Usuard, with adaptations.
- VIII = Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale VIII C 4 (s. xi ex.), fols. 2v-90v: copied at Monte Cassino; martyrology of Usuard, with adaptations.
- IX = Monte Cassino, Archivio della Badia 47 (a. 1159-73), pp. 61-264: copied at Monte Cassino; martyrology of Usuard, with adaptations.
- X = New York, Pierpont Morgan Library M. 642 (s. xi/xii), fols. 1r-72r: written for the monastery of San Bartolomeo di Carpineto, diocese of Penna; martyrology of Usuard, with adaptations. Several folios have presumably been lost at the beginning since fol. 1r begins with the last of the entries for 31 January.
- XI = London, British Library Additional 23776 (s. xii), fols. 3r-34r: 'Martyrologium monasterii sanctae Sophiae'; martyrology of Usuard, with adaptations. Fols. 10r-v (30 March-15 April) and 34r (26-31 December) are copied by a late, non-Beneventan hand.

<sup>34</sup> I have used the edition in *Spicilegium Casinense* 1 (Monte Cassino, 1888), pp. 401-404 and have placed this text, on the basis of its traditional designation, among the martyrologies. Cf., however, A. Wilmart, 'Un témoin anglo-saxon du calendrier métrique d'York', *Revue bénédictine* 46 (1934) 68-69: 'Enfin, l'on appréciera mieux la fortune du calendrier d'York, si l'on veut bien donner un regard: premièrement ... secondement, à la recension propre à Erchempert, qui a la valeur d'un calendrier cassinésien.'

XII = Benevento, Biblioteca Capitolare V 26 (s. XII in.), fols. 1r-64v: written for the monastery of San Pietro intra muros, Benevento; martyrology of Usuard, with adaptations. Fols. 3 and 4 (8-15 January) are written by a different Beneventan hand and seem to be taken from another manuscript. There are also some folios missing in the manuscript: after fol. 7v (remaining commemorations for 31 January and beginning for 5 February are lacking); after fol. 31v (remaining commemorations for 16 June and beginning for 3 July are lacking); after fol. 35v (remaining commemorations for 25 July and those for 26-31 July are lacking).<sup>35</sup>

XIII = Benevento, Biblioteca Capitolare VI 37 (s. XI ex.), fols. 77r-106v: from and probably written for the monastery of San Pietro intra muros, Benevento; martyrology of Jerome, abridged and with adaptations. The text begins on fol. 77r with the commemorations for 13 January. At least one folio is missing between fol. 80v and fol. 81r since fol. 80v ends with the commemorations for 17 February and fol. 81r begins with the last of the commemorations for 7 March.

\*  
\*\*

Reference is made in the notes on pp. 422-37 below to the following printed works:

*AA SS* = *Acta sanctorum ex latinis et graecis aliarumque gentium monumentis* (Paris, 1863-Brussels, 1925)

*BS* = *Bibliotheca sanctorum*, 12 vols. (Rome, 1961-69)

Ado (martyrology of) = H. Quentin, *Les martyrologes historiques du moyen âge* (Paris, 1908; rpt. Aalen, 1969), pp. 465-681

Bede (martyrology of) = Quentin, *ibid.*, pp. 17-119

Ferrari, *Catalogus generalis sanctorum* = P. Ferrari, *Catalogus generalis sanctorum qui in martyrologio romano non sunt* (Venice, 1625)

Ferrari, *Catalogus sanctorum Italiae* = P. Ferrari, *Catalogus sanctorum Italiae in menses duodecim distributus* (Milan, 1613)

Jerome (martyrology of) = *AA SS* Nov. 2.2 (Brussels, 1931)

Roman Martyrology = C. Baronius, *Martyrologium Romanum ad novam kalendarii rationem et ecclesiasticae historiae veritatem restitutum* ..., 2nd rev. edition (Antwerp, 1589)

Usuard (martyrology of) = J. Dubois, ed., *Le martyrologe d'Usuard. Texte et commentaire* (Subsidia hagiographica 40; Brussels, 1965).

<sup>35</sup> I am grateful to Dom Jean Mallet, O.S.B., who is preparing a catalogue of the manuscripts in the Biblioteca Capitolare, Benevento, for information regarding mss. V 26, VI 37 and other codices now or formerly in this library.

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(f. 1r)

## JANUARY

Nox habet horas XVI. dies. VIII.

**Prima die mensis. et septima a fine minatur.**

Ianuarius habet dies XXXI. Luna XXX.

		PARALLELS
		Neapolitan sources
1	<b>Circumcisio domini. Sancti Basili.</b>	C E L M N
2 III	<b>Octaue sancti Stephani.</b>	C E L
3 III	Octaue sancti Iohannis.	C E L
4 II	Octaue Innocentorum.	C E L
5 Non. Id.	Vigilia. Macharii abbatis.	C E + L 2 Jan.: N
6 VIII Id.	<b>Epiphania domini.</b>	C E L M N
7 VII Id.	Sancti Gregorii Nazazenni episcopi <i>confessoris</i> .	25 Jan.: M N 9 May: P
8 VI Id.	<b>Sancti Seuerini abbatis.</b>	C E M N
9 V Id.	Sancti Iuliani martiris.	7 Jan.: E + L M
10 IIII	Sancti Pauli primi heremite.	C E L N 19 Jan.: M
11 III	Sancti Leucii confessoris episcopi.	N
12 II Id.	Sancti Ylarii Pictauiensis episcopi.	13 Jan.: N 15 Jan.: + C
13 Id.	<b>Octaue epiphania domini. et sancti Potiti. martiris.</b>	C E L M N
14 XIX Kl.	Sancti Felicis Impincis.	C E L N
15 XVIII Kl.	Sancti Mauri abbatis.	C E L N
16 XVII Kl.	Sancti Marcelli pape.	C E L
17 XVI Kl.	<b>Sancti Antoni monachi. confessoris.</b>	C E L M N
18 XV Kl.	Sancte Prisce uirginis.	C E L
19 XIII Kl.	Cleri diaconi confessoris.	
20 XII Kl.	<b>Sanctorum Sebastiani. et Fabiani pape.</b>	C E L M N
21 XI Kl.	<b>Sancte Agnes. uirginis. et martiris.</b>	C E L M N
22 X Kl.	<b>Sancti Vincentii. Leuite et martiris.</b>	C E L M N
23 X Kl.	Sancte Emerentiane. uirginis martiris.	C E L 24 Jan.: N
24 VIII Kl.	Sancti Thimotei martiris.	
25 VIII Kl.	<b>Conuersio sancti Pauli.</b>	C E L
26 VII Kl.	Sancte Paule et Eustochii.	
27 VI Kl.	Sanctorum martirum Marii Marthe cum sociis.	19 Jan.: C E L
28 V Kl.	Sanctorum martirum Marine et Constantie.	

## PARALLELS

Capuan calendars	Beneventan calendars	Beneventan martyrologies	
i ii iv v	1-5 7-22	I-IX XI XII	1
ii iv v	2-4 10 11 13 + 14 18 19	II III V VI VIII IX XI XII	2
ii iv v	2-4 10 11 13 + 14 18 19	II + V VI VIII + IX XI XII	3
ii iv v	2-4 10 11 13 + 14 18 19	II + V VI VIII IX XI XII	4
i ii iv v	2-4 7 9-14 16-20 22	II-VI VIII IX XI XII	5
2 Jan.: i	2 Jan.: 4 5 12 22	2, 15 Jan.: II-IX XI XII	
i ii iv v	1-7 9-22	I-VI VIII IX XI XII	6
25 Jan.: i	10 Jan.: 1 16 25 Jan.: 10 18 9 May: 4 7 12	10 Jan.: V XI XII 25 Jan.: III 9 May: II V-XII	7
i ii iv v	1-4 7 9-14 + 15 16 18-20 22	I-III V VII-IX XI XII	8
ii	4 7 12 7 Jan.: 22 8 Jan.: 17	II V VII-IX XI XII 6 Jan.: III	9
i ii iv	2-4 7 9-14 16-20 22 9 Jan.: 5	II III V VII-IX XI XII	10
i ii iv	1 5 7 9-11 + 15 16 18 22	III V XI XII	11
iv v	9 15 22	I VII	12
13 Jan.: i ii	13 Jan.: 1-5 7 + 10 11-14 16-21	13 Jan.: II-V VIII IX XI XII	
i ii iv v	1-5 7 9-16 18-22	I-III V VIII IX XI-XIII	13
12 Jan.: i	1-4 7 9 + 10 11-14 16 20 22 13 Jan.: + 15	II III V VIII IX XI-XIII	14
i ii iv v	1-5 7 9-14 16-20 22	III V VII-IX XI-XIII	15
i ii iv v	1-5 7 9-14 16-20 22	II-IX XI XII 17 Jan.: XIII	16
i ii iv v	1-5 7 9-20	I-IX XI-XIII	17
i ii iv v	1-5 7 9 11-14 16-20 22	II-IX XI-XIII	18
			19
i ii iv v	1-5 7 9-22	I-IX XI-XIII	20
i ii iv v	1-5 7 9-22	I-IX XI-XIII	21
i ii iv v	1-5 7 9-22	I-IX XI-XIII	22
iv v	4 5 7 12 17 22	II III V-IX XI-XIII	23
	4 7 9 12 17 22	II III V-IX XI-XIII	24
i iv v	1-5 7 9-14 + 15 16-20 22	II-IX XI-XIII	25
24 Jan.: ii			
i v	10 22	III VII XIII	26
27 Jan.: ii	27 Jan.: 4 7 9 18	27 Jan.: II V VI VIII IX XI XII	
i	22	20 Jan.: II III V + VI VIII	27
19 Jan.: iv v 20 Jan.: ii	20 Jan.: 1-3 7 9 14	IX XI-XIII V VI XI XII	28

29 IIII Kl.	Sancte Sauine uirginis.	N
30 III Kl.	Sancti Ignatii martiris.	29 Jan.: M
31 II Kl.	Sanctorum Abaciri. et Iohannis. martirum.	C E L M N

(f. 1v)

## FEBRUARY

Quarta subiit mortem persternit tercia morte.

Nox habet hora XIII. dies X.

**Febriuarius habet dies XXVIII. Luna XXX.**

## PARALLELS

## Neapolitan sources

1 Idus	Sancti Ignatii. episcopi martiris.	C E L
2 IIII	<b>Purificatio sancte Marie.</b>	C E L M N
3 III	Sancti Blasii episcopi martiris.	C E L M N
4 II	Sancti Triphonis martiris.	3 Feb.: N 1 Feb.: M
5 Id.	<b>Sancte Agathe uirginis.</b>	C E L M N
6 VIII Id.	Sancti Maximi episcopi. <i>confessoris</i>	
7 VII Id.	<b>Sancte Helene regine.</b>	
8 VI Id.	Sancti Victoris neapolitani confessoris	C E M
9 V Id.	Sancti Sauini episcopi.	N
10 IIII Id.	<b>Sancte Scolastice. uirginis.</b>	C L M N 9 Feb.: E
11 III Id.	Castrensi episcopi. <i>et confessoris</i>	M N 12 Feb.: C
12 II Id.	Gregorii episcopi confessoris	
13 Idus.	Sanctorum Yrenei. et sociorum eius.	
14 XVII Kl.	Sancti Valentini episcopi.	C E L M N
15 XV Kl.	Sanctorum Faustini et louicte	C N
16 XIII Kl.	Sancte <b>Iulianes uirginis.</b> martiris.	C + E M N
17 XIII	Sancti Polocronii martiris.	
18 XII Kl.	Simeonis episcopi.	
19 XI Kl.	Sancti <b>Barbati episcopi.</b> <i>confessoris</i>	C E L N
20 X Kl.	Sancti Couultdei episcopi.	19 Feb.: C E L M
21 IX Kl.	Sancti Gay episcopi.	
22 VIII Kl.	<b>Cathedra sancti Petri.</b>	C E L 12 Feb.: M
23 VII Kl.	Sancti Saluini episcopi. <i>confessoris</i>	
24 VI Kl.	<b>Mathie apostoli et</b> (rasura)	C E L N
25 V Kl.	Sancti Victoriani episcopi. <i>confessoris</i>	
26 IIII Kl.	Fortunati episcopi. <i>confessoris</i>	
27 III Kl.	Iuliani martiris.	
28 II Kl.	Romani abbatis.	E N



iv v	29 Aug.: 4	24 Jan.: III 29 Aug.: II V-XII	29
			30
i iv v	1 7 9	III V-VII X-XII	31

## PARALLELS

Capuan calendars	Beneventan calendars	Beneventan martyrologies	
ii iv v	1-4 7 9 11-14 16 18-20	II V-XI	1
i ii iv v	1-5 7-14 16-22	I-XI XIII	2
i ii iv v	1-5 7 9-14 16-20 22	II-XI XIII	3
3 Feb.: i	9 3 Feb.: 18 22	VI VII 1 Feb.: XIII	4
i ii iv v	1-5 7-22	I-XIII	5
	9	+ VI	6
			7
			8
i ii iv v	1-5 7 9 + 10 11-14 + 15 16 18-20 22	II III V-VIII + IX X-XIII	9
i ii iv v	1-5 7 9-22	I-XIII	10
ii-v	4 7 12 16	II III V VI VIII-XIII	11
	13 Feb.: 4 7 11 12 20	13 Feb.: II V VI VIII-XII	12
		10 Feb.: II III V VI VIII-XIII	13
i-v	1-5 7 9-14 + 15 16-20 13 Feb.: 22	I-XIII	14
i-v	1-4 7-14 16 18-22	I-III V-XIII 16 Feb.: IV	15
i-v	1-5 7 9-14 + 15 16-20 22	I-III V-XIII	16
v	4 12	II III V-XIII	17
v	4 7 12	II V-XII	18
i iii-v	1-5 7 9-14 16-20 22	II III V-XII	19
			20
	20 Feb.: 5	20 Feb.: III IV	21
i-v	1-5 7 9-14 16-20	II IV-XII 21 Feb.: III	22
			23
i-v	1-5 7 9-14 + 15 16-20 22	I-III V-XII	24
			25
			26
iii iv	4 7	II V-XII	27
ii-v	1-4 7 10-14 16 18-20	II III V VI VIII-XII 27 Feb.: VII	28

(f. 2r)

## MARCH

**Marcus prima mandsute dirupuit quarta bibent**

Marcus habet dies. XXXI. Luna. XXX.

**Nox habet horas XII. et dies. XII.**

		PARALLELS
		Neapolitan sources
1 Marcus.	Sancti Albini episcopi.	E
2 VI Non.	Sancti Basilei martiris.	
3 V Non.	Sancti Martini militi.	
4 III Non.	Sancti Lucii pape martiris.	N
5 III Non.	Sancte Foce uirginis.	
6 II Non.	Sancti Zacharie prophete.	
7 Nonas	Sanctarum Perpetue et Felicitatis.	C E L
8 VIII Non.	Sancte Philomenis uirginis.	
9 VII Non.	<b>Sanctorum Quadraginta martirum.</b>	C E L M N
10 VI Non.	Troiani episcopi.	
11 V Non.	Victoris et Victorini martirum.	6 March: N
12 IIII	<b>Sancti Gregorii pape.</b>	C E L M N
13 III Non.	Innocentii episcopi confessoris.	N 24 April: M
14 II	Sanctorum XL et septem militum.	
15 Idus	Sancti Longini martiris.	+ E 14 March: N 16 Oct.: M
16 XVII Id.	Ciriaci diaconi. martiris.	N
17 XVI Id.	Patricii episcopi confessoris.	+ E
18 XV Id.	Alexandri episcopi confessoris.	+ E
19 XIII Id.	Sancte Potentiane martiris.	
20 XII Id.	Giliberti episcopi.	
21 XII Kl.	<b>Benedicti. abbatis.</b>	C E L M N P
22 XI Kl.	Affrodosii episcopi confessoris.	
23 X Kl.	Victoriani episcopi. martiris	P
24 IX Kl.	Pigmenii presbiteri martiris.	P
25 VIII Kl.	<b>Annuntiatio sancte Marie.</b>	C E L M N P
26 VII Kl.	Sancti Castoli martiris.	N
27 VI Kl.	Resurrectio domini.	N
28 V Kl.	Sanctorum Prissi cum sociis eius.	
29 IIII Kl.	Sancti Armogasti martiris.	4 Dec.: P
30 III Kl.	Siluii martiris.	
31 II	Sancte Balbine uirginis.	

## PARALLELS

Capuan calendars	Beneventan calendars	Beneventan martyrologies	
iii-v	7 16	V + VI VII XI XII	1
iv v	4	II V-XII	2
iii	4	II V-XII	3
+ iii iv v	4 5 7 11 12 20 3 March: 17	II-XII	4
iii-v	4 7 12	II III V VI VIII-XII	5
			6
i iii iv v	4 5 7 12 15 16 22	II-XII	7
iv v		II V-XII	8
i-v	1-5 7 9-16 18-20 22	II-XIII	9
			10
	6 March: 4 5 7 12	6 March: II-VI VIII-XII	11
i-v	1-5 7-22	I-XIII	12
	12 March: 4 20	12 March: II-VI VIII-XII	13
iv v	4 7 12	II V-XII	14
	5	III VI VII XIII	15
i iv v	1 4 5 7 10 12	II III V-XIII	16
iv v	4 7 12	II III V-XII	17
iv v	4 7 12	II V-XII	18
iv v			19
			20
i-v	1-5 7-22	I-XIII	21
iv v		VII	22
iv v	4 12	II V-XII	23
iv v	4 7 12	II V-XII	24
i-v	1-5 7-22	I-XIII	25
iv v	4 12	II-XIII	26
i	5 7 8 10 15 16 21 22	III V XI XII	27
iv v		II V-XII	28
iv v	4	II V-XII	29
			30
iv v	4 12	II V-XII	31

(f. 2v)

## APRIL

Denus et undenus. est mortis uiuere plenus.

**Aprelis habet dies XXX. Luna XXIX.**

Nox habet horas. X. dies XV.

		PARALLELS
		Neapolitan sources
1 Non. Aprelis	<b>Sancti Iohannis. neapolitani episcopi confessoris.</b>	2 April: C E L 3 April: M
2 III Non.	Sancte Marie Egiptiace.	E 1 April: N 9 April: M P
3 III Non.	Sancte Theodosie. uirginis martiris.	N
4 II Non.	Sancti Valerii confessoris.	
5 Idibus	Sancte Yrenis. uirginis martiris.	
6 VIII Id.	Sancti Sisti confessoris.	E P
7 VII Id.	Epiphanii episcopi confessoris.	6 April: N
8 VI Id.	Celestini pape. confessoris.	8 April: M P
9 V Id.	Sancti Prochoris martiris.	P
10 IIII	Ezechielis prophete	P
11 III	Leonis pape confessoris.	+ C E P
12 II	Iulii pape confessoris.	P
13 Idus	Sancti Ermigaldi episcopi martiris.	P
14 XVIII	Sanctorum Tiburcii Valeriani martirum.	C E L M N P
15 XVII Kl.	Sanctorum Olimpidis. et Maximi.	P
16 XVI Kl.	Sancti Nicetis pape martiris.	P 17 April: C E L
17 XV Kl.	Sancti Ermogasti confessoris.	
18 XIII Kl.	Perfecti presbiteri. confessoris.	
19 XIII Kl.	Aldeberti martiris.	
20 XII Kl.	Victoris pape martiris.	N P
21 XI Kl.	Sanctarum decem uirginum martirum.	
22 X Kl.	Sancti Sagii pape. martiris.	C E L M P
23 IX Kl.	<b>Sancti Georgii martiris.</b>	C E L M N P
24 VIII Kl.	Longini martiris.	
25 VII Kl.	<b>Sancti Marci euageliste.</b>	C E L M N P
26 VI Kl.	Sancti Anacleti pape martiris	
27 V Kl.	Anastasii pape et martiris.	P
28 IIII Kl.	Sancti Vitalis. martiris.	C E L M N P
29 III Kl.	<b>Sancti Seueri neapolitani episcopi. confessoris.</b>	M + L 30 April: C E P
30 II Kl.	<b>Sancti Ponponii. episcopi neapolitani.</b>	C L M P

## PARALLELS

Capuan calendars	Beneventan calendars	Beneventan martyrologies	
			1
ii iv v	4 7 12	II III V-XII	2
1 April: iii	1 April: 5 17 20 April: 22	13 April: XIII	
2 April: iv v	2 April: 4	III IV	3
		2 April: II V-XII	4
	4 7 12	II V-XII	5
iii-v	4 7 11 12 20	4 April: III	6
iv v	7 12	II V-XII	7
	6 April: 5	II V-XII	
iv v	6 April: 4 7 12	6 April: II V-X XII	8
iv v	4 7 12	9 April: XI	9
iv v	7	II V-XII	10
iv v	4 5 7 11 12 15 20 22	III V-VII X-XII	11
iv v	4 5 7 20	II III V-XII	12
iv v	7 12	II-XII	13
i-v	1-5 7 9-14 16-20 22	II V-XII	14
	21 April: 15	II-XIII	15
iv v	5	II III V-XIII	16
	4 7 12 20	II V VI VIII-XII	17
iv v		VII	18
iii-v	5 11 12 20	II-XII	19
iv v	4 12 16 20	II-XIII	20
i-v	2-5 10-14 17-20 22	II III V-X + XI XII	21
iii-v	24 April: 1 7 15 16 21	24 April: I IV XIII	22
i-v	1-5 7-22	I-XIII	23
iv v	4 7 11 12 20	VII	24
28 April: iii	1-5 7 9 + 10 11-14 16-20 22	II III V-XII	25
i-v		II-XIII	26
			27
			28
			29
			30

(f. 3r)

MAY

Tercius occidit. et septimus ora relidit.

**Madius habet dies XXXI Luna XXX.**

Nox habet horas. VIII. dies. XVI.

## PARALLELS

		Neapolitan sources
1 Madius.	<b>Apostolorum Philippi et Iacobi.</b>	C E L M N P
2 VI Non.	Sancti Athanasii episcopi confessoris.	M N P
3 V Non.	<b>Sancte crucis. Alexandri pape cum sociis.</b>	C E L M N P
4 IIII Non.	Iuuenalis episcopi. et Quiriaci episcopi.	3, 4 May: P
5 III Non.	Audoeni episcopi confessoris.	
6 II Non.	<b>Sancti Iohannis ante porta latina.</b>	C E L N P
7 Non.	Sancte Domitille uirginis.	
8 VIII	<b>Inuentio sancti Michaelis</b>	C E L M N P
9 VII	<b>Traslatio sancti Nicolay in Baro.</b>	P
10 VI	Sancti Cataldi episcopi confessoris.	P
11 V	Sanctorum Gordiani Epimachi martirum.	N 10 May: C E P
12 IIII	Sancti Pancratii Nerei. et Archilei martirum.	C E N P
13 III	Sancti Seruatii episcopi. confessoris.	P
14 II	Sancti Bonifatii martiris.	C E M P
15 Idus.	Sancte Victorine uirginis.	
16 XVII Kl.	Sancti Peregrini martiris.	N P
17 XVI Kl.	<b>Sancte Restitute</b> uirginis martiris.	C E L P 16 May: M
18 XV Kl.	Serapionis martiris.	P
19 XIII Kl.	Potentiane uirginis.	C E P
20 XII Kl.	Eustatii et sociorum eius.	E N P
21 XI Kl.	Eleutherii et sotiorum eius.	18 April: M N P 15 Dec.: M
22 X Kl.	Casti et Cassii martirum.	
23 X Kl.	<b>Euphebi neapolitani episcopi confessoris.</b>	C E L M P
24 IX Kl.	Desiderii episcopi. confessoris.	23 May: P
25 VIII Kl.	<b>Sancti Canionis episcopi martiris.</b>	P
26 VII Kl.	Elpidii et Ciconii confessoris episcopi.	
27 VI Kl.	Proiecti martiris.	
28 V Kl.	Iohannis pape confessoris.	P 27 May: C E L
29 IIII Kl.	Secundini episcopi confessoris.	
30 III Kl.	Felicis pape martiris.	C E L P
31 II Kl.	Petronille uirginis.	C E L N P

## PARALLELS

Capuan calendars	Beneventan calendars	Beneventan martyrologies	
i-v	1-5 7 9-22	I-III V-XIII	1
ii-v	2-5 9 + 10 12 13 + 14 19 20 22	II III V-XII	2
i-v	1-5 7-22	II III V-XIII	3
v		1, 3 May: II III V-XII	4
5 May: iii			5
i-v	2-5 7 9 10 12-14 17 19 22	II III V-XII	6
v	4 7 12	II III V-XII	7
i-v	1-5 7 9-16 18-20 22	I-III V-XIII	8
i	7 9 11	V-VII XI	9
iv	+ 12	V	10
11 May: iii			
i	10 May: 2-5 7 9	10 May: II III V-XIII	11
10 May: ii-v	+ 10 11-14 16-20 22		
i-v	1-5 7 9 + 10 11-16 18-22	II III V-XIII	12
	11 May: 8		
v	4 7	II III V VI VIII-XII	13
ii iv v			
13 May: iii	1-5 7 9 + 10 11-14 16 18-20	II III V-XIII	14
			15
	4 17	II III V-XII	16
			17
		III	18
ii-v	1-5 7 9 + 10 11-14 16 18-20 22	II III V-XII	19
		20 May: XIII	
i-v	1-4 + 5 7 9-16 18-20 22	I-III V-XIII	20
	11		
i ii	18 April: 1 4 5 7 5 June: 1 7 16	18 April: II III V-XII	21
		5 June: V VI XI-XIII	22
+ ii iii-v			23
			24
23 May: iii v	23 May: 4 7 12	23 May: II III V-XII	25
i	9 22	25 May: XIII	26
iii iv		V VI XI-XIII	27
			28
iii v	4 5 7 11 12 20	II III V-XIII	29
27 May: iii			
28 May: iv	25 May: 1 7 + 15 16	25 May: V VI XI-XIII	30
iii v	4 7 11 12 20	II V-XII	31
ii-v	1-5 7 10-14 16-20	II III V-XIII	

(f. 3v)

## JUNE

Denus pallessit. quindenus federa nescit.

**Iunius habet dies XXX. Luna XXIX.**

Nox habet horas. VI. et dies XVIII.

		PARALLELS
		Neapolitan sources
1 Non.	Sancti Nicomedis. martiris.	N P
2 IIII	Erasmi Marcelini et Petri.	C E L M P
3 III	Blandine uirginis.	2 June: P
4 II	Quirini martiris.	P
5 Non.	Sancti Bonifacii episcopi confessoris.	P
6 VIII	Sancti Vincencii et Benigni martirum.	P
7 VII	Sancti Audomarii confessoris.	
8 VI	Sancti Medardi confessoris.	P
9 V	Sanctorum Primi et Feliciani martirum.	9 June: N C E L P
10 IIII	Sancti Onufrii heremite.	8 June: N C L
11 III	<b>Sancti Barnabe apostoli.</b>	11 June: P C E L N P
12 II	Sancti Basilidis. cum sociis eius. martiris.	10 June: M C E N P
13 Idus.	Sancti Apollonii confessoris.	
14 XVIII Kl.	Sanctorum Rufi et socii eius.	P
15 XVII Kl.	<b>Sanctorum Viti et sociorum eius.</b>	C E L M N P
16 Kl.	Sancti Ysauri cum sociis eius.	
17 XV Kl.	Sancti Nacandri et Marciani.	M N P
18 XIII Kl.	Sanctorum Marci et Marcelliani.	C E L M N P
19 XIII Kl.	Sanctorum Geruasi et Protasii	C E L M N P
20 XII Kl.	Sancti Nouati confessoris.	14 Oct.: M P
21 XI Kl.	Sancti Silueri pape martiris.	20 June: C E L
22 X Kl.	Sancti Paulini Nolani episcopi.	C E L M N P
23 VIII Kl.	Sancte Febronie uirginis. <b>Vigilia.</b>	C E L N P
24 VIII Kl.	<b>Natiuitas Sancti Iohannis. Baptiste.</b>	25 June: M
25 VII Kl.	Sancte Diltrude uirginis.	C E L M N P
26 VI Kl.	<b>Sancti Iohannis et Pauli martirum.</b>	23 June: P
27 V Kl.	(rasura)	C E L M N
28 IIII Kl.	<i>Sancti. Leonis. pape. et confessoris.</i> <i>Vigilia. apostolorum</i>	C E L M N
29 III Kl.	<b>Sanctorum Petri. et Pauli.</b>	C E L M N
30 II Kl.	<b>Comemoratio sancti Pauli.</b>	C E L M N



## PARALLELS

Capuan calendars	Beneventan calendars	Beneventan martyrologies	
i iii iv	5 10	III VII X	1
i iii-v	1-5 7 9-14 16 19 20 22	I-III V-XIII	2
1 June: ii	1 June: 1 7 9 + 15 16 22	1 June: VI VII XIII	
iii		2 June: II III V VI VIII-XI	3
v	4 7	1 June: XII	
iii-v	4	II V-XII	4
i ii v	4 June: 22	I-III V-XII	5
7 June: iii iv	2 4 7 9 + 15 16 22	II III V VI VIII-XIII	6
			7
	4 7	II III V-XIII	8
i-iii v	1-5 7 9-14 16 17 19 20	II III V-XIII	9
8 June: iv	8 June: 22		
11 June: ii + iii iv v	+ 2	11 June: II III V + VI VIII-XII	10
i-v	11 June: 4 7 + 10 11 16	12 June: VI	
i-v	1-5 7 9-12 + 13 14-17 19 20 22	II III V-XIII	11
		10 June: I	
	1-5 7 9-14 17 19 20 22	II III V VII-XII	12
		11 June: XIII	13
v	4	II V-XII	14
i-v	1-5 7 9-12 + 13 14-17 19 20 22	I-III V-XIII	15
iii iv	18 June: 22		16
18 June: i	2-5 10-14 19-22	I-III V VIII-X	17
i-v	16 June: 1 7-9 16	16 June: VI XI XIII	
i-v	1-5 7 9-14 16 17 19 20	II III V-XI XIII	18
i-v	1-17 19-22	I-III V-XI XIII	19
	4	II V VI VIII-XI	20
20 June: + iii + iv v	20 June: 4 11 12 20	20 June: II V VI VIII-XI	21
i-v	1-5 7 9-17 19 20 22	I-III V-XI XIII	22
23-25 June: i-v	23-25 June: 1-5 7 9-14 16 17 19 20 22	23-25 June: II III V-XI XIII	23
i-v	1-5 7-17 19-22	I-III V-XI XIII	24
	23 June: 5	23 June: II III V-XI	25
i-v	1-5 7-17 19-22	I-III V-XI XIII	26
			27
i-v	1-5 7-17 19-22	I-III V-XI XIII	28
i-v	1-5 7-17 19-22	I-III V-XI XIII	29
ii-v	1-4 7 9-12 + 13 15-17 19 20 22	II III V-XI XIII	30

(f. 4r)

JULY

Terdecimus mactat decimus labefacta.

**Iulius habet dies XXXI. Luna XXX.**

Nox habet horas VIII. dies. XVI.

		PARALLELS
		Neapolitan sources
1 Nonas.	<b>Octave sancti Iohannis. Baptiste.</b>	CEL
2 VI	Processi et Martiniani.	CELMN
3 V	Timothei martiris.	
4 IIII	Sancti Martini pape.	
5 III	Domiciani martiris.	
6 II	<b>Octave apostolorum.</b>	CEL
7 Non.	Dominice uirginis.	
8 VIII Id.	Procopii martiris.	N
9 VII Id.	Effrem et Cirilli martiris.	NP
10 VI Id.	<b>Sancte Felicitatis cum filiis suis.</b>	CELP
11 V Id.	Rufine et Secundine. uirginum.	10 July: CEP 9 July: M
12 IIII	Naboris et Felicis. martirum.	CELN P
13 III	Serapionis martiris.	
14 II	Sanctorum Iusti Eraclei martirum.	
15 Idus.	<b>Athanasii neapolitani episcopi confessoris.</b>	CELP
16 XVII Kl.	Sancti Vitaliani episcopi. confessoris.	P
17 XVI Kl.	Sancti Alexii. confessoris.	CELP
18 XV Kl.	Sancte Marine uirginis.	17 July: NP
19 XIII Kl.	Sancti Arseni abbatis.	NP
20 XII Kl.	<b>Sancte Margarite uirginis.</b>	CELP
21 XII Kl.	Sancte Praxedis uirginis.	CELN P
22 XI Kl.	<b>Sancte Marie Magdalene.</b>	CELN P
23 X Kl.	<b>Sancti Apollinaris martiris.</b>	CELMNP
24 IX Kl.	Sancte Cristine uirginis. <b>Vigilia. sancti Christofori</b>	24, 25 July: CELMNP
25 VIII Kl.	<b>Sancti Iacobi apostoli.</b>	CELN P
26 VII Kl.	Sancte Venere. uirginis martiris.	P
27 VI Kl.	Sancti Simeonis confessoris.	P
28 V Kl.	Nazari et Celsi. martirum.	CELMNP
29 IIII Kl.	Sanctorum Felicis Faustini et sociorum.	CELMNP
30 III Kl.	Sanctorum Adon et Sennes.	CELMNP
31 II Kl.	Germani episcopi.	LMP

## PARALLELS

Capuan calendars	Beneventan calendars	Beneventan martyrologies	
i-v	1-4 7 9 + 10 12-14 16 19 20	II III V VI VIII-XI	1
i-v	1-7 9-14 + 15 16 17 19 20 22	II III V-XI XIII	2
			3
i	5 22	III VII X XIII	4
v	4	II V-XII	5
3 July: + iii			
i-v	1-5 7 9 + 10 11-17 19-22	II III V-XIII	6
			7
i-v	2-4 7 9-14 16 19 20 22	II III V-XII + XIII	8
i v	4 12 16 17 22	II III V-XIII	9
	11 July: 7		
i-v	1-4 + 5 6 7 9-14 + 15 16	II III V-XIII	10
	17 19 20 22		
iii		10 July: II III V-XII	11
10 July: ii iv v	10 July: 2-4 + 5 7 11-14 19 20	14 July: + XIII	
i-v	2-4 + 5 7 9-17 19-22	I-III V-XIII	12
+ iii v		III XIII	13
v	4	II III V-XII	14
			15
ii-v	1 7 + 15 16	V-VII XI-XIII	16
ii-v	1-4 7 + 10 11-14 16 19 20 22	II III V VII-XII	17
16 July: i	18 July: 9	16 July: + VI	
17 July: ii	16 July: 22	17 July: + VI	18
v	5 22	III VII X XIII	19
iii-v	17 22 13 July: 1-4 7	III	20
13 July: i ii	+ 9 + 10 11-17 19 20	13 July: II V-XII + XIII	
ii-v	2 3 5 7 10-14 16 17 19 20 22	II III V-XIII	21
	19 July: 6 20 July: + 15		
i-v	+ 1 + 2 4 5 7 9 + 10 11 12	II III V-VIII + IX X-XIII	22
	+ 13 + 14 15 + 16 + 19 22		
i-v	1-17 19-22	I-III V-XIII	23
24-26 July: i-v	24-26 July: 1-4 7 9 + 10	24, 25 July: II III V-XIII	24
	11-17 19 20 22		
i-v	1-5 7-17 19-22	I-III V-XIII	25
ii + iii + iv v	21 July: 9		26
ii-v	1 4 5 7 11 12 16	II III V-XI XIII	27
i-v	1-4 6-17 19-22	I-III V-XI XIII	28
i-v	1 3-7 9-14 16 17 19 20 22	II III V-XI XIII	29
i-v	1-7 9-17 19 20 22	I-III V-XI XIII	30
	4 5 7 9 12 17	II III V-XI	31

(f. 4v)

## AUGUST

Augustus. habet dies XXXI. Luna. XXX.

**Prima negat fortem. sternitque secunda mortem.**

Nox habet horas. X. dies. XIII.

		PARALLELS
		Neapolitan sources
1 Augustus	<b>Vincula sancti Petri.</b>	C E L P
2 III Non.	<b>Sancti Stephani pape.</b>	C E L M N P
3 III Non.	<b>Inuentio sancti Stephani.</b>	C E L P
4 II Non.	Sancti Iustini presbiteri. confessoris.	C E P
5 Non.	Sancti Cassiani. episcopi.	P
6 VIII Non.	<b>Transfiguratio domini.</b>	E + L M N P
7 VII Non.	<b>Sanctorum martirum septem dormiencium.</b>	10 Aug.: P 17 Aug.: M
8 VI Non.	Sanctorum Ciriaci Largi Esmaragdi.	M N P
9 V Non.	Sancti Romani martiris. <b>Vigilia.</b>	C E + L N P
10 III Non.	<b>Sancti Laurentii. Leuite martiris.</b>	C E L M N P
11 III	Tiburcii martiris et sancte Susanne.	C E M N P
12 II Non.	Sancti Eupli. diaconi martiris.	M N P
13 Idus.	Sancti Ypoliti et Cassiani.	C E M N P
14 Kldas.	Eusebii presbiteri. <b>Vigilia.</b>	C E + L M N P
15 XVIII Kl.	<b>Assumptio Beate Marie.</b>	C E L M N P
16 XVII Kl.	Sancti Simpliciani martiris.	
17 XVI Kl.	Octaue sancti Laurenti.	C E
18 XV Kl.	Sancti Agapiti martiris.	C E M N P
19 XIII Kl.	Sancti Magni martiris.	P
20 XIII Kl.	Giliberti abbatis.	
21 XII Kl.	Sancti Timothei.	22 Aug.: C E N P
22 XI Kl.	<b>Octaue sancte Marie.</b>	C E + L P
23 X Kl.	Sancti Nemesii. martiris.	
24 IX Kl.	Sancte Auree uirginis. martiris. <b>Vigilia</b>	C E P
25 VIII Kl.	<b>Sancti Bartholomei apostoli.</b>	C E M P
26 VII Kl.	<b>Sancte Patricie uirginis.</b>	24 Aug.: L
27 VI Kl.	Sancti Rufi. martiris.	25 Aug.: C E N P L M N P
28 V Kl.	<b>Sancti Augustini episcopi confessoris</b>	C E L M N P
29 III Kl.	<b>Decollatio sancti Iohannis Baptiste.</b>	C E + L M N P
30 III Kl.	<b>Sancti Pauli episcopi confessoris.</b>	
31 II Kl.		

## PARALLELS

Capuan calendars	Beneventan calendars	Beneventan martyrologies	
i-v	1-5 7 9-14 16 17 19 20 22	II III V-XI XIII	1
i-v	1-7 9-14 + 15 16 17 19 20 22	II III V-XIII	2
i-v	1-5 7 9 + 10 11-14 16 + 17 19 20 22	II III V-XIII	3
iv			4
		II V VI VIII-XI	5
i-v	1-4 7 9-16 19 20 22	II III V-XIII	6
9 Aug.: ii-iv	9 Aug.: 11 10 Aug.: 1 3-5 7	10 Aug.: II III V-XII	7
10 Aug.: v 15 June: i	12-14 19 20 16 June: 22	14 June: XIII	
i-v	1-5 7 9-14 + 15 16 19 20 22	II III V-XIII	8
i-v	2-4 7 9-14 16 19 20 22	II III V-XIII	9
i-v	1-5 7-17 19-22	I-III V-XIII	10
i-v	1-5 7 9 11-14 16 19 20 12 Aug.: 6	II III V-XIII	11
ii-v	1-4 7 9-14 + 15 16 19 20 13 Aug.: 6	II III V-XIII	12
i-v	1-5 7 9-17 19 20 22	II III V-XIII	13
12 Aug.: i	14 Aug.: 6		
i-v	1-5 7 9-14 16 17 19 20 22 15 Aug.: 6	II III V-XIII	14
i-v	1-5 7-17 19-22 16 Aug.: 6	I-III V-XIII	15
iv		II III V VI VIII-XII	16
i-v	2-5 7 9 + 10 11-14 16 17 19 20 22	II III V-XIII	17
i iii-v	2-5 9-14 17 19 20 22 17 Aug.: 6	II III V VII-XIII	18
i-v	4 5 7 9 10 12 16 17 22	II III V-XIII	19
			20
22 Aug.: i + iv v	22 Aug.: 1 4 5 7 9 10 17 22 23 Aug.: 6 15	22 Aug.: II III V-XIII	21
i-v	1-4 7 9 + 10 11-14 16 19 20	II III V-XIII	22
			23
i-v	2-4 7 9 + 10 11-14 16 19 20 23 Aug.: 17	II III V-XIII 22 Aug.: III	24
i-v	1-14 16 19-21 24 Aug.: 15 17 22	I-III V-XIII 24 Aug.: IV	25
			26
i-v	2-5 10-14 19 20 22	II III V-XIII	27
i-v	1-8 10-17 19-22 27 Aug.: 9	I-V VII-XIII	28
i-v	1-17 19-22	I-XIII	29
			30
			31

(f. 5r)

## SEPTEMBER

Tercia Septembris. et denu fert mala membris.

**September. habet dies XXX. Luna XXIX.**

Nox habet horas XII. dies XII.

		PARALLELS
		Neapolitan sources
1 September.	Sanctorum duodecim fratrum.	C E N P
2 IIII Non.	Sancti Antonini martiris.	C E P 3 Sept.: N
3 III Non.	Seraphie uirginis.	P
4 II Non.	<b>Sancte Candide.</b>	C E L P
5 Nonas.	Sancti Tutail. martiris.	M
6 VIII Id.	Sancti Herberti episcopi. confessoris	
7 VII Id.	Sancti Pamphi episcopi. confessoris	
8 VI Id.	<b>Natiuitas sancte Marie.</b>	C E L M N P
9 V Id.	Sancti Adriani martiris.	8 Sept.: C E P
10 IIII Id.	Sancti Gorgoni martiris.	9 Sept.: C E P
11 III Id.	Sanctorum Proti et Iacinti martirum.	C E M N P
12 II Id.	Sanctorum Siri et Inuentii. martirum.	P
13 Idus.	Sancti Sergi pape martiris.	9 Sept.: P
14 XVIII Kl. Octbris.	<b>Exaltatio sancte crucis.</b>	C E L M N P
15 XVIII Kl.	Sancti Nicomedis martiris.	C E N P
16 XVII Kl.	Sanctorum Lucie et Geminiani martirum.	C E P
17 XVI Kl.	Sancte Euphimie uirginis. martiris.	16 Sept.: C E M N P
18 XV Kl.	Sancte Eugenie uirginis martiris.	
19 XIII Kl.	<b>Sancti Ianuarii neapolitani. episcopi martiris.</b>	C E + L M N P
20 XIII Kl.	Sancte Fauste uirginis. <b>Vigilia.</b>	C E N P
21 XIII Kl.	<b>Sancti Mathei apostoli. et euangeliste.</b>	C E L N P
22 XII Kl.	Sanctorum Mauricii et sociorum eius.	C E N P
23 XI Kl.	Sancti Lini pape martiris. Tecele martiris.	C E P 24 Sept.: M N
24 VIII Kl.	Sancti Sossii martiris.	23 Sept.: E M N P
25 VIII Kl.	Sancti Firmini episcopi confessoris.	P
26 VII Kl.	Sancti Cipriani episcopi confessoris.	E P 25 Sept.: C
27 VI Kl.	<b>Sancti Cosme et Damiani.</b>	+ C E M N P
28 V Kl.	Iustine uirginis	
29 IIII Kl.	<b>Dedicatio sancti Michaelis.</b>	C E L M N
30 III Kl.	<b>Sancti Ieronimi presbiteri. confessoris.</b>	C E L M N

## PARALLELS

Capuan calendars	Beneventan calendars	Beneventan martyrologies	
i-v	1-5 7 9-14 16 19 20 22	II-XIII	1
i v	4 + 5 7 11 22	II III V-XIII	2
4 Sept.: iii iv	3 Sept.: 12	3 Sept.: IV-VI	3
v		VII	4
			5
			6
ii v			7
i-v	1-5 7-9 11-16 19-22	I-XIII	8
	7 Sept.: 10		
8 Sept.: i ii v	8 Sept.: 1-5 7 9 11-14 19 20	8 Sept.: II-XIII	9
7 Sept.: iii iv	7 Sept.: 10 16 22		
9 Sept.: i-v	9 Sept.: 1-5 7 9 11-14	9 Sept.: II-XIII	10
	16 17 19 20 22		
i-v	1-5 7 9-14 16 17 19 20 22	II-XIII	11
+ iii + iv v	4 7 12	II-XII	12
	9 Sept.: 4 7	9 Sept.: II V VI VIII-XII	13
ii-v	1-5 7 9-17 19 20 22	I-XIII	14
i + iv v	4 5 9 12 17 22	II-XII	15
24 Sept.: iii	1-5 7 9-14 19 20	II-XII	16
ii-v			
16 Sept.: i-v	16 Sept.: 2-4 7 9-11 13-16 20 22	16 Sept.: I-XIII	17
			18
i-v	1-5 7 9-14 + 15 16 19 20 22	II III V-XIII	19
i-v	2-5 7 9 + 10 11-14 16 17 19 20	II III V-XIII	20
i-v	1-5 7 9-17 19-22	II-XIII	21
i-v	1-5 7 9-16 19 20 22	I-XIII	22
	2-4 + 10 11-14 19	II-XII	23
	25 Sept.: 9		
23 Sept.: + iv v	23 Sept.: 4 7 16	23 Sept.: II-XIII	24
iii + iv v		VII	25
iii-v	4 12	II III V-XIII	26
i-v	1-5 7-17 19-22	I-XIII	27
			28
i-v	1-5 7 9-17 19 20 22	I-XIII	29
i-v	1-5 7-17 19-22	I-XIII	30

(f. 5 v)

## OCTOBER

Tercius et decimus est sicut mors alienus.

**October habet dies XXXI. Luna XXIX.**

October habet nox hora. XIII. dies. X.

## PARALLELS

		Neapolitan sources
1 October.	Sanctorum Remigii. et sociorum eius. confessorum.	C E N
2 VI Nonas	Leodegarii. episcopi. martiris.	
3 V Non.	Arnulfi martiris.	
4 IIII Non.	(rasura)	
5 III Non.	Sancti Firmarii. martiris.	
6 II Non.	Sancti Renati episcopi confessoris.	M P
7 Nonis.	Sanctorum martirum Sergi. et Bachi.	C E M P
8 VIII Id.	Sancte Reparate uirginis	E N P
9 VII Id.	Sanctorum Dionisii et sociorum eius martirum.	C E N P
10 VI Id.	Sancti Gereonis martiris.	9 Oct.: P
11 V Id.	Sancti Nicasii episcopi.	
12 IIII Id.	Sancti Eustochii episcopi.	
13 III Id.	Sancti Athanasii episcopi confessoris	N P
14 II Id.	<b>Sancte Fortunate uirginis martiris.</b>	C + E L M P
15 Idus.	Sancti Modesti martiris.	N
16 XVII Kl. Nouemb.	Sancte Pelagie uirginis.	19 Oct.: N P
17 XVI Kl.	Sancti Florenciani episcopi.	
18 XV Kl.	<b>Sancti Luce euangeliste.</b>	C E L M N P
19 XIII Kl.	Euticetis et Acuti martirum.	E L 18 Oct.: C M P
20 XIII Kl.	Zosimi martiris.	N P
21 XII Kl.	Ylarionis abbatis.	C E M N P
22 XI Kl.	<b>Sancte Ursine cum XI millia uirginum.</b>	21 Oct.: C E P 20 Oct.: + L
23 X Kl.	Sancti Molonis confessoris.	
24 IX Kl.	Sanctorum Crisci et Darie martirum.	25 Oct.: C E M N P
25 VIII Kl.	Sancti Dimitri. martiris.	26 Oct.: C L M N P
26 VII Kl.	Gaudiosi episcopi confessoris. <b>Vigilia.</b>	27 Oct.: C E L M P
27 VI Kl.	(rasura)	
28 V Kl.	<i>Sanctorum apostolorum Symonis et Iude</i>	C E L N P
29 IIII Kl.	Germani episcopi	30 Oct.: N P
30 III Kl.	Sancti Maximi martiris. <b>Vigilia.</b>	M P 31 Oct.: C E + L P
31 II Kl.		



## PARALLELS

Capuan calendars	Beneventan calendars	Beneventan martyrologies	
ii-v	1-5 7 9 + 10 11-14 16-20	II-XIII	1
v	3 Oct.: 5	II III V-XII	2
			3
			4
		III IV	5
	1 7 9		
	5 Oct.: 16	V VI XI-XIII	6
i-v	1-5 7 9-13 + 14 16-20 22	II III V-XIII	7
	6 Oct.: 16		
ii-v	1 7 10 + 13 17 18	III V VI X-XII	8
	7 Oct.: 16		
i-v	1-5 7-15 17-20 22	II-XIII	9
	8 Oct.: 16		
		VII 9 Oct.: II-VI VIII-XII	10
		15 Oct.: IV	
	7	II V-XII	11
			12
i	7 16	III-VI XI-XIII	13
	12 Oct.: 18		
ii-v	1 4 7 10	II III V VI VIII-XII	14
	15 Oct.: 5		
iii-v	1 7 16	IV-VI XI-XIII	15
19 Oct.: + iii + iv v	19 Oct.: 12 17	19 Oct.: II III V-XIII	16
+ iii + iv v		II V-XII	17
i-v	1-4 7-22	I-XIII	18
			19
ii + iii + iv v			
19 Oct.: i	1 4 7 9 12 16	II-VI VIII-XIII	20
i-v	1-4 7 9-14 16 18-20 22	II III V-XIII	21
21 Oct.: + iii + iv v	21 Oct.: + 1 + 12	+ IX	22
			23
25 Oct.: i-v	25 Oct.: 2-4 + 5 9-14 16	25 Oct.: II III V-XII	24
	18-20 22 26 Oct.: 1 7	26 Oct.: XIII	
26 Oct.: i-v	26 Oct.: 1-4 7 9 + 10 11-14	26 Oct.: II III V-XIII	25
	16 18-20 22		
27 Oct.: i-iv	27 Oct.: 1-4 7 9 + 10 11-13	27 Oct.: II III V-XII	26
	16-20 22		
			27
i-v	1-5 7-14 + 15 16-22	I-XIII	28
30 Oct.: i-v	30 Oct.: 1-5 7-14 16 18-22	30 Oct.: II-XIII	29
30 Oct.: ii iv v	30 Oct.: 1 4 7 10-14 16 19 20	30 Oct.: II III V VI	
31 Oct.: i-iv	31 Oct.: 1-4 7 9 + 10 11-14	VIII-XIII	30
	16 17 19 20	31 Oct.: II III V-XII	
			31

(f. 6r)

## NOVEMBER

Nouember habet dies. XXX. Luna XXIX.

**Nouember. habet nox hora XVI. dies. VIII.**

Scorpius est quintus. et tercius est uoce cintus.

		PARALLELS
		Neapolitan sources
1 Nouember.	<b>Comemoratio omnium sanctorum.</b>	C E L N P
2 III Non.	<b>Comeratio omnium fidelium defunctorum.</b>	C E + L
3 III Non.	Sancte Agricole uirginis.	4 Nov.: C E L 27 Nov.: P
4 II Non.	Sancti Eustochii martiris.	
5 Non.	Sancte Triphomenis uirginis.	6 Nov.: N
6 VIII Id.	<b>Sancti Leonardi abbatis.</b>	C E L P
7 VII Id.	Sancti Michaelis episcopi confessoris	
8 VI Id.	Sanctorum IIII Coronatorum.	C E + L M N P
9 V Id.	<b>Sancti Agrippini neapolitani episcopi. confessoris.</b>	C E L M P
10 IIII Id.	Sancti Theodori martiris.	9 Nov.: + C N P
11 III Id.	Sancti <b>Martini. episcopi. confessoris.</b>	C E L M N P
12 II Id.	Sancti Martini pape.	C E L 10 Nov.: P
13 Id. Id.	Sancti Iohannis Grisostomi.	M N P
14 XVIII Kl. Dec.	Sancti Bricii. confessoris. episcopi	N 13 Nov.: C E L P
15 XVIII Kl.	Sancti Fidenciani episcopi	N
16 XVII Kl.	Sancti Columbani martiris.	
17 XVI Kl.	Sancti Gregorii episcopi confessoris.	M N P
18 XV Kl.	Octaue sancti Martini	
19 XIII Kl.	Sancti Oddonis abbatis.	
20 XIII Kl.	Sancti Ponciani pape martiris.	P 19 Nov.: C E L
21 XII Kl.	Sancti Samone Gurie.	N P 15 Nov.: M
22 XI Kl.	<b>Sancte Cecilie uirginis.</b>	C E + L M N P
23 X Kl.	<b>Sancti Clementis pape.</b>	C E + L M N P
24 VIII Kl.	<b>Grisogoni martiris.</b>	C E M N P
25 VIII Kl.	<b>Sancte Caterine uirginis martiris.</b>	C E + L P
26 VII Kl.	<b>Petri Alexandrini martiris.</b>	C E N P 25 Nov.: M
27 VI Kl.	Sancti Iacobi episcopi. confessoris.	M
28 V Kl.	Sancti Saturnini. martiris.	29 Nov.: C E M N P
29 IIII Kl.	Vigilia.	C E + L N P
30 III Kl.	<b>Sancti Andree apostoli.</b>	C E L M N P

## PARALLELS

Capuan calendars	Beneventan calendars	Beneventan martyrologies	
i-v	1-5 7 9-14 + 15 16-20 22	I-XIII	1
iii-v		+ IX	2
iii + iv v	27 Nov.: 4 5 7 12 17	III 27 Nov.: II III V VII-XII	3
ii	4 9 12 + 15	II III V VI VIII-XII	4
i-v	+ 1 3 + 10 11 13 + 14 18 19	V-IX + XII	5
			6
i-v	1-5 7 9-14 16-20 22	II-XIII	7
			8
9 Nov.: i-v	9 Nov.: 1-5 7 9-14 + 15 16 18-20 22	9 Nov.: II III V-XIII	9
i-v	1-5 7-22	I-XIII	10
10 Nov.: i-v	10 Nov.: 1-4 7 + 10 11-14 19 20	10 Nov.: II III V-XII	11
i-v	1-4 7 9-14 16 18-20 22	II III V VII-XIII	12
13 Nov.: i-v	13 Nov.: 1-5 7 10-14 16 17 19 20 12 Nov.: 22	13 Nov.: II III + V VII-XIII	13
iii		IV XIII	14
			15
i ii	1-4 7 9 + 10 11-14 16 18-20 16 Nov.: 22	II III V VII-XIII	16
ii-v	1-5 7 + 10 11-14 16 18-20 18 Nov.: 9	II III V VIII-XII	17
			18
iii-v	4 7 11 12 20	II III V VII-XII	19
ii	1 7 9 16 22	V XI XII	20
19 Nov.: i			21
i-v	1-5 7-22	I-V VII-XIII	22
i-v	1-5 7-22	I-V VII-XIII	23
i-v	1-5 7-14 16-20 22	II-V VII-XIII	24
i-v	3 4 9 + 10 12 13 16 18-20 26 Nov.: 22	II III V VII-XIII	25
i-v	1-5 7 9-14 + 15 16 18-20 27 Nov.: 22	II III V VII-XIII	26
			27
29 Nov.: i-v	29 Nov.: 1-5 7 10-13 16 17 19 20	29 Nov.: II-V VII-XIII	28
i-v	1-4 7 9-14 16 + 17 18-20 22	II III V VII-XIII	29
i-v	1-5 7-22	II-V VII-XIII	30

(f. 6v)

## DECEMBER

Mensis Decembris. nox habet horas XVIII dies. VI.

**Septimus et saguis. uirosum decus et anguis.**

December. habet dies XXXI. Luna. XXX.

## PARALLELS

## Neapolitan sources

1 December.	Sancti Eligi episcopi. et sancti Candidi. martiris.	E L P
2 IIII Non.	<b>Sancti Gregorii Armenis martiris. episcopi.</b>	CE + L M P 3 Dec.: M
3 III Non.	Sancti Faustini et Darorose martirum.	
4 II Non.	<b>Sancte Barbare uirginis et martiris.</b>	C E M N P
5 Nonis	Sancti Sabe confessoris. <b>Vigilia.</b>	C E M N P
6 VIII Id.	<b>Sancti Nicolay episcopi confessoris.</b>	C E L M N P
7 VII Id.	<b>Sancti Ambrosii episcopi confessoris.</b>	C E L M N P
8 VI Id.	<b>Comceptio sancte Marie.</b>	C E L P
9 V Id.	Cenonis. et Urbani episcopi	
10 IIII Id.	Sancti Melchiadis pape martiris.	C E
11 III Id.	Damasci pape et martiris	C E N P
12 II Id.	<b>Sancte Lucie. uirginis et martiris.</b>	13 Dec.: C E L M N P
13 Idus.	<b>Sancti Agnelli confessoris monachi.</b>	14 Dec.: C E + L N P
14 XIX Kl. Ianuarii.	Sancti Valeriani episcopi confessoris.	15 Dec.: P
15 XVIII Kl.	Sancti Ananie cum sociis suis.	16 Dec.: P
16 XVII Kl.	Sancti Secundini episcopi confessoris.	17 Dec.: M
17 XVI Kl.	Ignatii pape martiris.	18 Dec.: M
18 XV Kl.	Sancti Adiutori confessoris.	1 Sept.: M
19 XIII Kl.	Sancti Valarii confessoris	
20 XIII Kl.	Sancti Abalis abbatis. <b>Vigilia.</b>	C E + L
21 XII Kl.	<b>Sancti Thome apostoli.</b>	C E L M N P
22 XI Kl.	Zeferini pape martiris.	19 Dec.: N
23 X Kl.	Gregorii Spolitini martiris.	N P
24 VIII Kl.	<b>Vigilia</b>	C E + L N P
25 VIII Kl.	<b>Natiuitas domini nostri. Iesu Christi.</b>	C E L M N P
26 VII Kl.	<b>Sancti Stephani protomartiris.</b>	C E L M N P
27 VI Kl.	<b>Sancti Iohannis apostoli. et euangeliste.</b>	C E L M N P
28 V Kl.	<b>Innocentorum.</b>	C E L M N P
29 IIII Kl.	<b>Thome Contuberni. martiris.</b>	C E L N P
30 III Kl.	<b>Dauid regis.</b>	29 Dec.: P
31 II Kl.	<b>Siluestri pape. confessoris.</b>	C E L M P 2 Jan.: M

## PARALLELS

Capuan calendars	Beneventan calendars	Beneventan martyrologies	
ii-v	4 5 7 10 17	II-V VII-XIII	1
			2
iii + iv		4 Jan.: II V VI VIII IX XI XII	3
i-v	1-5 7 9-14 16 18-20 22 3 Dec.: 17	II-V VII-XIII	4
ii iii + iv v	2-5 7 9-14 16 19 20	II III V VIII-XIII	5
i-v	1-5 7 9-14 + 15 16-20 22	II III V VII-XIII	6
i-v	1-5 7 9-16 18-22 6 Dec.: 8	I-III V VII-XIII	7
i-v	+ 1 + 10 11 + 13 + 14 + 19 1 7 16 22	+ II + V + VII + IX V XII XIII	8 9
v	11 Dec.: 17 10 Jan.: 4 5 12 20	10 Jan.: II-V VIII-XII	10
i + iii iv v	4 5 7 11 12 20 22 10 Dec.: 17	II III V VII-XIII	11
13 Dec.: i-v	17 13 Dec.: 1-5 7 9-16 18-20 22	13 Dec.: I-V VII-XIII	12
14 Dec.: ii-v	14 Dec.: 1 4 5 7 9 12 16 + 19	14 Dec.: II III V VIII-XII	13
15 Dec.: iii v 16 Dec.: + iv	15 Dec.: 4 7	15 Dec.: II III V VII-XII	14
16 Dec.: + iii		16 Dec.: III VII	15
			16
iii	17	III VII X	17
18 Dec.: iv	9 17 Dec.: + 15		18 19
ii-iv	1-4 7 9 + 10 11-14 16-20	II V VIII IX XI XII	20
i-v	1-5 7-22 20 Dec.: 5	I-V VII-XIII 20 Dec.: III IV	21 22
ii-v	1-5 7 9-14 16 18-20 22 Dec.: 22	II III V VII-XIII	23
22 Dec.: i	1-4 7 9-14 16-20 22	II III V VII-XIII	24
i-v	1-5 7-22	I-V VII-X XII XIII	25
i-v	1-5 7-22	I-V VII-XIII	26
i-v	1-5 7-22	I-V VII-XIII	27
i-v	1-5 7-22	I-V VII-XIII	28
ii-v	+ 10 11 + 12 + 13 + 14 + 19 30 Dec.: 9	+ II + III V + IX + XI + XII	29
		29 Dec.: VII X + XI	30
i-v	1-5 7-22	I-V VII-XIII	31

## NOTES ON THE TEXT OF THE CALENDAR

## JANUARY

The entries for this month occupy fol. 1r, which has suffered rubbing and general wear and tear. Some difficulties were encountered with the names given for 20, 27 and 28 January where the ink was faint.

*1 January.* Most of the parallels cited record both feasts, but there are some that omit 'sancti Basili', namely, N, 5, 8, 15, 21, and I. In 18, fol. i<sup>v</sup> has been cut away at this entry so that only '-sili' seems to be read; this has been interpreted as comprising the last five letters of 'Basili'.

*5 January.* None of the parallels has a commemoration of 'Macharii abbatis' on this date (which, in the calendars at least, is reserved almost exclusively for the Vigil of the Epiphany). The mention of Abbot Macarius may be owing to a transposition from 2 January of the Theban abbot of this name or may be simply a slip for 15 January when the feast of 'Macarius Aegyptius abbas in Scete' is celebrated. Certainly both feasts are found in the parallels: for 2 January see N, i, 4, 5, 12, 22, II-IX, XI, XII; for 15 January see II, V, VII-IX, XI, XII.

*7 January.* This date is not given for St. Gregorius Nazianzenus in any of the parallels that have been explored. 25 January is the Greek date and also that of Bede, while 9 May, the date of Ado and Usuard, became generally accepted throughout the Latin West. In 1, 16, V, XI, and XII the entry for 10 January reads (with minor variants) 'Sancti Gregorii episcopi Naž in sancta Sophia'; this may be a mistake for Gregory of Nyssa whose *synaxis* was celebrated in the church of Hagia Sophia (Constantinople) on 10 January. The manuscripts in which this entry occurs are all associated with Benevento, and it is probable that the church of 'sancta Sophia' was taken to be the church of that same name in Benevento.

*9 January.* The calendar occasionally gives only one name of a pair or group of martyrs as here for the feast of Iulianus, Basilissa, and companions; for other instances see 27 February, 2 March, 3 March, 18 May, 11 August, 10 September, 20 September, 11 October, 15 October, etc.

*11 January.* St. Leucius, bishop of Brindisi, was venerated at Benevento and elsewhere in the Beneventan zone; the calendars (7, 16) and martyrologies (V, XI) from Benevento recall his cult in that city with the locative 'in sancta Sophia'. In 18 he is described as 'confessoris atque pontificis'.

*13 January.* While all the parallels cited, with the exception of M and N, record the Octave of the Epiphany, only iv, v, 15, 16, 22, II, V, VIII, IX and XI-XIII give both feasts; in L 'sancti Potiti martiris' has been added. 12 January is the date in i for St. Potitus.

*14 January.* St. Felix in Pincis, as opposed to St. Felix presbyter Nolanus, is named specifically in C, E, N, v, 1, 7, 12, 22, II, III, V, VIII, IX, XI-XIII; the other parallels cited record two saints of this name (except for L which has only one name), usually adding 'presbyter et martyr' after each but without a place-name, and it has been assumed that one of these is the saint in question.

*19 January.* Another commemoration not found on this day in any of our parallels; perhaps to be identified with 'Sanctus Clerus diaconus' whose feast day is given as 7 January (the date of Usuard) in v, 4, II, V, VIII, IX, XI, XII and 9 January in VII? If the former, it constitutes the most distant transposition in the calendar; if the latter, '19' could conceivably be a mistake for '9'.

*20 January.* Sebastianus alone is named in M, N, 15, 21, 22, and I.

*26 January.* Only in XIII are both saints commemorated on this day. St. Paula alone is named on 26 January in i, v, 10, 22, III, VII and on 27 January in ii, 4, 7, 9, II, V, VI, VIII, IX, XI, XII. Both St. Paula and St. Eustochium are commemorated on 27 January in 18.

*27 January.* In i and 22 the saints commemorated on this day are Marius, Martha, Audifax and Abacuc, and they appear to be the same saints named in our calendar. 19 January is the date given for them in the Roman Martyrology, while Ado and Bede give their feast day as 20 January.

*29 January.* Saints Sabinianus and Sabina (diocese of Troyes) are commemorated as a pair in iv and v, and St. Sabina alone in N and III (on 24 January, for which date see *AA SS Ian.* 3.552). 29 August is the date given for her feast by Usuard. In some of the calendars (1-3, 7, 9-14, 20, 22) there is an entry on 29 August for 'Sancte Sabine (Savine) martiris (virginis)', but these have not been cited as parallels since the entry could refer to the Roman martyr Sabina whose feast is also celebrated on that day (as in 5 which reads 'Rome natalis sancte Sabine virginis'). In 4 'Savinae martiris' and 'Savinae virginis' are named on 29 August; presumably one of these is the French Sabina commemorated in our calendar on 29 January.

*30 January.* Together with M (on 29 January, the Greek date), the calendar commemorates the translation of the relics of St. Ignatius to Antioch. Other feasts of St. Ignatius recorded in our calendar are 1 February (the Latin date of his *dies natalis*) and 17 December (Bede's erroneous reading of 20 December, the Greek date of his *dies natalis*).

#### FEBRUARY

*4 February.* The feast of St. Tryphon, patron of Kotor, is celebrated in that city on 3 February (cf. Ferrari, *Catalogus generalis sanctorum*, p. 59) while 1 February is the Greek date.

*6 February.* Only two parallels record this feast: 9 ('Sancti Maximi episcopi et confessoris') and VI (the original scribe, *ut vid.*, has added in the outer margin 'Sancti Maximi — [cropped] et episcopi'). In *BS* 9.60 he is identified as St. Maximus, tenth bishop of Naples and the only Neapolitan saint who was martyred. If this is correct, the calendar preserves, so far as is known, the only occurrence of 6 February as his feast day since C, L and apparently M venerate this saint on 11 June (cf. *BS* 9.60 and Delehaye, 'Hagiographie napolitaine', 25 [11 June]). However, in our calendar, the name of St. Maximus is not written in red ink nor is he specifically designated a Neapolitan bishop as in the case of all the other Neapolitan bishops who appear in the

calendar (p. 438 below), and hence he need not be associated necessarily with Naples. Thus he may perhaps be more plausibly identified as St. Maximus, bishop of Nola, whose feast day is reported in *AA SS Feb.* 2.19 as 7 February for Nola and 8 February 'in ecclesia beneventana'. The fact that VI mentions a saint-bishop of this name on 6 February is significant since the manuscript contains the martyrology of the church of Sancta Maria de Plesco, located in the diocese of Nola; cf. G. Ruocco, 'S. Maria de Plesco nel martirologio beneventano', *Samnium* 1 (1928) 13-16 and 14-15 n. 1.

*7 February.* The calendar commemorates the translation of the body of St. Helena to the monastery of Hautvilliers (diocese of Rheims) in the ninth century. St. Helena is venerated on 18 August (Usuard's date for her death) in some of our parallel calendars (4, 12) and martyrologies (II, V-XII).

*9 February.* A non-Beneventan hand has entered on this day, in the inner margin, 'Sancte Appollonie uirginis et martiris'.

*13 February.* To be identified, quite probably, with the Roman martyrs Zoticus, Irenaeus, Hyacinthus, Amantius and companions whose feast day is 10 February. The transposition is understandable in view of the importance of the feast of St. Scholastica, also celebrated on 10 February, which overshadowed every other feast on that day. While not recorded in any parallel calendar, these saints figure in the Beneventan martyrologies (II, III, V, VI, VIII-XIII), with Irenaeus named after Zoticus.

*14 February.* A non-Beneventan hand has corrected the Beneventan abbreviation for 'episcopi' to that for 'martiris'. There are entries for both 'Sancti Valentini presbiteri et martiris' and 'Sancti Valentini episcopi et martiris' in many of the parallel calendars (2-4, 7, 11-14, 19, 20) and martyrologies (II, III, VI, VIII-XII).

*23 February.* 'Sancti Saluini episcopi' is not recorded in any of the parallels on this day. If 'Saluini' is a slip for 'Siluani', he may be identified possibly with the Bishop Siluanus who is commemorated on 20 February along with his alleged fellow martyrs Bishops Tyrannio, Peleus, Nilus and the priest Zenobius. This group is recorded on 20 February in II, V-XII. The postponement is easily explained: Quodvultdeus' feast was pushed ahead to 20 February so as to avoid conflict with that of Barbatus on the 19th; this meant the transferral of the commemoration of Gaius from the 20th to the 21st; the 22nd was occupied by a major feast (Chair of St. Peter) whose date could hardly be changed; thus the 23rd represented the earliest possibility for Silvanus. Of course the compiler of our calendar could have avoided the changes in date by placing two feasts on the same day; regarding his disinclination to do this see p. 438 below.

*25 February.* Victorinus and his companions, martyrs in Egypt, are recorded on this day in + iii, iv, v, 4, 7, 12, II, V-XII, but he is not given any title except that of 'martiris'. Could 'Victoriani' be a variant of 'Victorini' and the addition of 'episcopi confessoris' a slip?

*26 February.* In some of the parallel Beneventan martyrologies (II, III, V, VI, VIII-XII) there is a commemoration of St. Fortunatus and his companions (martyrs at Antioch), while St. Fortunatus martyr alone appears in + iii and v. Is either to be identified with the Bishop Fortunatus listed in our calendar? The Bollandists note that, for 26 February, a manuscript of Bede's martyrology has the erroneous entry 'In civitate Pergen Pamphyliae Sancti Fortunati Episcopi et Martyris et aliorum xxx duorum', and



they suggest that 'Fortunati' should be emended to 'Nestoris' (AA SS Feb. 3.636). Although some parallel Beneventan martyrologies display an entry for Bishop Nestor (e.g., IX-XII), they do not substitute 'Fortunati' in his place. Cf. E. Munding, *Die Kalendarien von St. Gallen ...* (Texte und Arbeiten 37; Beuron, 1951), p. 41 for another commemoration of 'Fortunati episcopi' on this day.

## MARCH

3 March. 'Martini militi' for 'Marini militis'; none of the parallels give these misreadings.

5 March. 'Sancte Foce uirginis' for 'Sancti Foce'; none of the parallels repeat the error, which has been noted in a Parisian manuscript of the martyrology of Jerome (AA SS Mart. 1.364).

6 March. 'prophete' may be a mistake for 'pape'. If this is the case, + iii, iv and v offer parallels for 'Zacchariae papae' on this day. Pope Zacharias is commemorated on 15 March in 4, 7, 12, 20, II, V, VI, VIII-XII.

8 March. I have understood 'Philomenis' as a misreading of 'Philemonis'; the latter name occurs in the parallels cited above and is the appellation of a saint of masculine gender.

10 March. This name is read with difficulty (cf. Mazzocchi, *De episcoporum cultu*, p. 313: 'Croriarii Epi') and identification is uncertain. None of the parallels offers a solution or even a possible clue.

11 March. In AA SS Mart. 2.51 Victor is listed among the 'praetermissi' for this day and placed at the head of the Nicomedian martyrs (one of whom was Victorinus) who are venerated on 6 March. Only St. Victorinus is mentioned by N.

15 March. St. Longinus was venerated on several dates, and the various feast days observed in the parallels may be given here (owing to the variety and number they could not be included in the table above): on 26 March in 16, V, VI, XI-XIII; on 16 October in M; on 22 November in II, III, V, VIII-XII. The entries in the martyrologies consist generally of a simple mention of place ('apud Cesaream') and name of the saint; VII (for 15 March) gives Usuard's qualification of Longinus as the soldier 'qui latus domini lancea perforavit'. Our calendar also celebrates St. Longinus on 24 April.

16 March. The *dies natalis* of Cyriacus, Largus, Smaragdus and companions is commemorated on this date and their translation and burial by Pope Marcellus on the Via Ostia is recorded on 8 August (a feast also occurring in the calendar); cf. BS 3.1302, citing the *passio Marcelli*. In i Cyriacus is described as 'episcopi'.

19 March. On this day only iv and v cite St. Potentiana. Monaco, *Sanctuarium Capuanum*, p. 469 asserts that she is the saint whose feast is celebrated on 19 May (also recorded in our calendar), but after proposing and rejecting a possible reason why she appears in the Capuan calendars on 19 March, he then notes that this may be another Potentiana.

20 March. A 'Giliberti episcopi' does not appear in any of the parallels. 'Giliberti' could be a corruption of 'Cuthberti', i.e., Cuthbert, bishop of Lindisfarne (d. 687), who

is recorded in 4, 7, I-III, V-XIII as 'Gughbertus', 'Guathberti', 'Guthberecti', 'Gutberti', etc.

*23 March.* The African martyrs Victorianus, Frumentius, and Frumentius are venerated on this day and recorded in some of the parallels, which, however, do not characterize Victorianus as 'episcopus' (he was proconsul at Carthage). The entry in the martyrology of Usuard reads: 'In Africa, sanctorum martyrum Victoriani, Frumentii et alterius Frumentii et duorum germanorum, qui persecutione wandalica, ut scribit Victor Africanus episcopus, sub Honerico rege ...' (martyrology of Usuard, p. 199). 'Victorianus episcopus' may be a corruption of 'Victor Africanus episcopus', or, possibly, the title of 'episcopus' may have simply been wrongly assigned to Victorianus.

*30 March.* The identification of this 'Siluini martiris' is uncertain. Is 'Siluinus' a slip for 'Quirinus' (who is recorded in iv, v, 4, 7, 12, II, V-XII and whose daughter Balbina is commemorated in our calendar on 31 March)?

#### APRIL

*1 April.* According to Chioccarelli 1 April was the day (p. 86 and cited at n. 41, below) on which the feast of John I, fourteenth bishop of Naples, was usually celebrated ('festum celebrari solitum die primo Aprilis, ut ex compluribus antiquis m.s. breviriis et ecclesiasticis officiisprehendimus'). He notes, however, that there is also liturgical evidence for the celebration of the feast on 31 March and 2 April.

*2 April.* The parallels show some diversity in the date of the feast of Maria Aegyptiaca. To explain at least some of the variety: 1 April was one of the dates on which she was commemorated in the Greek Church while 2 April was introduced by Usuard and became the traditional date in the West (*BS* 8.989); 9 April is an older date for her feast in the Roman Church (*AA SS Apr.* 1.71).

*4 April.* None of the parallels records a 'Valerius confessor' on this day. On 1 April VII has the entry 'In pago Vimmay super maris transitum beati Gualerici abbatis et confessoris', i.e., St. Walaricus, abbot of Leuconay (d. 1 April 619), who may be plausibly identified with the saint in our calendar. The corruption of his name is easy to follow, and the postponement of his feast to 4 April is understandable, since 1 April was occupied by a Neapolitan bishop, 2 April by Maria Aegyptiaca whose head was in Naples (*AA SS Apr.* 1.72), and 3 April by Theodosia whose feast was postponed from 2 April. Walaricus seems to be the saint commemorated also on 19 December (postponed from 12 December); see p. 437 below.

*13 April.* 'Ermigaldi' seems to be a corruption of 'Hermenegildi', who appears in some of the parallels. The calendar wrongly describes him as 'episcopi' since Hermenegildus (d. 585) was king of the Visigoths.

*17 April.* 'Sancti Ermogasti confessoris' does not figure in any of the parallels on this date. 'Ermogasti' most closely resembles 'Armogasti', i.e., Armogastes, an African martyr whose feast is recorded in our calendar on 29 March. Possibly 17 April is intended as another commemoration of this saint; it should be observed, however, that the title of 'confessor' is mistakenly ascribed to him and that none of the parallels record

another feast of St. Armogastes on this date. 'Ermogasti' also loosely resembles 'Hermogenis', i.e., Hermogenes, martyred at Antioch with Petrus Diaconus and recorded in the parallels (P, iv, v, 12, II-XIII).

*18 April.* The name of Perfectus, presbyter and martyr of Cordova, is given as 'Prefecti' in the parallels.

*19 April.* 'Aldeberti martiris' is not represented in any parallel on this day. He may perhaps be identified as Adalbertus of Prague, bishop and martyr, whose feast is recorded on 23 April by the parallels (P, ii, iii, 1-4, 7, 10-14, 16, 18-20, II, III, V, VI, VIII-XII). The transferral of his feast to 19 April in the calendar would be understandable given its compiler's practice of recording only one important feast on each day (cf. 22 August where the feast of St. Timotheus has been put back to 21 August so that it does not conflict with the Octave of the Assumption and 8 September where the feast of St. Hadrianus has been moved forward to 9 September so as to leave only the Nativity of Mary to be recorded on the preceding day). St. Georgius, whose name is written in red ink on 23 April, is clearly an important saint in our calendar.

*21 April.* I have not been able to identify these saints.

*24 April.* For another commemoration of St. Longinus, see 15 March above.

*26 April.* Only VII commemorates St. Anacletus; on this day Cletus, pope and martyr, is named in C, E, P, iii-v, 11, 20, 22, III, X, XIII and, on 25 April, in 4, 7, II, V, VI, VIII, IX, XI, XII. L records St. Cletus on 27 April.

#### MAY

*2 May.* Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria, is also recorded in the calendar on 13 October.

*3 May.* The 'Inuentio Sanctae Crucis' is recorded in all the parallels, and most of them also commemorate Pope Alexander and companions; the latter do not appear in L, M, N, 5, 8, 15, and 21.

*4 May.* This pair of feasts does not occur on 4 May in any of the parallels. Closest to the calendar's entry is P, which has the commemoration of St. Quiriacus, bishop of Jerusalem, on 4 May and that of St. Iuuenalis, bishop of Narni ('In Armenia' in P), on 3 May. Both saints are entered on 5 May in iii, and v mentions Quiriacus only and on 4 May. In II, V, VI, VIII-XII 1 May is the date of the feast of Quiriacus and 3 May of Iuuenalis; III gives only Quiriacus (on 1 May) and VII has only Iuuenalis (on 3 May).

*5 May.* The calendar commemorates the translation of the relics of St. Audoenus, bishop of Rouen, to that city (cf. *AA SS Mai.* 2.4 'praetermissi'). On 24 August, the day of his death, he is recorded in P, i, and VII.

*10 May.* Ferrari, *Catalogus generalis sanctorum*, p. 104 n. to 8 March observes that the *dies natalis* of Cataldus, bishop of Taranto, is observed in that city on 8 March, while 10 May celebrates the invention of the relics. The feast on 8 March is not recorded in our parallels.

*12 May.* Of the three martyrs, only St. Pancratius appears in N, 15, and 21; his name has been added to that of Saints Nereus and Achilleus in C, and 8 commemorates him on 11 May (and omits the other two on 12 May).

15 May. There is no entry for this saint ('Victorine uirginis') in the parallels and I have not been able to identify her from printed sources. On 15 May Ferrari, *Catalogus generalis sanctorum*, p. 199 reads, 'Arvernus SS. martyr Cassii et Victorini cum aliis 6266', and it is tempting to speculate that the compiler misread 'Victorini m̄r' and came up with 'Victorine uir'.

18 May. Serapion, who was martyred at Alexandria with Patamon, Hortasius, and others, is expressly named in P and III; N, II, V, VI, VIII-XII mention only Patamon.

19 May. See the calendar entry and note for 19 March for another feast of St. Potentiana.

26 May. Regarding 'Ciconii episcopi' Mazzocchi, *De episcoporum cultu*, p. 323 reports Tutini's suggestion that this name is a corruption of 'Vindonii', which would make him one of the (fictitious) twelve African bishops who came to Campania. Elpidius is another of these bishops, as also were several others recorded in the calendar: Castrensis (11 February), Canio (25 May), Secundinus (29 May), and Adiutor (18 December). However, a second identification may be possible for both names in this entry: on 24 May Elpidius, bishop of Atella, and his brother Cyon presbyter are commemorated (Ferrari, *Catalogus sanctorum Italiae*, pp. 310-11 and *BS* 4.1146-48); this could be the Elpidius of our calendar, with 'Ciconii' a corruption of his brother's name and the difference in date explained by postponement.

27 May. I have not been able to identify 'Proiectus'. The feast of St. Praeiection, bishop of Clermont-Ferrand, falls on 25 January in the martyrology of Usuard; while the name of this bishop most closely resembles the entry in the calendar, the date is, of course, very distant and an explanation for its transferral to 27 May is lacking.

29 May. 'St. Secundus' is venerated on 25 May in Benevento (cf. the parallels cited which locate him 'in sancta Sophia') and 'St. Secundinus' on 27 and 28 May in Capua (as witnessed by the two calendars). Both are to be identified with Secundinus, one of the alleged twelve African bishops who came to Campania; cf. *BS* 11.811-12 and the entry for 26 May above.

#### JUNE

2 June. Except for I, which records Erasmus alone, all the parallels cited commemorate Erasmus and also the Roman martyrs Marcellus and Petrus; all three are venerated on 2 June except in 1, 7, 9, + 15, 16, 22, VI, VII, XIII where the feast of Erasmus is placed on 1 June while that of Marcellus and Petrus still occupies 2 June, and in ii which places all three on 1 June.

3 June. It may be noted that iii, the only parallel cited for 3 June, reads 'Flandinae', which Monaco, *Sanctuarium Capuanum*, p. 415 considers a misreading of 'Blandinae'.

4 June. The parallels which record a St. Quirinus on this day all characterize him as bishop and martyr; the former epithet ('episcopus') does not appear in our calendar, but it seems likely, given the evidence of the parallels, that the entry in the calendar designates Quirinus, bishop of Siscia, rather than the Quirinus who was martyred at Tivoli.

7 June. St. Audomarus is listed among the 'praetermissi' for 7 June in *AA SS Iun.* 2.4 and the feast described as 'aliqua solennitas olim habita'; in Ferrari, *Catalogus*

*generalis sanctorum*, p. 237 a feast is recorded for 8 June ('In Monasterio Sithiensis relatio S. Audomari episcopi Taruannensis'). Neither the calendar nor any of the parallels commemorates Audomarus (*Fr. Omer*) on 9 September, the date of his feast in the Roman Martyrology.

*13 June.* The identity of 'Sancti Apollonii confessoris' is uncertain; the parallels do not provide any clues. 'Apollonii' may be a slip for 'Antonii' (i.e., St. Anthony of Padua who is commemorated in some Neapolitan and Capuan parallels [C, E, L, P, + ii, + iii, + iv, v]).

*14 June.* 'Rufi et Valerii' is the entry in v; otherwise the parallels give the usual 'Valerii et Rufini'.

*23 June.* The pairing on this day of the feasts of St. Febronia and the Vigil of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist occurs also in P, iii, v, 19; the other parallels report only the Vigil on this day and omit entirely any mention of Febronia (C, E, L, N, iv, 5, 11, 16, 17, VII, XIII), or they record the Vigil on this day and the feast of Febronia on 24 June (ii, + 2, 3, 4, 7, 9, 10, 12-14, 20, II, III, V, VIII-XI) or 25 June (i, VI). The Vigil is not mentioned by M and I which give the feast of St. Febronia as 25 and 24 June respectively.

*25 June.* 'Diltrude' seems to be a corruption of 'Etheldreda', British queen and abbess, whose feast is celebrated on 23 June and appears in the parallels (the saint's name being given as 'Editrude, Hedildride, Gediltrude', etc.).

*27 June.* This line, which has been erased, can be deciphered as 'Sancti Leonis pape. Vigilia'. Both entries anticipate the actual date by one day, and a non-Beneventan hand has repeated them correctly on 28 June.

#### JULY

*3 July.* The identity of this saint is not clear. In *AA SS Iul.* 1.559 (3 July), 'Timotheus' is listed as one of the twenty-four Constantinople martyrs; he is not specifically named in any of the parallels, but some martyrologies (for example, V, IX-XII) give on 3 July the entry 'Apud Constantinopolim Sancti Eulogii' for one of the twenty-four martyrs. The martyrology of Jerome also records 'Timothei' on 3 July, and the commentary refers the reader to 30 June where there is an entry for 'Timothei' who suffered martyrdom either in Africa or at Rome (*AA SS Nov.* 2.2, 3 July, 30 June). 'Timothei martiris' is commemorated on 30 June in 5 and III and on 1 July in iii.

*4 July.* *pape* can also be used for *episcopi*; the feast is that of Martinus ep. Turonensis ('ordinatio episcopatus, translatio corporis, dedicatio basilicae').

*5 July.* 'Domitiani', presumably a variant of 'Domitii', is read in V, VI, XI, XII; the other parallels give 'Domitii' (as does Usuard). All the parallels place him in Syria.

*7 July.* 'Dominice uirginis' may be identified with the Dominica venerated on 6 July who was a Campanian martyr and whose remains are at Tropea in Calabria (*AA SS Iul.* 2.268 ff.). Her feast was overshadowed by the Octave of Peter and Paul also on 6 July and so was postponed.

*9 July.* Both Ephraem and Cyrillus are named in P, v, II, V, VI, VIII-XII; Ephraem alone appears in N, i, 7, 12, 16, 22, III, and Cyrillus alone in 4, 17, VII.

*14 July.* This combination of saints does not figure in any of the parallels; those cited in the above table for this date commemorate only 'Heracle episcopi', i.e., Heraclas, bishop of Alexandria. The identity of 'Iusti' is uncertain, and there are several possibilities: 'Iustus' bishop of Lyons is cited among the 'praetermissi' for 14 July (*AA SS Jul.* 3.600); the feast of 'Iustus' confessor of Chambon (diocese of Bourges) is celebrated on 14 July; and 'Iustus' martyr of Constantinople is also commemorated on this day. The martyrology of Jerome cites Iustus, bishop of Lyons, on 14 July and the compiler of our calendar may well have intended to commemorate two bishops on this day (as he seems to have done on 9 December, for which see below). It should be observed, however, that the entry does not give the title of bishop to either saint and that neither (Bishop) Heraclas nor (Bishop) Iustus is a martyr (I have expanded *m̄r* after *Eraclei* to *martirum*).

*22 July.* In IX a strip of parchment has been cut out and 'sancte Marie Magdalene' is written above the line in a non-Beneventan hand.

*24 July.* This assemblage of feasts does not appear in the parallels, and it is evident that the compiler has transferred the feast of St. Christophorus to 24 July so as to record only the feast of St. Iacobus Maior on 25 July. The most common pattern among the parallels is the commemoration of St. Christina and the Vigil of St. Iacobus on 24 July, while the feast of St. Christophorus occurs on 25 July; cf. C, E, N, i, ii, iv, v, 1, 4, 7, 12, 16, II, III, V, VI, VIII-XII. The other parallels are somewhat idiosyncratic and it would be tedious to go through the various combinations. I shall report only the readings of the remaining Neapolitan witnesses, which will give some idea of the possible associations: on 24 July M records only the 'Natale S. Christophori' and omits the other two feasts; on this same day L mentions the Vigil and St. Christina, while P gives only the feasts of Saints Christophorus and Christina.

#### AUGUST

*4 August.* The eulogy in P ('Rome sancti iustini presbiteri et confessoris, qui multorum martirum corpora collegit, ipsaque sepulture mandavit' [Alagi, 'Il martirologio', 225-26]) suggests that this is the St. Iustinus whose principal feast is celebrated on 17 September. Parallels recording the latter date are 12, II, V-XII. For 4 August iv reads 'Iusti presbiteri'; I have taken this to be a syncopated form of 'Iustini', particularly since he is designated as 'presbiteri'.

*7 August.* Here we may suggest that the calendar places the feast of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus on this day so that 10 August can be free for the feast of St. Laurentius. Cf. the entry in *AA SS Aug.* 2.484 ('praetermissi' for 10 August): 'SS. Septem Dormientes hoc die perperam signati sunt in variis auctariis Usuardinis, et in Pulsanensi [= VII] quidem cum aliis quatuor anonymis. Notissimus est ipsorum natalis quo de ipsis actum est XXVII Julii.' None of our parallels places this group of saints on 27 July.

*8 August.* In 22 Cyriacus is designated as 'episcopus' and martyr.

*9 August.* While both feasts appear in all the Beneventan martyrologies cited as parallels, this is not the normal pattern. C, E and P commemorate St. Romanus martyr

and the Vigil of St. Laurentius, but N has only the Vigil; the saint's name in L has been erased and the Vigil added by a later hand. As for the other calendars, v, 4 and 7 record both feasts; all the rest give only the Vigil.

*11 August.* Again these are two distinct feasts not equally reported in the parallels; St. Tiburtius and St. Susanna are mentioned, separately, in all the Beneventan martyrologies but by no means in the Capuan and Beneventan calendars. They both appear in 1, 4, 5-7, 9, 16, and Tiburtius alone is found in i-v, 2, 3, 11-14, 19, 20. The Neapolitan sources reflect the split; C, E and P give both names, while M and N record only Tiburtius. Although Tiburtius also appears in 22, he is coupled with Valerianus with whom he was martyred (their feast on 14 April in our calendar and parallels), and hence he does not seem to be the Tiburtius of 11 August who was martyred with Chromatius and others.

*13 August.* The Beneventan martyrologies record only a St. Cassianus who died at Imola, and presumably this is the saint whom our calendar commemorates and not Cassianus, bishop of Todi, who is also venerated on 13 August. Hippolytus is a Roman martyr and hence associated with neither Cassianus. The calendar's mention of both Hippolytus and Cassianus on this day is found also in all the martyrologies cited as parallels as well as in P, ii, 1-5, 7, 9-17, 19, 20, 22. In i Cassianus is commemorated on 12 August and Hippolytus on 13 August; in C, E, M, N, iii-v only Hippolytus is mentioned (all on 13 August) and likewise in 6 (on 14 August).

*14 August.* Of all the instances of days with two distinct feasts to be commemorated, those entered for 14 August are probably the most widespread also among the parallels. The feast of Eusebius presbyter and the Vigil of the Assumption are both cited in every case except for three occurrences of Eusebius alone (M, 5, 6) and four of just the Vigil (+ L, N, 1, 20). It should be noted that the entry of Eusebius in 22 ('et Sancti Eusebii pape') was made by a second Beneventan hand.

*16 August.* 'Simpliciani' is the name given in iv, II, III, VIII-X; 'Simplicii' is found in V, VI, XI, XII.

*19 August.* The parallels commemorate on this day two saints of the same name: Magnus, a Cappadocian martyr (in P, iii-v, 4, 7, 12, 17, II, III, V-XIII – in all of which he is linked with Andreas or designated simply as martyr); and Magnus, bishop of Trani (in i, ii, 9, 10, 16, 22 – where he is specifically designated as 'episcopus' and martyr). Which saint is intended by the entry in the calendar is unclear, if we consider the possibility that the scribe inadvertently omitted 'episcopi'. In 5 he is just 'sancti Magni'.

*20 August.* Only two parallels offer a name in any way similar to 'Giliberti abbatis': v with 'Philiberti abbatis' and 17 with 'Hiliberti confessoris'. The martyrology of Usuard records on this day the feast of 'Philibertus', abbot of Jumièges and Noirmoutier. Since this saint was not totally unknown in the Beneventan zone and given the compiler's penchant for including French saints in our calendar, 'Philibertus' may well be the saint who is the subject of this entry.

*23 August.* An entry for St. 'Nemesius' does not occur in any of the parallels which do record, however, on 24 August (N, P, i, 5) St. Genesius martyr and on 25 August one (4, 7, 9, 20) or two (II, V, VI, VIII-XII) saints of this name – one of whom was martyred at Rome and the other at Arles. P, the Neapolitan martyrology, commemorates the

Arles martyr on 24 August ('Arelato natale sancti genesii martiris' [Alagi, 'Il martirologio', 228]). Given the similarity in names and nearness in date, we may suggest, at least tentatively, that 'Nemesius' is a slip for 'Genesius' and that perhaps the French martyr is the subject of the entry.

24 August. The Vigil of the feast of St. Bartholomew the Apostle appears in all the parallels except for P and v, but the feast of St. Aurea is much less in evidence, having been recorded only in P, iii-v (and III on 22 August, also the date given in the martyrology of Jerome). 23 August is the date of the Vigil in 17.

25 August. This entry is written over an erasure.

27 August. Most of the parallels commemorate Rufus and Carponius, alleged Capuan martyrs, on this day; only L, M, i and VII refer simply, like the calendar, to St. Rufus martyr alone; L locates him in Naples, and the entry in VII is to 'Rufus patricius'. The identity of 'Rufus' has been much discussed; cf. *BS* 11.566-68 for various solutions. On 26 August 'Sancti Rufini confessoris' is recorded in iii and iv, and 'Rufini capuani episcopi' in v. Mallardo, *Il calendario marmoreo*, pp. 68-69 reports that 'nel cod. Vat. 5949 [= our V], della fine del sec. XII, troviamo Rufino vesc. e conf. al 27 ag.'; this claim is repeated in *BS* 11.567, but it should be noted that ms. Vat. lat. 5949 does not record this entry on 27 August, but rather the pair Rufus and Carponius as noted above. Possibly there is some confusion regarding the shelf mark of the manuscript.

30 August. In Tutini's notes on the calendar (Mazzocchi, *De episcoporum cultu*, p. 321), he identifies this bishop with Paul, patriarch of Constantinople and martyr (688-694). Mazzocchi, however, disagrees and states that he is to be identified with Paulus, fifth bishop of Naples, whose feast, according to Mazzocchi, is celebrated on 23 August in M (*ibid.*, p. 316). Delehay, 'Hagiographie napolitaine', 32 (23 August) cites the views of earlier scholars who identify the saint as either the fifth bishop of Naples (thus agreeing with Mazzocchi) or the patriarch of Constantinople (as Tutini had thought), but he himself does not make a choice. These various possibilities are surveyed by Mallardo, *Il calendario marmoreo*, pp. 66-69. While none of the parallels has an entry for 'Sancti Pauli episcopi confessoris' on 30 August, they do, however, commemorate on 31 August St. Paulinus (given as 'Paulini' or 'Pauli'), bishop of Trier and confessor (P, + iv, v, 4, 5, 12, II-XIII). In our calendar, 31 August is left blank; 31 October is also left blank, and in this latter instance there has clearly been a mistake (see below, p. 438). I would like to suggest that a similar confusion may be observed in the case of 30 August and that the entry should have been made on 31 August since the saint in question is not the fifth bishop of Naples or the patriarch of Constantinople but the bishop of Trier. The slip could have been all the easier since another bishop may have also been commemorated on 30 August in Naples: M names on this date a St. Felix 'episcopus' (identified by Delehay, *ibid.*, 32 as Felix, bishop of Thibiuca) and P reads 'In Venusia civitate apulie, natale sanctorum felicis episcopi et audacti et ianuarii presbiteri, et fortunatiani et septimini lectorum. Item domino felix' (Alagi, 'Il martirologio', 229). Conceivably, then, the scribe, misled by the title 'episcopus', may have advanced the feast of Paulinus of Trier by one day, which resulted in a blank for 31 August.

Against the plausibility of this identification is the fact that the entry on 30 August is written in red ink, thereby indicating, seemingly, a saint with some significance for



Naples. So far as is known, Paulinus of Trier has no special connection with Naples, and his name is not entered in red in any of the parallels, including P. Nor are the names of Felix and Audactus written in red in C, E and N, none of which describes either as 'episcopus' (in the martyrology of Jerome the two saints are designated as simply martyrs, at Rome). Possibly the scribe's use of red ink is an inadvertent imitation of the entry for 29 August, also written in red.

## SEPTEMBER

*5 September.* Thutail is one of the few Greek saints named in M who also appear in our calendar; see below, p. 439.

*6 September.* The identity of 'Sancti Herberti episcopi confessoris' is uncertain. He does not appear in any of our parallels. Ferrari, *Catalogus generalis sanctorum*, p. 356 reports for this day, 'In monasterio Maricolensi S. Humberti episcopi Foroiuliensis' (= Fréjus), and he observes in a note that 6 September marks the date of the translation of Humbertus and 25 March that of his death.

*7 September.* The identity of 'Sancti Pamphi episcopi confessoris' is uncertain. He appears in ii and v as 'Pamphili episcopi et confessoris'; Baronius, in the Roman Martyrology, assigns him to Capua, perhaps because his name appears in these two Capuan calendars on this day, but Monaco, *Sanctuarium Capuanum*, pp. 540-41 (in his commentary on v) does not confirm that he is a local saint, and 'Pamphilus' does not appear in the list of Capuan bishops. In *AA SS Sept.* 3.66 (7 September) he is geographically located simply as 'in Regno Neapolitano'. For a survey of the question and relevant bibliography, cf. *BS* 10.92-93. Finally, it may be noted that in 11 there is the entry 'Pamphili martiris' for 7 September.

*13 September.* The transferral of Pope Sergius I (d. 701, but not as a martyr) from 9 September, as in the parallels, to 13 September in our calendar may have been prompted, at least in part, by the compiler's wish to link more closely (since Sergius discovered a piece of the Cross) with the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross on 14 September. This shift would be easier since 9 September is occupied in our calendar by St. Hadrianus, whose feast was advanced by one day so as not to conflict on 8 September with the Nativity of Mary.

*18 September.* None of the parallels records the feast of a St. Eugenia, virgin and martyr, on this day. Is she the saint who is associated with Saints Protus and Hyacinthus venerated on 11 September in our calendar and whose father Philippus is commemorated on 13 September in some parallels (P, v, 12, II, V-XII)? If this is the case, the occurrence of her feast on 18 September in our calendar may be the result of an arbitrary but not entirely illogical decision by the compiler acting in accord with his general principle of recording only one important feast on each day: in the martyrology of Jerome, Usuard and the Roman Martyrology the feast of the St. Eugenia connected with Protus, Hyacinthus and Philippus falls on 25 December, when it would conflict with and be overshadowed by the Nativity of Jesus. Some transferral of her feast to September is evident in the Capuan calendars: on 13 September iii and v commemorate

respectively 'Eugeniae virginis et martiris' and 'Philippi episcopi et martiris patris s. Eugeniae'.

*20 September.* Both feasts, namely, that of Saints Fausta and Evilasius and the Vigil of St. Matthew, are recorded in iv, v, 4, II, III, V-XII; the Vigil alone is mentioned in i-iii, C, E, 2, 3, 7, 9, + 10, 11-14, 16, 17, 19, 20, XIII, and Faustus and Evilasius alone in N, P, 5.

*23 September.* None of the parallels places both feasts on this day. C, E and P follow the calendar in their commemoration of Pope Linus, but they pass over the feast of St. Thecla; M and N, on the other hand, skip Linus and commemorate Thecla on 24 September. Thecla alone is named on 23 September in 2-4, + 10, 11-14, 19, II-XII and on 25 September in 9; she is commemorated on 17 November in 15, I, III, X-XIII.

Much more frequently encountered in the parallels than 23 September for Linus (the date given by later codices of the martyrology of Jerome and by the Roman Martyrology [cf. *BS* 8.57]) is Bede's date of 7 October for this saint (found in N, II, III, V, VI, VIII-XII). Ado's and Usuard's date of 26 November for Linus appears in P, v, VII, and he is commemorated on 27 November in iii and iv (Monaco, *Sanctuarium Capuanum*, pp. 421, 434, although, in his commentary on feasts celebrated on 26 November in v, he mentions [p. 562] that iii and iv also celebrate Linus on 26 November).

*28 September.* While none of the parallels records St. Iustina on this day, they do record on 26 September (in E, P, iii-v, 4, 12, II, III, V-XII) or 25 September (in C, XIII) the martyrdom of Saints Cyprianus and Iustina, and on 26 September Iustina alone is given in N. Given the compiler's general practice of allotting only one feast to each day, the Iustina of 28 September could also be the Iustina of 26 September, the postponement of the feast to the 28th being explained by the occurrence of the more important feast of Saints Cosmas and Damianus on the 27th.

#### OCTOBER

*1 October.* The parallel calendars and Neapolitan sources do not mention any 'socii' of Remigius, and the entry in our calendar may be based on an entry similar to that in II-XII, deriving from Usuard, which couples the *translationes* of Remigius, bishop of Rheims, and Germanus, bishop of Auxerre ('Translatio [uel Depositio] sanctorum confessorum Germani et Remigii ...'). Germanus is also venerated in our calendar on 31 July (his *dies natalis*).

*3 October.* The parallels do not record 'Arnulfi martiris' on this day. In *AA SS Oct.* 2.2 'Arnulphus Mosomensis' (of Mouzon) is listed among the 'praetermissi' for 3 October: is he to be identified with the entry in our calendar? Neither the calendar itself nor any of the parallels records his feast on 24 July (treated in *AA SS Iul.* 5).

*4 October.* Traces of the name once written here in red can be deciphered as 'Sci Fra s i' and the symbol for 'confessoris', which yield 'Sancti Francisci confessoris'. Of the parallels, C, E, L, P, ii-v, + 10, 11, + 19, + V, + VI, + IX also commemorate this saint.

*12 October.* 'Sancti Eustochii (Eustachii, Eustasii) presbiteri' is recorded in + iii, + iv, v, III, IV, VII on this day. It is not clear whether the entry in our calendar refers to

him ('episcopi' being a slip for 'presbiteri') or to Eustathius, patriarch of Antioch, who is listed among the 'praetermissi' in *AA SS Oct.* 6.2 for 12 October and whose feast on 16 July is recorded in P, II, V-XII.

*15 October.* Although our calendar names only Modestus on this day, all the parallels give also Lupulus who is associated with him. N and IV, however, cite only Lupulus.

*20 October.* The parallels have various entries for 'Zosimus' on this day. In P, II, VIII-X, XIII he is connected with Pozzuoli and called a bishop ('Puteolis sancti Zosimi episcopi'), while V, VI, XI, XII read 'Beneuenti sancti Zosimi episcopi'. He appears simply as 'Sancti Zosimi episcopi' in ii, + iii, + iv, v, 1, 4, 7, 9, 12, 16 (and i on 19 October), and even more simply in N as 'Sancti Zosimi'. In III and IV he is not a bishop but rather one of a group of martyrs, some of his companions being Datius, Ianuarius, and Dorothea. For the confusion surrounding the identity of this saint and the possibility that his name might be a corruption of 'Sosius', cf. *BS* 12.1473-74.

*23 October.* 'Molonis' seems to be a corruption of 'Melloni', i.e., Mellonus, bishop of Rouen and confessor, whose feast is celebrated on 22 October. A similar name does not appear in the parallels on 22 or 23 October.

*24-27 October.* For speculation concerning a possible slip by the scribe or compiler which resulted in the advancement of these feasts each by one day, see below, p. 438 n. 36.

*28 October.* This entry is written by a non-Beneventan hand over an erasure; the original reading cannot be deciphered.

*30 October.* The inclusion of the Vigil of All Saints on this day in our calendar is unique so far as the parallels are concerned; C, E, + L, P, i-iv, 1-4, 7, 9, + 10, 11-14, 16, 17, 19, 20, II, III, V-XII all record (correctly) the Vigil on 31 October. Maximus, the martyr venerated at Cumae and later translated to Naples, is commemorated on 30 October in all the parallels cited in the table above, and on 31 October in iii; he is not named in VII.

#### NOVEMBER

*3 November.* Agricola is a feminine saint in our calendar but masculine in the parallels, which couple him with Vitalis and report the dates given for this pair in the martyrologies of Jerome (3 November) and Usuard (27 November).

*4 November.* 'Sancti Eustochii martiris' does not appear on this day in any of the parallels. Presumably he is to be identified with Eustachius whose feast is recorded in our calendar on 20 May and celebrated also on 20 September, 1 and 2 November. The two latter dates do not appear in the parallels, but P commemorates him on 20 September.

*7 November.* While there is no mention of 'Sancti Michaelis episcopi confessoris' in any of the parallels on this day, some of them (P, 4, II, V-XII) record 'Apud Alexandriam beati Achille episcopi' (= Achilles). Possibly 'Michaelis' is a corruption of 'Achille'?

*15 November.* Fidentianus, leader of a group martyred at Hippo, is designated as 'episcopus' by Augustine; cf. the martyrology of Jerome (15 November, note) and *BS* 7.879-80.

*16 November.* None of the parallels commemorate 'Sancti Columbani martiris' on this day. An entry for Columbanus, founder and abbot of the monastery of Bobbio, is noted on 21 November (date in the first recension of Usuard) in P, VII and on 23 November (date in the martyrology of Jerome and second recension of Usuard) in 4, II-V, VIII-XII. If the Columbanus of 16 November is to be identified with the Columbanus of Bobbio, we may speculate that his feast was transferred so as to avoid a conflict on 23 November with Pope Clement I, whose feast, to judge from its appearance in the parallels, was much more widely celebrated in medieval southern Italy. Since the Columbanus of Bobbio was not a martyr, we may also suggest that 'martiris' (in our calendar *m* with a 2-sign superscript) is a slip for 'monachi' ('m').

*19 November.* Odo, second abbot of Cluny (d. 18 November 942), may appear in our calendar primarily because he is a 'French' saint. Certainly the ties of Cava with Cluny were strong and it is not surprising to find an entry for him in 9: Alferius, founder and first abbot of Cava, received his monk's habit at Cluny, and Petrus, third abbot of Cava, spent eight years at Cluny (cf. L. Mattei Cerasoli, ed., *Vitae quatuor priorum abbatum cavensium Alferii, Leonis, Petri et Constabilis auctore Hugone abbate venusino* [Rerum italicarum scriptores 6.5; Bologna, 1941], pp. 6, 17).

*27 November.* Presumably 'Sancti Iacobi episcopi confessoris' is to be identified with the 'Sanctus Iacobus de Perside' recorded in M, although in the latter he is a martyr and not a bishop (for M's entry cf. Delehay, 'Hagiographie napolitaine', 41). See p. 439 below for other Greek saints appearing both in M and our calendar.

*28 November.* 'Saturninus' is the name of two saints venerated on 29 November: one a martyr at Rome and the other martyr and bishop of Toulouse. While both appear in Beneventan martyrologies (II, V, VII-XII), 'Saturninus episcopus' is not expressly recorded in the other parallels whose entries give, like the calendar, 'Sancti Saturnini martiris' or link him with Rome and his companion Sisinnius or read simply 'Sancti Saturnini'. The Neapolitan parallels fall in this last category except for P which couples him with Sisinnius, and it is more probable, then, that the entry in our calendar refers to the Roman martyr Saturninus.

#### DECEMBER

*1 December.* Our calendar gives 'Candidi' for 'Candide' (the Roman female martyr venerated on this day), and a similar slip occurs in P, iii, iv, 5, IV, VII. Both saints – Eligius, bishop of Noyon, and Candida (Candidus) – are recorded in the parallels, mostly in the martyrologies (II, V, VII-XII) but also in iii and iv; P, ii, 4, 5, 7, 10, 17, III, IV, XIII commemorate Candida (Candidus) alone, while E, L, v have entries only for Eligius.

*3 December.* Only iii and + iv commemorate, like our calendar, Faustinus and Dafrosa on this day. Dafrosa's feast falls on 4 January in the martyrology of Usuard and

likewise in some of the parallel Beneventan martyrologies (II, V, VI, VIII, IX, XI, XII); it may have been transferred to 3 December as a 'companion' feast to that of her daughter Bibiana celebrated on 2 December (and recorded in P, ii, + iii, + iv, v, 3-5, 7, 10-14, 19, 20, II-V, VII-XII).

9 December. 'Cenonis' seems to be an orthographical variant of 'Zenonis': a 'Zenoni(s) episcopi' is recorded on this day in 1, 7, 16, 22 and 'Zenoni(s) confessoris' appears in V, XII, XIII. Since the abbreviation 'epi' is given in the calendar after 'Urbani', this has been expanded above as 'episcopi', which would seem to apply to 'Urbani' alone. Given the information in the parallels, it may be that the entry in our calendar is intended to commemorate two bishops. Hence 'Cenonis' may be plausibly identified with Zeno, bishop of Verona, and the feast as the dedication of the Basilica of St. Zeno which, since it falls on 8 December, has been postponed by one day in our calendar. This identification is supported by the entry in 22 which reads 'Zenonis episcopi et Proculi martiris', for the dedication of the church of St. Proculus at Verona took place on 9 December (on the dedications of both churches cf. *BS* 12.1478 and F. Halkin's review of V. Fainelli, *Codice diplomatico veronese* 1 [Venice, 1940] in *Analecta bollandiana* 62 [1944] 269).

None of the parallels mentions 'Urbani episcopi' on this day. Ferrari, *Catalogus sanctorum Italiae*, pp. 760-61 reports the feast of Urbanus, third bishop of Teano, on 7 December. If he is to be identified with the bishop in our calendar, the postponement of his feast from 7 to 9 December is understandable given the prominence of the feasts of 7 December (St. Ambrose) and 8 December (Immaculate Conception).

10 December. The two dates for Pope Melchiades result from the entry in the *Liber pontificalis* which wrongly assigns 10 December as the day of his death; 10 January, the correct date, is that found in Bede.

11 December. 'martiris' (originally read in the manuscript and given above in the transcription) has been corrected to 'confessoris' by a non-Beneventan hand.

16 December. St. 'Secundinus' does not appear in any of the parallels on this day, and his identity is uncertain.

19 December. 'Sancti Valarii confessoris' may designate St. Walaricus who is venerated in the diocese of Amiens on 12 December (anniversary of the second translation). His *dies natalis* is also recorded in the calendar and, like this feast, it has been postponed (from 1 April to 4 April).

20 December. All the parallels cited above on this day record only the Vigil of St. Thomas. Is 'Sancti Abalis abbatis' to be identified with Navalis, the Ravenna martyr, who appears in N on 16 December as 'Sancti Nabbalis'? While the names are similar and there is some citation of Navalis in the parallels (on 15 December in 12, II, III, V, VIII-XII and 16 December in XIII), the title 'abbatis' is not given to him in N and the Beneventan martyrologies.

22 December. The parallels cited above display the date assigned to Pope Zephyrinus by the martyrology of Jerome (20 December). He is also recorded on 26 August, the date given in the martyrology of Usuard, in C, E, 12, II, V-XII.

25 December. Space was left in XI, presumably for the entry of this feast in an elaborate form (gold letters?), but the insertion was never made.

## III

If we consider the evidence supplied by the parallels, what emerge as the distinctive features of the entries in our calendar are these:

(1) the calendar is certainly Neapolitan in origin – witness the ‘local’ saints who are recorded therein and by other Neapolitan sources but nowhere else among the parallels. These include seven bishops of Naples, all of whom are specifically designated as Neapolitan (Agrippinus, Euphebius, Severus, Iohannes, Victor, Pomponius, Athanasius 1), together with Restituta, Gaudiosus, Gregorius Armenius and Patricia, patroness of the city. In addition, the calendar commemorates other saints venerated especially but not exclusively at Naples, such as Margarita and Agnellus.

(2) instances are fairly numerous where the date given in the calendar differs from all the parallels, including those from Naples. They show the compiler’s general preference for the commemoration of only a single feast for each day and prove that, as a consequence, he was not at all adverse to advancing or postponing the date of a feast, even for Neapolitan saints. Some changes in date which appear to be genuine and not merely slips<sup>36</sup> affect the following: (January) Gregorius Nazianzenus, Clerus, Ignatius; (February) Zoticus, Irenaeus and companions, Quodvultdeus, Gaius; (April) Iohannes ep. Neap., Adalbertus; (May) Desiderius; (June) Silverius, Febronia, Etheldreda; (July) Rufina and Secunda, Marina; (August) VII Dormientes, Timotheus, Patricia; (September) Hadrianus, Gorgonius, Sergius, Euphemia, Sosius; (October) Pelagia, Ursula; (November) Theodorus, Columbanus, Saturninus; (December) Agnellus, Valerianus, Ananias and companions, Zephyrinus, David. Advancement or postponement is especially apt to occur if a major feast is involved; a good example is the commemoration of the Nativity of Mary on 8 September, which in our calendar causes the feasts of Saints Hadrianus and Gorgonius to be postponed to 9 and 10 September respectively.

<sup>36</sup> The advancement of the feast of Paulinus, bishop of Trier, from 31 to 30 August (see the note on this entry, pp. 432-33 above) may be owing to a simple slip by the scribe, who then leaves 31 August blank. A similar mishap may be responsible for the advancing of the feasts of Chrysanthus and Daria, Demetrius, Gaudiosus, Vigil of Simon and Juda, feast of Simon and Juda, and Vigil of All Saints from 25, 26, 27, 28 and 31 October to 24, 25, 26, 27 and 30 October respectively. In these instances two slips may be involved, the first occurring on 24 October with the insertion of the feast of Chrysanthus and Daria which then throws off the next three feasts, including the Vigil and feast of Simon and Juda. Since this is the only case of the transferral of a major feast in the calendar like that of the apostles, 26 and 27 October for Simon and Juda are probably erroneous rather than deliberate. The second slip in October occurs with the assigning of the Vigil of All Saints to the 30th and not the 31st. The feast itself is entered correctly on 1 November, and so the celebration of the Vigil two days and not one day before the feast must be an oversight.

(3) dependence on M is slight. There are only three feasts, all of 'eastern' saints, which M and our calendar share to the exclusion of the other parallels, namely, Ignatius on 30 January (29 January in M), Thuthail on 5 September, and Iacobus on 27 November (see the note on p. 436 above). This is not to say, however, that the calendar does not commemorate other 'eastern' saints; it does, but it shares these saints with the parallels and not just with M whose selections among the 'eastern' possibilities are quite different. Nor does the calendar follow M very closely in Neapolitan entries: of the twenty-one bishops of Naples recorded in M, our calendar commemorates six while adding another.<sup>37</sup> Finally, while M in approximately twenty-five cases has double or triple commemorations of the same feast,<sup>38</sup> our calendar has only five such double commemorations (Ignatius, Gaius, Longinus, Athanasius ep. Alex., Eustachius).

(4) there are commemorations of many French saints or feasts, namely, Hilarius. Sabina (of Troyes), Helena (translation to the monastery of Hautvilliers, diocese of Rheims), Romanus, Albinus, Aphrodisius, Walaricus (see notes above for 4 April and 19 December), Audoenus, Peregrinus, Desiderius, Blandina, Audomarus, Medardus, Martinus, Germanus, Cassianus, Philibertus (see note above for 20 August), Genesisius (see note above for 23 August), Firminus, Remigius, Arnulphus, Firmatus, Dionysius and companions, Nicasius, Mellonus, Leonardus, Bricius, Odo, Eligius.

(5) there are many commemorations of bishops: seventy-four saints are so termed, and approximately another twenty are commemorated but without the title. Of all these, French and Italian bishops make up the majority. There are some instances where, perhaps because of lack of familiarity with the saint in question, the scribe seems to enter wrongly 'episcopi'; such cases occur usually when the commemoration is reported in the parallels by the martyrologies but not by 'liturgical' calendars (e.g., 'Victoriani episcopi' and 'Fortunati episcopi', on whom see the notes above for 25 and 26 February respectively).

The French-episcopal combination is unusual for the Beneventan zone, for none of the investigated parallels reflects the pairing, or even one of the two elements, to any noticeable degree. To examine this blending further. Some of the French saints listed in (4) who were also bishops, such as Hilarius (Poitiers), Germanus (Auxerre), Remigius (Rheims), Dionysius (Paris), Martinus (Tours), Bricius (Tours), were 'common property' in the Beneventan zone and commemorated in many of our parallel calendars and martyrologies. The

<sup>37</sup> Mallardo, *Il calendario lotteriano*, p. 174 has a convenient table of the bishops recorded in M, L and our calendar. The one bishop added is Athanasius 1; see above, p. 385 n. 1.

<sup>38</sup> See Delhaye, 'Hagiographie napolitaine', 49-51 for the repetitions in M.

others, however, were evidently not venerated as widely since they appear in only a few parallel calendars and/or martyrologies; these include Albinus (bishop of Anjou), Aphrodisius (bishop of Béziers), Peregrinus (bishop of Auxerre), Desiderius (bishop of Langres<sup>39</sup>), Blandina, Medardus (bishop of Noyon), Martinus (*ordinatio episcopatus, translatio corporis, dedicatio basilicae* on 4 July), Cassianus (bishop of Autun), Philibertus, Firminus (bishop of Amiens), Firmatus, Nicasius (bishop of Rouen), and Odo. For Helena, Walaricus (both dates), Audoenus (bishop of Rouen), Audomarus (bishop of Thérouanne), Arnulphus, and Mellonus (bishop of Rouen), our calendar provides the only testimony for the southern Italian sources that have been explored. It may also be observed that, in addition to the six last-named saints, there are no entries in E and L for Aphrodisius, Peregrinus, Desiderius, Blandina, Medardus, Martinus (4 July), Cassianus, Genesius, Firminus, Firmatus, Nicasius, and Odo, and hence this group of eighteen saints does not seem to have had a 'liturgical' commemoration at Naples. The scribe's unfamiliarity with the French saints resulted, presumably, in the garbling in our calendar of some of their names, e.g., 'Giliberti' for 'Philiberti', 'Molonis' for 'Melloni', 'Genesii' for 'Nemesii' (provided, of course, that the identifications suggested above in the notes are correct). 'Historically' speaking, the deliberate inclusion of so many French saints in a Neapolitan calendar points at least to the second half of the thirteenth century when the Angevins began their nearly 200-year rule of Naples.

Further precisions in dating can also be made, I think, if we consider a possible provenance for the calendar. Although we have, unfortunately, no explicit information on this question, it is possible on several grounds to suggest that it once belonged to a manuscript in the Archivio Ebdomadariale of the Collegio degli Ebdomadari, Naples. The holdings of this archive are now in the Archivio Storico Diocesano, Naples, as the *fondo Ebdomadario*. Cod. misc. 1 of this *fondo* contains, in addition to E and L noted on p. 393 above, an *Ordo ad unguendum infirmum* (fasc. II) and an *Ordo ad visitandum infirmum* (fasc. X) which seem to have formed part at one time of the same manuscript as our calendar. Their measurements of actual size (235-239 × 168-169 mm.) and written space (166 × c. 100 mm.) are identical with those of the calendar, and the general aspect of the script is the same, although the two *Ordines* seem to have been written by a different hand. The script of the calendar is smaller, because the scribe had to fit counting headings and entries, 31, 33 or 34 lines

<sup>39</sup> Desiderius, bishop of Langres and Desiderius, bishop of Vienne are both commemorated on 23 May. I have interpreted the entry in the calendar for 24 May (and in the parallels that give simply 'Sancti Desiderii episcopi') to refer to the bishop of Langres since he is the Desiderius mentioned in P, II, III, V-XII.



on a page, while in both fasc. II and fasc. X there are only 23 lines per page and the script is more calligraphic in that the letters appear to touch each other much more often than is the case in the calendar (see the plates of fasc. II and fasc. X at the end of this article).

Besides palaeographical and codicological facts, there is a further piece of evidence linking the calendar with fascs. II and X of Cod. misc. 1. The complete title given by Tutini for the calendar is 'Kalendarium uetus Ecclesiae Neapolitanae praefixum Rituali iam dicto', the 'Ritualis iam dicto' being that referred to in the general title preceding his preface: 'E uetusto M.S. Rituali S. E. Neapolitanae Excerpta et in ea Obseruationes'. Since no title is found in ms. Comites latentes 195, it must have been supplied by Tutini and must represent a state of affairs when the calendar and the *Rituale* formed one manuscript. The 'Excerpta' from this *Rituale* comprise texts dealing, in order, with the sacraments of baptism and matrimony, procedure to be followed in visiting the sick, and the office of the dead; they were published from the autograph of Antonio Caracciolo in ms. VIII B 26 by Ferdinando Procaccini who thought that they showed traces of the *Cerimoniale* issued in May 1337 by Giovanni Orsini, archbishop of Naples, and may have served as the basis of this *Cerimoniale*.<sup>40</sup> Bartolomeo Chioccarelli reports of Orsini's activity:

... Ioannes die primo Maii 1337 omnes suae ecclesiae consuetudines, ceremonias, et solennitates seruari solitas, in scriptis redigi curauit, reformauit, ac seruari iussit, in diuinis nempe officiis pro Dei, et Sanctorum cultu celebrandis, generalibus item, ac particularibus Cleri processionibus gestandis, sacris etiam spectaculis, et ludis populo exhibendis, ac in obsequiis ab eius ciuitatis Cleris, Latino nempe, et Graeco Neapolitano Antistiti, et cathedrali ecclesiae praestandis per totum annum, quorum rituum magna iam pars temporum curriculo antiquata est.<sup>41</sup>

The salient point in all this as regards our calendar is simply that the text given by Caracciolo for the visiting of the sick ('Ordo officii ad visitandum

<sup>40</sup> F. Procaccini, *Il rituale antico della chiesa napoletana* (Naples, 1886), p. 8: '... certo esso [i.e., the excerpts from the *Rituale*] in molte parti mostra le tracce della riforma fatta dei nostri riti dell'arcivescovo Giovanni Orsini' and p. 34: 'Il famoso libro detto il *comito*, le *costituzioni orsiniane*, il rituale ora illustrato, che forse fu base di queste ... formano già un discreto patrimonio ...'. In the section on baptism, Caracciolo ventures the opinion that the *Rituale* was written about 1190 (or 1150 – the numeral on fol. 9r of ms. VIII B 26 is hard to decipher); cf. *ibid.*, p. 38: 'Sed Neapolim nihilominus, per multa etiam post Carolum Magnum Saecula retinuisse mersionem, ex hac Rituali, quod circiter annum Christi 1190 (50?) scriptum videtur, apertissime constat.' An incomplete copy of the excerpts, beginning towards the start of the section on matrimony, is also found in the autograph of Tutini (ms. Branc. I F 2, fols. 30r-35v).

<sup>41</sup> B. Chioccarelli, *Antistitum praeclarissimae neapolitanae ecclesiae catalogus* ... (Naples, 1643), pp. 221-22.

infirmum') is virtually identical with that of fasc. X in Cod. misc. 1.<sup>42</sup> Hence the calendar, fasc. X and fasc. II (whose text is not included by Caracciolo among the 'Excerpta' but was shown above to be a *membrum disiectum* of the same manuscript as fasc. X) were once very closely associated as indicated by Tutini's title for the calendar.

This joining of the three components was not envisaged by Mallardo, who also knew the *Ordo ad ungendum infirmum* and *Ordo ad visitandum infirmum* in what is now Cod. misc. 1, fascs. II and X. In his edition of the former, he remarked on the fact that both *Ordines* displayed similarity of script, number of lines, and width of margin but thought nonetheless that the *Ordo ad ungendum infirmum* was older, dating it to saec. XII/XIII and the *Ordo ad visitandum infirmum* to saec. XIII.<sup>43</sup> He also dismissed Procaccini's hypothesis that the *Ordo ad visitandum infirmum* was in some way connected with Orsini's Cerimoniale for the reason that one of the saints named in the litany is commemorated in the 'Kalendarium Tutinianum' of the end of the twelfth century but not in any of the later Neapolitan calendars.<sup>44</sup> Mallardo did not return to the problem of the

<sup>42</sup> Procaccini, *Il rituale antico*, pp. 43-50; ms. VIII B 26, fols. 12v-17r. The text of fasc. X agrees with the transcription of Caracciolo in every respect except for his omission, doubtless through homoeoteleuton, of some saints in the litany: 'Sancte Iohannes baptista. Intercede pro anima famuli tui' is missing after 'Omnes sancti angeli et arcangeli. Intercedite pro anima famuli tui'; after writing 'Sancte Andrea', who is followed by 'Sancte Iacobe' in fasc. X, Caracciolo seems to have skipped instead to the 'Sancte Iacobe' invoked three lines down and so instead of 'Sancte Andrea. Sancte Iacobe. Sancte Iohannes. Sancte Thoma. Sancte Iacobe. Sancte Philippe' as in fasc. X, his transcription reads 'Sancte Andrea. Sancte Iacobe. Sancte Philippe'; 'Sancte Mathee' is missing between 'Sancte Bartholomee' and 'Sancte Simon'. The text of fasc. X begins incomplete at the litany (with 'Sancte Gabriel') and breaks off at the antiphon 'Chorus angelorum te suscipi -' (Procaccini, pp. 46-48 and ms. VIII B 26, fols. 13r-16r); hence Caracciolo's transcription is very useful since it preserves portions of the text now missing from fasc. X.

<sup>43</sup> D. Mallardo, *Ordo ad ungendum infirmum* (Naples, 1938), p. 18: 'Hic Ordo ad ungendum est coniungendus cum Ordine commendationis animae, cuius partem fasciculus X cod. Hebd. servavit, et quem integrum ex ms. Tutini (*sic*) edidit Procaccinius, sub titulo Ordinis "ad visitandum infirmum". Utrique fasciculi exarati sunt eadem aetate; iidem sunt characteres, idem numerus linearum, eiusdem latitudinis marginum spatia. Ordinem ad ungendum, antiquiore aetate, ut mihi videtur, confectum, censeo ....' In this slim volume are collected the parts of his study (entitled 'Ordo ad ungendum infirmum. Ex cod. neapol. saec. XII/XIII') published in various issues of *Rivista di scienze e lettere* from 1932 to 1937.

<sup>44</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 5-6: 'Ex ms. A. Caraccioli edidit Rituale illud Ferdinandus Procaccini *Il Rituale antico della Chiesa Napoletana*, 1886, qui tamen Tutinianum exemplar haud cognovit, nec compertum habuit archetypum membranaceum eius Ordinis, cuius partem ego detexi in fasciculo X eiusdem codicis Archivi Hebdomad.... Arbitratus est Procaccinius Rituale cod. VIII. B. 26 Iohanni Ursino archiepiscopo Neapolitano tribuendum, et partem esse *Rituum* quos Ursinus anno 1337 "in scriptis redigi curavit, reformavit, ac servari iussit". Quae Procacciniana sententia nullis validis argumentis innixa, quantum a vero discrepet, non est hic locus declarandi. Satis erit animadvertere membranas quae partem eius Ordinis servaverunt exaratas esse manu Beneventana saec. XIII. Ad Iohannem Ursinum nullo modo pertinere posse censeo Ordinem ad ungendum infirmum, cuius editionem principem hic infra dabo. Scriptura enim foliorum quae

connection of the 'Kalendarium Tutinianum' with the Cerimoniale even after he located the original of the calendar in a Beneventan manuscript and changed his dating to the early thirteenth century.<sup>45</sup> Had he produced his promised study of the 'Kalendarium Tutinianum', its entries might have prompted him to make a more extensive exploration of the question.

Can we resolve this matter if we agree that the calendar, *Ordo ad unguendum infirmum* and *Ordo ad visitandum infirmum* are parts of the same manuscript described as a 'Rituale' by Tutini and Caracciolo but perhaps equally well characterized as a 'Cerimoniale'? And does the 'Rituale-Cerimoniale' owe its existence to the reforms of Archbishop Orsini and hence was copied in the fourteenth century? The script of the calendar and the two *Ordines* does have a 'late' look, and there is nothing to prevent the use of Beneventan in the fourteenth century in Naples since the hand was still being written there in the sixteenth century.<sup>46</sup>

An entirely satisfactory answer in favor of Tutini's and Caracciolo's 'Rituale' being actually a part of Orsini's 'Cerimoniale' may never be possible since we do not have any idea of the wording of this text. Nowhere, apparently, is a section of the document quoted and identified as such. While the subject matter of the *Ordo ad unguendum infirmum* and *Ordo ad visitandum infirmum* is of the sort likely to have been included, by itself it cannot provide the necessary proof of date and provenance.

Thus the burden falls on the calendar. It has already been suggested that the presence of numerous French feasts points to Angevin rule and therefore to at least the second half of the thirteenth century. The commemoration of the

illum servaverunt saec. xiv assignari non potest, et anno 1337 est certe multo antiquior. Liturgiae Neapolitanae statum Orsino antiquiorem denotat etiam nostri Ordinis Litanía, in qua plures adsunt Sancti Neapolitani, vel Neapoli culti, qui post saec. xiii oblitterati fuerunt, et, utcumque, in Kalendaríis Neapolitanis aut omnino desunt, ut Zosimas, aut in solo Tutiniano, quod ad saec. xii ex. pertinet, consignati reperiuntur, in ceteris posterioris aetatis desunt, ut Arsenius, Macharius, Paphnutius.'

It may be observed that Mallardo's treatment of Procaccini, besides being brief to the point of cryptic, is not quite accurate. Admittedly Procaccini's views on the origin and date of the *Rituale* in ms. VIII B 26 are somewhat hazy, but he never says directly that the fragments which he published are the surviving remains of Orsini's document; he seems to regard them at one point as a possible source used by Orsini (cf. n. 40 above).

<sup>45</sup> We do not know what prompted this change in date. I suspect that, after examining the traces remaining of the entry for 4 October, he realized that it was a commemoration of St. Francis of Assisi, which would place the calendar in at least the early thirteenth century.

<sup>46</sup> For a study of six codices written in Beneventan during the sixteenth century at the Neapolitan monasteries of Santa Patrizia and San Gregorio Armeno see n. 9 above. I have discovered another codex in Beneventan that can also be assigned to the sixteenth century, and I plan to publish a study of it in an article forthcoming in *Mediaeval Studies*.

Immaculate Conception on 8 December also suggests a date not earlier than the thirteenth century when the feast is first recorded in one of our Beneventan parallels.<sup>47</sup> This date can be pushed forward to the fourteenth century because of the calendar's entry of the feast of All Souls on 2 November, which is first recorded by our parallels of the fourteenth century.<sup>48</sup> If the calendar were indeed compiled in the fourteenth century, thanks to the activities of Archbishop Orsini, it would explain the very frequent commemorations of bishops. Certainly the calendar *is* to be associated with the cathedral and hence with the bishop, for the provenance of its fellow *membra disiecta*, the *Ordo ad unguendum infirmum* and *Ordo ad visitandum infirmum*, is the Collegio degli Ebdomadari, a group of clerics who served the cathedral.<sup>49</sup> Again, it is regrettable that we know nothing about the provenance of the calendar before it was sold in 1979, for this might help to confirm its suggested link with the Ebdomadari and to explain how its separation from the two *Ordines* occurred.<sup>50</sup>

Here the argument must rest.

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To return to the difference between 'liturgical' and 'historical' calendars. The 'historical' function of our calendar is understandable if it were actually a part of Archbishop Orsini's Cerimoniale; naturally it would exhibit a feast for each day since this Cerimoniale encompassed the entire church year. Just as

<sup>47</sup> The 'Kalendarium marmoreum' (= our M) has an entry on 9 December for 'C̄CEPTIO S ANNE MARIE VIR'; this is the Byzantine date.

<sup>48</sup> On this feast cf. *Vies des saints et des bienheureux* 11 (Paris, 1954), pp. 77-78: 'C'est l'abbé de Cluny saint Odilon qui décida que, comme on célébrait par toute la terre aux kalendes de novembre la fête de tous les saints, on célébrerait de même dans les monastères clunisiens la commémoration de tous les fidèles défunts .... La coutume clunisienne se répandit lentement, elle ne devint à peu près générale qu'aux XIII<sup>e</sup> et XIV<sup>e</sup> siècles.' Additional support for a fourteenth-century date of the calendar is afforded perhaps by the feast of the Immaculate Conception which is usually found in our parallels of that period and later, but is recorded in only one thirteenth-century parallel; cf. *Vies des saints et des bienheureux* 12 (Paris, 1956), p. 266: 'Toujours est-il qu'au début du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle, la fête [of the Immaculate Conception] existait presque partout.'

<sup>49</sup> On the history and functions of the Ebdomadari see A. S. Mazzocchi, *Dissertatio historica de cathedralis ecclesiae neapolitanae semper unicae variis diverso tempore vicibus* (Naples, 1751), pp. 118-88, who argues that Orsini created the Ebdomadari in 1335 or 1336 from the 'Confratres congregationis Salvatoris' serving the old cathedral and tries to demolish the claim of the Ebdomadari that they were established in the ninth century by St. Athanasius, bishop of Naples (849-872).

<sup>50</sup> To the constant and extensive investigations of Mallardo is due the rediscovery of several Neapolitan calendars in the Archivio degli Ebdomadari; his findings are detailed in *Il calendario lotteriano*, pp. 11-14, but the 'Kalendarium Tutinianum' is not listed among them. Did he locate elsewhere what is now ms. Comites latentes 195 or did this calendar turn up later in the same Archivio and somehow make its way out?

naturally the compiler would not be principally concerned to place the feast on the day when it was usually celebrated since the calendar's function was 'non-liturgical' and reflected in the Neapolitan-French-episcopal entries the circumstances of its origin. This threefold character is not surprising since the calendar, whose link with the cathedral was demonstrated above, had doubtless an 'official' role to play: the Neapolitan element was a natural component, and it is present also in the fourteenth-century Neapolitan 'liturgical' calendars cited as parallels; what is not found in the latter are the French-episcopal features because these calendars were compiled under different circumstances and for another purpose, i.e., to record the feasts actually celebrated. This function would exclude large numbers of entries made for purpose of historical commemoration<sup>51</sup> or political reasons. For a calendar associated with the cathedral, the frequent commemoration of bishops is not out of place, nor would frequent commemorations of French saints have been odd since the new early fourteenth-century cathedral of Naples had been erected with the aid of Angevin funds. Further stimulus for the inclusion of French saints may have arisen from the fact that Archbishop Orsini's brother held a number of important positions under King Robert the Wise (1309-43), and the archbishop himself may have also served the same king before his appointment to Neapolitan ecclesiastical office.<sup>52</sup>

I submit, then, that our calendar, the *Ordo ad ungendum infirmum* and *Ordo ad visitandum infirmum* were written in the fourteenth century, and I suggest that they may preserve parts of the Cerimoniale issued by Archbishop Orsini in May 1337. Even if this hypothesis cannot be definitely proven beyond doubt, it should be clear that the claim made for the 'Kalendarium Tutinianum' as the second oldest surviving calendar of the Neapolitan Church must be re-examined.

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<sup>51</sup> Cf. Munding, *Die Kalendarien von St. Gallen* (above, n. 12), p. 1 who describes 'liturgical' calendars thus: '... eigentliche förmliche Kalendarien, ... die direkt der Liturgie dienen, d.h. die liturgischen Feste des Kirchenjahres kalendarisch nach Monaten und Tagen verzeichnen, und nur diese. Dabei kommt es allerdings vor, dass zuweilen auch noch *einige* martyrologische Heilige verzeichnet werden, mehr als geschichtliche Erinnerung als für die Erwähnung im praktischen Gottesdienst ...' (my italics).

<sup>52</sup> Chioccarelli, *Antistitum praeclarissimae neapolitanae ecclesie catalogus* ..., p. 221: 'Fuit autem Ioannes hic germanus frater Neapolioni Vrsini, qui multorum oppidorum Regulus fuit, et Regis Roberti a cubiculis, siue vt vocant, Camerarius, dein magnus Regni Logotheta, ac Prothonotarius. Hunc quoque procul dubio credimus esse Ioannem illum de filiis Vrsi, qui cum Cappellanus esset Summi Pontificis, Robertus Rex anno 1323 illum in Consilium, ac familiarem suum ascivit, multis laudibus eum commendans, vt ex eius Regis litteris, quae sic se habent.'

INDEX OF FEASTS<sup>53</sup>

- Abdon et Sennen: 30 July  
 Achilles: 7 November  
 Adalbertus: 19 April  
 Adiutor: 18 December  
 Agapitus: 18 August  
 Agatha: 5 February  
 Agnellus: 13 December  
 Agnes: 21 January  
 Agricola: 3 November  
 Agrippinus: 9 November  
 Albinus: 1 March  
 Alexander ep. Hierosolym.: 18 March  
 Alexander pp. et soc.: 3 May  
 Alexis: 17 July  
 Ambrosius: 7 December  
 Anacletus: 26 April  
 Ananias et soc.: 15 December  
 Anastasius: 27 April  
 Andreas: 30 November  
 Anicetus: 16 April  
 Antoninus: 2 September  
 Antonius: 17 January  
 Aphrodisius: 22 March  
 Apollinaris: 23 July  
 Armogastes: 29 March  
 Arnulphus: 3 October  
 Arsenius: 19 July  
 Athanasius ep. Alex.: 2 May, 13 October  
 Athanasius ep. Neap.: 15 July  
 Audoenus: 5 May  
 Audomarus: 7 June  
 Augustinus: 28 August  
 Aurea: 24 August  
 Balbina: 31 March  
 Barbara: 4 December  
 Barbatus: 19 February  
 Barnabas: 11 June  
 Bartholomaeus: 25 August  
 Basileus: 2 March  
 Basilides et soc.: 12 June  
 Basilius: 1 January  
 Benedictus: 21 March  
 Blandina: 3 June  
 Blasius: 3 February  
 Bonifatius ep. Mogunt.: 5 June  
 Bonifatius m. Tarsi: 14 May  
 Bricius: 14 November  
 Caecilia: 22 November  
 Candida v. et m. Romae: 1 December  
 Candida iunior Neap.: 4 September  
 Canio: 25 May  
 Cassianus ep. Augustod.: 5 August  
 Cassianus m. apud Forum Cornellii: 13 August  
 Castrensis: 11 February  
 Castulus: 26 March  
 Castus et Cassius: 22 May  
 Cataldus: 10 May  
 Catharina: 25 November  
 Christina: 24 July  
 Christophorus: 24 July  
 Chrysanthus et Daria: 24 October  
 Chrysogonus: 24 November  
 Clemens: 23 November  
 Clerus: 19 January  
 Coelestinus: 8 April  
 Columbanus: 16 November  
 Coronati, IV: 8 November  
 Cosmas et Damianus: 27 September  
 Cuthbertus: 20 March  
 Cyprianus: 26 September  
 Cyriacus et soc.: 16 March, 8 August  
 Cyrillus: 9 July  
 Cyrus et Iohannes: 31 January  
 Dafrosa et Faustus: 3 December  
 Damasus: 11 December  
 David: 30 December

<sup>53</sup> Included in this index are all the feasts whose identification is certain or reasonably so; names have been given according to the conventional form. The following have not been included for lack of secure identification: 'Apollonii' (13 June); 'Ciconii' (26 May); 'Ermogasti' (17 April); 'Herberti' (6 September); 'Proiecti' (27 May); 'Secundini' (16 December); 'Siluini' (30 March); 'Troriari' (or 'Croriari') (10 March); 'Victorine' (15 May); 'Decem uirginum' (21 April).

- Demetrius: 25 October  
 Desiderius: 24 May  
 Dionysius et soc.: 9 October  
 Dominica: 7 July  
 Domitilla: 7 May  
 Domitius: 5 July  
 Dormientes, VII: 7 August  
 Eleutherius et soc.: 21 May  
 Eligius: 1 December  
 Elpidius: 26 May  
 Emerentiana: 23 January  
 Ephraem: 9 July  
 Epiphanius: 7 April  
 Erasmus: 2 June  
 Etheldreda: 25 June  
 Eugenia: 18 September  
 Euphebius: 23 May  
 Euphemia: 17 September  
 Euplus: 12 August  
 Eusebius: 14 August  
 Eustachius et soc.: 20 May, 4 November  
 Eustathius (?): 12 October  
 Eustochium: 26 January  
 Eutyches et Acutius: 19 October  
 Ezechiel: 10 April  
 Fabianus: 20 January  
 Fausta: 20 September  
 Faustinus et Iovita: 15 February  
 Faustinus et soc.: 29 July  
 Febronia: 23 June  
 Felicitas et filii: 10 July  
 Felix I papa: 30 May  
 Felix II papa: 29 July  
 Felix in Pincis: 14 January  
 Fidentianus: 15 November  
 Firmatus: 5 October  
 Firminus: 25 September  
 Florentius: 17 October  
 Fortunata: 14 October  
 Fortunatus: 26 February  
 Franciscus: 4 October  
 Fratres, XII: 1 September  
 Gaius: 21 February, 22 April  
 Gaudiosus: 26 October  
 Genesius: 23 August  
 Georgius: 23 April  
 Gereon: 10 October  
 Germanus ep. Autisiod.: 31 July  
 Germanus ep. Capuanus: 29 October  
 Gervasius et Protasius: 19 June  
 Gordianus et Epimachus: 11 May  
 Gorgonius: 10 September  
 Gregorius I papa: 12 March  
 Gregorius II papa: 12 February  
 Gregorius Armenius: 2 December  
 Gregorius Nazianzenus: 7 January  
 Gregorius Spoletinus: 23 December  
 Gregorius Thaumaturgus: 17 November  
 Hadrianus: 9 September  
 Helena: 7 February  
 Heraclas: 14 July  
 Hermenegildus: 13 April  
 Hieronymus: 30 September  
 Hilarion: 21 October  
 Hilarius: 12 January  
 Hippolytus: 13 August  
 Iacobus Intercisus: 27 November  
 Iacobus Maior: 25 July  
 Iacobus Minor: 1 May  
 Ianuarius: 19 September  
 Iesus Christus: 1 January, 6 January,  
 27 March, 3 May, 6 August, 14  
 September, 25 December  
 Ignatius: 30 January, 1 February, 17  
 December  
 Innocentes: 28 December  
 Innocentius: 13 March  
 Iohannes ap.: 6 May, 27 December  
 Iohannes ep. Neap.: 1 April  
 Iohannes I papa: 28 May  
 Iohannes Baptista: 24 June, 29 August  
 Iohannes Chrysostomus: 13 November  
 Iohannes et Paulus: 26 June  
 Irenaeus et soc.: 13 February  
 Irene: 5 April  
 Isaurus et soc.: 16 June  
 Iuliana: 16 February  
 Iulianus m. Alex.: 27 February  
 Iulianus m. Antinoi: 9 January  
 Iulius: 12 April  
 Iustina: 28 September  
 Iustinus: 4 August  
 Iustus: 14 July  
 Iuvenalis: 4 May

- Laurentius: 10 August  
 Leo I papa: 11 April  
 Leo II papa: 27, 28 June  
 Leodegarius: 2 October  
 Leonardus: 6 November  
 Leucius: 11 January  
 Linus: 23 September  
 Longinus: 15 March, 24 April  
 Lucas: 18 October  
 Lucia: 12 December  
 Lucia et Geminianus: 16 September  
 Lucius: 4 March  
  
 Macarius: 5 January  
 Magnus: 19 August  
 Marcellus papa: 16 January  
 Marcellus et Petrus: 2 June  
 Marcus ev.: 25 April  
 Marcus et Marcellianus: 18 June  
 Margarita: 20 July  
 Maria: 2 February, 25 March, 15 August,  
     8 September, 8 December  
 Maria Aegyptiaca: 2 April  
 Maria Magdalena: 22 July  
 Marina v.: 18 July  
 Marina et Constantia: 28 January  
 Marinus: 3 March  
 Marius et Martha: 27 January  
 Martinus ep. Turon.: 4 July, 11 November  
 Martinus I papa: 12 November  
 Martyres, XL: 9 March  
 Martyres, XLVII: 14 March  
 Matthaëus: 21 September  
 Matthias: 24 February  
 Mauritius et soc.: 22 September  
 Maurus: 15 January  
 Maximus ep. Nolanus: 6 February  
 Maximus m. Cumis: 30 October  
 Medardus: 8 June  
 Melchiades: 10 December  
 Mellonus: 23 October  
 Michael: 8 May, 29 September  
 Modestus: 15 October  
  
 Nabor et Felix: 12 July  
 Navalis: 20 December  
 Nazarius et Celsus: 28 July  
 Nereus et Achilleus: 12 May  
 Nicander et Marcianus: 17 June  
  
 Nicasius: 11 October  
 Nicolaus: 9 May, 6 December  
 Nicomedes: 1 June, 15 September  
 Novatus: 20 June  
  
 Octava  
     assumptionis s. Mariae: 22 August  
     epiphaniae: 13 January  
     Innocentium: 4 January  
     Iohannis ap.: 3 January  
     Iohannis Baptistae: 1 July  
     Laurentii: 17 August  
     Martini: 18 November  
     Pauli: 6 July  
     Petri: 6 July  
     Stephani: 2 January  
 Odo: 19 November  
 Olympias et Maximus: 15 April  
 Omnes Fideles Defuncti: 2 November  
 Omnes Sancti: 1 November  
 Onuphrius: 10 June  
  
 Pamphilus: 7 September  
 Pancratius: 12 May  
 Patricia: 26 August  
 Patricius: 17 March  
 Paula: 26 January  
 Paulinus ep. Nolanus: 22 June  
 Paulinus ep. Trev.: 30 August  
 Paulus ap.: 25 January, 29 June, 30 June  
 Paulus erem.: 10 January  
 Pelagia: 16 October  
 Peregrinus: 16 May  
 Perfectus: 18 April  
 Perpetua et Felicitas: 7 March  
 Petronilla: 31 May  
 Petrus ap.: 22 February, 29 June,  
     1 August  
 Petrus ep. Alex.: 26 November  
 Philemon: 8 March  
 Philibertus: 20 August  
 Philippus: 1 May  
 Phocas: 5 March  
 Pigmenius: 24 March  
 Polychronius: 17 February  
 Pomponius: 30 April  
 Pontianus: 20 November  
 Potentiana: 19 March, 19 May  
 Praxedis: 21 July  
 Primus et Felicianus: 9 June



Prisca: 18 January  
 Priscus et soc.: 28 March  
 Processus et Martinianus: 2 July  
 Prochorus: 9 April  
 Procopius: 8 July  
 Protus et Hyacinthus: 11 September  
  
 Quiriacus: 4 May  
 Quirinus: 4 June  
 Quodvultdeus: 20 February  
  
 Remigius et soc.: 1 October  
 Renatus: 6 October  
 Reparata: 8 October  
 Restituta: 17 May  
 Romanus abb. Iurensis: 28 February  
 Romanus m. Romae: 9 August  
 Rufina et Secunda: 11 July  
 Rufinus et soc.: 14 June  
 Rufus: 27 August  
  
 Saba: 5 December  
 Sabina: 29 January  
 Sabinus: 9 February  
 Samonas et Gurias: 21 November  
 Saturninus: 28 November  
 Scholastica: 10 February  
 Sebastianus: 20 January  
 Secundinus: 29 May  
 Seraphia: 3 September  
 Serapion m. Alex.: 18 May  
 Serapion m. Alex.: 13 July  
 Sergius i papa: 13 September  
 Sergius et Bacchus: 7 October  
 Servatius: 13 May  
 Severinus: 8 January  
 Severus: 29 April  
 Silvanus: 23 February  
 Silverius: 21 June  
 Silvester: 31 December  
 Simeon ep. Hierosolym.: 18 February  
 Simeon Stylit.: 27 July  
 Simon et Iudas: 27, 28 October  
 Simplicianus: 16 August  
 Sixtus: 6 April  
 Sosius: 24 September  
 Stephanus i papa: 2 August  
 Stephanus protom.: 3 August, 26 December  
 Susanna: 11 August  
 Syrus et Iventius: 12 September

Thecla: 23 September  
 Theodorus: 10 November  
 Theodosia: 3 April  
 Thomas ap.: 21 December  
 Thomas ep. Cantuar.: 29 December  
 Thuthail: 5 September  
 Tiburtius: 11 August  
 Timotheus ep. Ephes: 24 January  
 Timotheus m.: 3 July  
 Timotheus m. Romae: 21 August  
 Trophimena: 5 November  
 Tryphon: 4 February  
 Urbanus: 9 December  
 Ursula et soc.: 22 October  
  
 Valentinus: 14 February  
 Valerianus: 14 December  
 Valerianus et Tiburtius: 14 April  
 Venera: 26 July  
 Victor ep. Neap.: 8 February  
 Victor m.: 20 April  
 Victor et Victorinus: 11 March  
 Victorianus: 23 March  
 Victorinus: 25 February  
 Vigilia  
 Andrae: 29 November  
 assumptionis s. Mariae: 14 August  
 Bartholomaei: 24 August  
 epiphaniae: 5 January  
 Iacobi Maioris: 24 July  
 Iohannis Baptistae: 23 June  
 Laurentii: 9 August  
 Matthaei: 20 September  
 natalis domini: 24 December  
 Nicolai: 5 December  
 Omnium Sanctorum: 30 October  
 Pauli: 28 June  
 Petri: 28 June  
 Simonis et Iudae: 26 October  
 Thomae: 20 December  
 Vincentius lev. m.: 22 January  
 Vincentius et Benignus: 6 June  
 Vitalianus: 16 July  
 Vitalis: 28 April  
 Vitus et soc.: 15 June  
 Walaricus: 4 April, 19 December  
 Zacharias: 6 March  
 Zeno: 9 December  
 Zephyrinus: 22 December  
 Zosimus: 20 October

ODILO AND THE *TREVGA DEI* IN SOUTHERN ITALY:  
A BENEVENTAN MANUSCRIPT FRAGMENT\*

*Roger E. Reynolds*

FROM her beginnings the Church has been involved in the making and maintenance of both war and peace, and in the course of the eleventh century she was a leader in both causes. The First Crusade preached by Pope Urban II late in the century is the prime example of the Church's promotion of war. Fully as important were her efforts to promote peace in the violence of the early decades of that same century, and the instruments through which this was attempted were the Peace and Truce of God.<sup>1</sup>

From their origins in southern France at the turn of the millennium, the ideas of the Peace and Truce of God spread rapidly, and by the 1040s the idea of the Truce of God or the *Treuga Dei* seems to have reached Italy. In chronicles and miscellaneous documents from the vicinity of Milan, Turin, and Aosta, we know of its entrance into that part of Italy closest to southern France.<sup>2</sup> Two documents have usually been singled out by historians as the most important witnesses for the early entrance of the *Treuga Dei* into Italy. The first and longer of these was printed in the eighteenth century by Martène and Durand in

\* I am grateful to the Biblioteca Vallicelliana, Rome for permission to publish the text of this fragment and to Dr. M. Vivarelli for the photograph.

<sup>1</sup> The most important recent work on the Peace and Truce of God is that of Hartmut Hoffmann, *Gottesfriede und Treuga Dei* (Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae historica 20; Stuttgart, 1964). For additional bibliography see L. E. Boyle, 'Peace of God', *New Catholic Encyclopedia* 11 (New York, 1967), pp. 45 f.; H. E. J. Cowdrey, 'The Peace and Truce of God in the Eleventh Century', *Past and Present* 46 (1970) 42-67; R. Bonnaud-Delamare, 'La paix de Touraine pendant la première croisade', *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 70 (1975) 749-58, with extensive references to his earlier work on the topic; Thomas N. Bisson, 'Une paix peu connue pour le Roussillon (A.D. 1173)' in *Droit privé et institutions régionales. Études historiques offertes à Jean Yver* (Publications de l'Université de Rouen, Sér. juridique 31; Paris, 1976), pp. 69-76; Jean-Pierre Poly, *La Provence et la société féodale (879-1166): contribution à l'étude des structures dites féodales dans le Midi* (Paris, 1976), pp. 194-202, who takes issue with Hoffmann on the date of the origins of the *Treuga Dei*; and Thomas N. Bisson, 'The Organized Peace in Southern France and Catalonia', *American Historical Review* 82 (1977) 290-311.

<sup>2</sup> Hoffmann, *Gottesfriede*, pp. 82, 85 f.

the *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum*.<sup>3</sup> Later it was edited in the *Monumenta Germaniae historica* under the title *Treuga Dei archidioecesis arelatensis (c. 1037-1041)*.<sup>4</sup> This document is a letter directed to the bishops and clergy of Italy from a group of bishops in the province of Arles, including Raimbald of Arles, Benedict of Avignon, and Nithard of Nice, and from Abbot Odilo of Cluny. In the letter the origins and regulations of the *Treuga Dei* are laid out, and both spiritual benefits and punishments are specified for those who keep or fail to keep them. The second document, also edited in the *Monumenta Germaniae historica* and there entitled *Treuga Dei lombardica (c. 1040-1050)*,<sup>5</sup> is one which Carl Erdmann connected with the Synod of Pavia in 1046.<sup>6</sup> This document also lays out the regulations for the *Treuga* and concludes with an extensive malediction for truce breakers and benediction for truce keepers.

In his fundamental study of the Peace and Truce of God, Hartmut Hoffmann considered all of this evidence for the entrance of the *Treuga Dei* into Italy.<sup>7</sup> He made the important observation that the *Treuga* entered Italy probably because of the connections of the bishops of the province of Arles and Abbot Odilo with northern Italy and with Rome itself. Raimbald was at the Synod of Pavia in 1046 where peace was discussed; Benedict visited Rome; and Nithard's diocese bordered on northwest Italy. Further, Odilo's prestige was great throughout Italy. In the third decade of the eleventh century he had made journeys to the Campania and Monte Cassino, and late in his life while visiting Rome and recovering there from a fall from his horse he was in contact with such southern Italian bishops as Lawrence of Amalfi.<sup>8</sup> As Jacques Hourlier has pointed out, it is difficult to evaluate exactly the role of Odilo in the promotion of the *Treuga Dei*, but 'en tous cas la diffusion de l'idée lui doit beaucoup'.<sup>9</sup>

Despite Odilo's contact with southern Italy and his presence in Rome, Hoffmann could point to only one piece of evidence for the extension of the *Treuga Dei* into central and southern Italy between the 1040s and the end of the century. This evidence is in the famous confession in Old Italian: 'Me accuso de la sancta treua k io noll obseruai siccomo promisi', found in Rome, Biblioteca

<sup>3</sup> Ed. Edmond Martène and Ursin Durand, 1 (Paris, 1717), cols. 161-63.

<sup>4</sup> MGH *Legum sectio IV. Constitutiones et acta* 1 (Hanover, 1893), pp. 596 f. n. 419.

<sup>5</sup> *ibid.*, p. 598 n. 420.

<sup>6</sup> Carl Erdmann, *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade*, trans. Marshall W. Baldwin and Walter Goffart (Princeton, 1977), p. 65 n. 18.

<sup>7</sup> Hoffmann, *Gottesfriede*, pp. 81-85.

<sup>8</sup> See Jacques Hourlier, *Saint Odilon, abbé de Cluny* (Bibliothèque de la Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique 40; Louvain, 1964), pp. 86 f., 112; and *Chronica monasterii casinensis* 2.54, ed. Hartmut Hoffmann, *Die Chronik von Monte Cassino* (MGH SS 34; Hanover, 1980), pp. 66-68.

<sup>9</sup> Hourlier, *ibid.*, p. 109.

Vallicelliana ms. B 63, fol. 231v.<sup>10</sup> On the basis of Pirri's study of manuscripts from Sant'Eutizio presso Norcia, Hoffmann dated the text to 1037-89 and placed it in that important Benedictine house.<sup>11</sup> Although Pirri's dating of the manuscript is open to question,<sup>12</sup> Hoffmann's surmise is probably correct that the *Treuga Dei* very likely worked its influence in the hinterlands of Italy, where Cluniac influence was great, by the mid-eleventh century.<sup>13</sup> The present note is intended to contribute a further piece of evidence connected with an Abbot Odilo to support Hoffmann's suspicion. This evidence is to be found in another codex of the Biblioteca Vallicelliana that seems to have been unduly neglected by scholars.

The codex itself, C 45, contains a variety of shorter manuscripts of different sizes and of disparate dates. Of special interest here are the first 73 folios. The first 64 folios, measuring 145 × 225 mm. and bearing the ex libris of the Certosa of St. Bartholomew at Trisulti near Frosinone,<sup>14</sup> is a palimpsest codex, whose upper text is a collection of letters and excerpta from St. Jerome.<sup>15</sup> The lower text, written at right angles to the upper text, is a beautiful missal in two columns (each being of 88 × 235 mm. with 28 lines) copied by a Beneventan hand of the tenth or eleventh century. The second part of the manuscript, fols. 65-72, is again a palimpsest codex, measuring 140 × 200 mm., and also bears the ex libris of the Certosa di Trisulti. The upper text deals with the election of bishops, continence, marriage, abstinence, and miscellaneous matters, and the lower text, nearly illegible but written in the same direction as the upper text, is again in Beneventan hands of the tenth or eleventh century.

Bound around this second part of the codex (fols. 65-72) is a very rough and venous piece of parchment numbered as fol. 73, with writing on one side only

<sup>10</sup> This text is edited in Pietro Pirri, *L'abbazia di Sant'Eutizio in Val Castoriana presso Norcia e le chiese dipendenti* (Studia anselmiana 45; Rome, 1960), p. 47, and for a facsimile of the folio see pl. 5.

<sup>11</sup> Hoffmann, *Gottesfriede*, p. 86.

<sup>12</sup> Although the first folio (fol. 220) of the section in the codex that contains the calendar on which Pirri based his dating does indeed come from Sant'Eutizio and is written in an eleventh-century hand, the remainder of the codex to fol. 283v, a palimpsest manuscript, is in a hand that Edward B. Garrison, 'Saints Equizio, Onorato, and Libertino in Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Italian Litanies as Clues to the Attribution of Manuscripts', *Revue bénédictine* 88 (1978) 306, has dated to the first quarter of the twelfth century. Immediately before this section of the manuscript, on fols. 217-218, there are in two different hands extracts taken from the canonical *Collection in Five Books* in a recension like that in a manuscript that was at Sant'Eutizio (on which see below, p. 454). Hartmut Hoffmann, 'Die Briefmuster des Vallicellianus B 63 aus der Zeit Paschalis II.', *Deutsches Archiv* 19 (1963) 130, without recognizing these extracts, pointed out that this section of the manuscript seems to have no particular connection with Sant'Eutizio.

<sup>13</sup> Hoffmann, *Gottesfriede*, p. 86.

<sup>14</sup> fols. 1r (cf. fols. 64r and 74r with the same ex libris) and 64r.

<sup>15</sup> See Bernard Lambert, *Bibliotheca hieronymiana manuscripta: la tradition manuscrite des œuvres de Saint Jérôme* (Instrumenta patristica 4b; Steenbrugge, 1972), p. 134.

and whose text has been clipped at top and bottom probably to make it fit the present dimensions of the manuscript. As a result of this mutilation, the measurements of fol. 73 are now 152 mm. in width at the top, 235 mm. on the side, and 145 mm. at the bottom. The text, which is faded and in poor condition through water-marking, folding, rubbing, and mutilation, can be seen on both fol. 73r and on the long, thin, triangular-shaped strip folded toward fol. 65r. Like the lower texts of the first two parts of the codex, this text on fol. 73r is in Beneventan script. Although the folio does not bear the *ex libris* of the Certosa di Trisulti, it is possible that it did come from there together with its enveloping fols. 1-158. Given the fact that a number of other manuscripts written in Beneventan script came to the Biblioteca Vallicelliana from the Certosa,<sup>16</sup> it would not be surprising if this single folio also has St. Bartholomew as its provenance.

The date of the script of our folio is difficult to determine. There are characteristics that might suggest a twelfth-century date such as the heavy use of uncial *a* at the beginning of words, the regular closing of the loop of *b*, a *g* whose lowest horizontal stroke is fairly straight or turned down slightly,<sup>17</sup> and the regular use of the twelfth-century abbreviations of forms of *omnis*.<sup>18</sup> Nonetheless, the overall impression given is a hand of the first part of the eleventh century. It is roundish, not angular,<sup>19</sup> and has such early eleventh-century characteristics as the tall, thin shaft (with serifs) for the ascenders of *b* and *h*,<sup>20</sup> single points for punctuation,<sup>21</sup> and the eleventh-century liturgical abbreviation for *suus*.<sup>22</sup> Hence, although a twelfth-century date is possible, an eleventh-century date is to be preferred.<sup>23</sup> In any event, the somewhat

<sup>16</sup> Among these manuscripts are: (1) Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana B 59, on which see E. A. Loew, *The Beneventan Script: A History of the South Italian Minuscule*, 2nd enlarged edition prepared by Virginia Brown (Sussidi eruditi 33; Rome, 1980), 2.127, to which may be added four binding fragments on fols. 116v, 117v-118r, 119r, and 121v from codices in Beneventan script (all new Beneventan items cited in this article will be listed and briefly described by Virginia Brown, 'A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts (II)', forthcoming in *Mediaeval Studies*). The text on fol. 79v of ms. B 59 is related to another codex not in Beneventan script, namely, Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana F 64, fol. 151v; (2) B 66 (on which see Loew-Brown 2.127); (3) C 39 (on which see Loew-Brown 2.128); (4) C 63 (on which see Loew-Brown 2.128); and (5) C 70 (on which see Loew-Brown 2.128).

<sup>17</sup> See Loew-Brown 1.133-35.

<sup>18</sup> *ibid.* 1.174.

<sup>19</sup> For examples of the roundish script of the eleventh century antedating the developed style of the Desiderian period and beyond, see E. A. Lowe, *Scriptura beneventana. Facsimiles of South Italian and Dalmatian Manuscripts from the Sixth to the Fourteenth Century* 2 (Oxford, 1929), pls. LV-LXVI.

<sup>20</sup> See Loew-Brown 1.134 f.

<sup>21</sup> *ibid.* 1.227.

<sup>22</sup> *ibid.* 1.93.

<sup>23</sup> The final *r*, so critical in dating Beneventan manuscripts, is found only occasionally in our

undeveloped and uncalledigraphic style of the hand suggests that the scribe was working in a small or isolated location, away from such major centers as Monte Cassino, Benevento, Cava, or Naples.<sup>24</sup> Moreover, features such as the heavy use of uncial *a* suggest that the scribe may have been writing in an area bordering on one where Carolingian script was used, not unlike the case of Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana T. XVIII.<sup>25</sup>

The significance of fol. 73r is twofold. First, it contains a text on the *Treuga Dei*, which, like the northern Italian *Treuga Dei archidioecesis arelatensis*, mentions an Abbot Odilo and a number of bishops and clerics. Second, the text is written in a Beneventan hand, a script that was restricted almost exclusively to southern Italy and Dalmatia from the mid-eighth to the sixteenth century.<sup>26</sup> Beneventan script could, of course, be written outside the zone of Beneventan influence by itinerant scribes – witness the marginalia with Beneventan characteristics in Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana B 11,<sup>27</sup> the important codex of the canonical *Collection in Five Books*.<sup>28</sup> written at and almost certainly coming from Sant'Eutizio presso Norcia<sup>29</sup> – but such a phenomenon seems to have

manuscript (*applicuerunt, stabilierunt, martyrum*), but is somewhere between a short and long form. In the *-ri-* ligature the shaft of the *r* descends below the line (cf. Loew-Brown 1.137).

<sup>24</sup> For the major centers of Beneventan writing see Loew-Brown 1.67-77.

<sup>25</sup> Caterina Tristano, 'Scrittura beneventana e scrittura carolina in manoscritti dell'Italia meridionale', *Scrittura e civiltà* 3 (1979) 115, 146, suggests that this famous canonistic manuscript with its Carolingian script and a Beneventan hand with Carolingian influence was written on the northern confines of Beneventan-script territories with strong ties in Lazio on one hand and Monte Cassino on the other; on this article see Rosaria Pilone, 'Scrittura beneventana e scrittura carolina a proposito di un recente saggio', *Benedictina* 30 (1983) 203-208. Also on this manuscript see Paola Supino Martini, 'Carolina romana e minuscola romanesca. Appunti per una storia della scrittura latina in Roma tra IX e XII secolo', *Studi medievali*, 3rd Ser., 15.2 (1974) 783 n. 29. Besides fols. 31r-33v with their Beneventan script noted by Tristano, Supino Martini, and Loew-Brown 2.131, there are other instances in the manuscript where Beneventan hands appear: on fol. 47r, lines 1-6 were copied by a second Beneventan hand resembling that of fol. 31r; much later in the manuscript (fol. 187vb3-4) there are several words written in Beneventan script by a third hand in the midst of Carolingian script, and the scribe then breaks into Beneventan script for a rubric and a text of can. CCXLV, only to return to Carolingian script on fol. 188ra.

<sup>26</sup> See *Montecassino e la cultura scritta: XV centenario della nascita di san Benedetto* (Assessorato alla cultura regione Lazio, Teatro di Roma, n.d.), p. 24; and Virginia Brown, 'The Survival of Beneventan Script: Sixteenth-Century Liturgical Codices from Benedictine Monasteries in Naples' in *Monastica. Scritti raccolti in memoria del XV centenario della nascita di S. Benedetto (480-1980)* 1 (Miscellanea cassinese 44; Monte Cassino, 1981), p. 237.

<sup>27</sup> A Carolingian hand has correctly used the Beneventan *-ti-* ligatures on fols. 21v and 52r (53r). On fol. 60r (61r) there is a marginal entry using uncial *a*'s but the Beneventan *e*, correct *-ti-* ligatures, and unions of *ec* and *en*.

<sup>28</sup> On this collection see most recently *Collectio canonum Regesto farfensi inserta*, ed. Theo Kölzer (Monumenta iuris canonici, Ser. B: Corpus collectionum 5; Vatican City, 1982), pp. 48-55.

<sup>29</sup> It is, of course, possible that the codex was loaned for a time to another scriptorium in the Beneventan-script zone, where the marginalia with their Beneventan features were added, and

been fairly rare. Hence, our single folio would appear to prove almost beyond doubt that the *Treuga Dei* was known, as Hoffmann suspected, even in the southern hinterlands of Italy prior to the end of the eleventh century.

Beyond its importance as a witness to the *Treuga Dei* in southern Italy by the twelfth century, our text is interesting for its parallels to the northern Italian texts of the *Treuga Dei* and to elements of French, Catalan, and even German formulae of excommunication and malediction from the ninth to the eleventh century. As to its content, our text, printed at the end of this note, has several major sections.

The first section is unfortunately mutilated, but what is clear is that Abbot Odilo with bishops and clerics is presenting a mandatum regarding the *Treuga Dei*. Like Rodulf Glaber and Hugh of Flavigny, who reported on the establishment of the *Treuga*,<sup>30</sup> and the *Treuga Dei archidioecesis arelatensis*,<sup>31</sup> our document first connects the *Treuga* with a *pax* or *pax firma*. And like the *Treuga Dei archidioecesis arelatensis*, our text says it was made with the concurrence of Odilo, presumably of Cluny, and other bishops and clerics.<sup>32</sup> The mandatum itself, like the 'mandatum novum et bonum e coelo' mentioned by Landulf of Milan in his report of the *Treuga*,<sup>33</sup> begins by saying that the *Treuga Dei* was instituted not by men but by heavenly powers. Both Hoffmann and Horst Fuhrmann have seen behind reports of the supernatural origins of

then later returned to Sant'Eutizio. Against this, however, are several indicia in the codex itself. First, there are numerous eleventh- and twelfth-century additions to the manuscript in Carolingian hands resembling the copyists at Sant'Eutizio, and these indicate the continued presence of the manuscript at Sant'Eutizio. Second, had the manuscript been loaned for some time to a scriptorium in the Beneventan-script zone, one might expect more additions in the script than the few extant marginal notations. That the *Collection in Five Books* was connected with the Beneventan-script zone and hence of special interest to scholars and scribes who wrote in the script is seen in the facts: (1) that one of the other two relatively complete codices of the collection, Monte Cassino 125, is written in a Beneventan script of the second quarter of the eleventh century; (2) that the other manuscript from Narni, Vatican Library Vat. lat. 1339, although written in a Carolingian hand, has Beneventan interrogation-signs throughout and the Insular-Beneventan sign for *enim* on fol. 308v; and (3) that a number of canon law collections deriving from the *Collection in Five Books* are written in Beneventan script (e.g., Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana F 2, F 8, F 54), are copied from Beneventan-script models (e.g., Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana R 32, fol. 50r-v), or have Beneventan-script symptoms (e.g., Vatican Library Vat. lat. 4317, fols. 26v, 27r, 28r, 103v, 121v, 180r with correctly used Beneventan ligatures for -ti-, or Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale XII A 28 [olim 96], fol. 197r with its Insular-Beneventan sign for *enim*).

<sup>30</sup> 'Anno ipso [1041] treva Dei primum statuta est et firmata, et pax ipsa treva Dei appellata' (*Chronicon Hugonis* 2.30 [MGH SS 8: Hanover, 1848], p. 403).

<sup>31</sup> '... sit firma pax et stabilis treuva' (MGH *Constit. et acta* 1.597).

<sup>32</sup> '...necnon et venerabili abbate domno Odilone una cum omnibus episcopis et abbatibus et cuncto clero ...' (ibid. 1.596). The possibility should be held open, of course, that the Odilo here is not the famous abbot of Cluny but another Odilo.

<sup>33</sup> *Landulfi Historia mediolanensis* 2.30 (MGH SS 8.67).

the *Treuga Dei* the so-called *Himmelsbrief*, a heavenly letter used to add authority to certain ideas and institutions;<sup>34</sup> and indeed in our document, like the reports of Rodulf Glaber,<sup>35</sup> Hugh of Flavigny,<sup>36</sup> Landulf of Milan,<sup>37</sup> and the *Treuga Dei archidioecesis arelatensis*,<sup>38</sup> the notion of a heavenly origin is repeated. In a sense, our document with its litany of the heavenly and saintly founders of the *Treuga* contradicts the *Treuga Dei lombardica*, which pointed out that it was a group of religious and secular dignitaries, including *marchiones*, who instituted the *Treuga*.<sup>39</sup>

After the material on the origins of the *Treuga Dei*, our text exhorts its readers to keep the truce and then begins to detail the advantages of so doing. This is cast in the form of an absolution from sins and is highly reminiscent of the text in the *Treuga Dei archidioecesis arelatensis*, which says:

Quicumque hanc pacem et treuam Dei observaverint ac firmiter tenuerint, sint absoluti a Deo patre omnipotente et filio eius Iesu Christo et Spiritu sancto et de sancta Maria cum choris virginum et de sancto Michael e cum choris angelorum et de sancto Petro principe apostolorum cum omnibus sanctis et fidelibus cunctis nunc et semper et per omnia saecula saeculorum.<sup>40</sup>

or the benediction in the *Treuga Dei lombardica*:

Set qui has treuvas Dei bene observaverint et qui consilium et adiutorium fractoribus non dederint, nisi ut emendent ut constitutum est, benedicti sint a Deo Patre et Filio et Spiritu sancto et a sancta Maria virgine et de omnibus angelis et archangelis, patriarchis et prophetis, apostolis, martyribus, confessoribus, monachis, virginibus, heremitis et omnibus sanctis Dei; et omnes benedictiones quae sunt scriptae in libris, descendant super eos. Fiat, Fiat, Fiat.<sup>41</sup>

After an assurance of absolution to those who maintain the *Treuga*, our text, like the *Treuga Dei archidioecesis arelatensis*,<sup>42</sup> goes on to mention a specific

<sup>34</sup> Hoffmann, *Gottesfriede*, pp. 82 f.; and Horst Fuhrmann, *Einfluss und Verbreitung der pseudoisidorischen Fälschungen von ihrem Auftauchen bis in die neuere Zeit* (Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae historica 24.1; Stuttgart, 1972), p. 100.

<sup>35</sup> 'Quae non solum humanis praesidiis, sed et divinis confirmata est terroribus' (*Chronicon Hugonis* 2.30 [MGH SS 8.403]).

<sup>36</sup> '... et ut eam susciperent, quia voluntas Domini erat, et a Deo non ab homine decretum hoc processerat ...' (ibid. 8.403).

<sup>37</sup> '... mandatum novum et bonum e coelo ...' (*Landulfi Historia mediolanensis* 2.30 [MGH SS 8.67]).

<sup>38</sup> 'Credimus namque istam causam a Deo nobis coelitus inspiratam divina opitulatione, quia apud nos, ut credimus, nihil boni agebatur, quando a Deo populo suo transmissa est' (MGH *Constit. et acta* 1.597).

<sup>39</sup> 'Fideles episcopi et abbates et sacerdotes atque marchiones convenientes, divina pietate illos inspirante, constituerunt treuvas Dei ...' (ibid. 1.598).

<sup>40</sup> ibid. 1.597.

<sup>41</sup> ibid. 1.598.

<sup>42</sup> ibid. 1.597; and see below, p. 457.



promise or *promissa* to keep the *Treuga Dei*; and to those who for such reasons as ignorance, drunkenness, and the like, break their promise, a variety of penances is assigned. In the *Treuga Dei lombardica* a penance of bread and water is mentioned,<sup>43</sup> but our text speaks of corporal punishment, not unlike the historians who speak of corporal punishment for those who break the *Pax Dei*.<sup>44</sup>

The final section of our document is perhaps the most interesting not only because it threatens the most dire excommunication and malediction on those who willingly break the *Treuga* or who counsel its violation, but also because some elements bear a striking resemblance to texts from the ninth to the eleventh century in Italy and beyond. First, in our document there is the threat of excommunication in the name of the Trinity, Mary, angelic hosts, apostles, and a variety of saintly worthies. Then, the malediction, anathema, and excommunication are related to Old and New Testament and even secular precedents. Third, the truce breaker is cursed with a litany of maledictions in all of his physical states of being. And finally, there is an indication of mercy if there are signs of true repentance.

In the northern Italian texts on the *Treuga*, namely, the *Treuga Dei archidioecesis arelatensis* and the *Treuga Dei lombardica*, some of the elements of this final section of our document also appear. In the former there is first a simplified form of excommunication in the name of the Trinity and the saints:

Qui vero treuam promissam habuerint et se scientibus infringere voluerint, sint excommunicati a Deo patre omnipotente et filio eius Iesu Christo et Spiritu sancto et de omnibus sanctis Dei sint excommunicati;

then a malediction that mentions the historical precedents:

maledicti et detestati hic et in perpetuum, et sint damnati sicut Dathan et Abiron et sicut Iudas qui tradidit Dominum, et sint dimersi in profundum inferni sicut Pharaon in medio maris;

and finally a call for emendation of life: 'si ad emendationem non venerint sicut constitutum est.'<sup>45</sup> In the *Treuga Dei lombardica* the malediction is an extension of the excommunication form in the *Treuga Dei archidioecesis arelatensis*:

Maledicti sint a Deo Patre et Filio et Spiritu sancto et a sancta Maria virgine et de angelis et archangelis, patriarchis et prophetis, apostolis, martyribus et confessoribus, eremitis, virginibus et de omnibus sanctis Dei.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>43</sup> '... et unum annum summat ibi poenitentiam, stans in pane et aqua et extra domum positus' (ibid. 1.598).

<sup>44</sup> Hoffmann, *Gottesfriede*, pp. 55, 84.

<sup>45</sup> MGH *Constit. et acta* 1.597.

<sup>46</sup> ibid. 1.598.

Although the northern Italian texts on the *Treuga Dei* with their threats of excommunication and malediction bear a distinct resemblance to the final section of our document, other excommunication and malediction formulae from beyond Italy have elements that are sometimes even closer to our text. In both the early tenth-century *Libri duo de synodalibus causis* of Regino of Prüm and the early eleventh-century *Decretum* of Burchard of Worms there is a malediction referring to Old Testament precedents together with an exhortation to emend one's ways:

... veniantque super eos omnes illae maledictiones, quas Dominus per Moysen in populum divinae legis ... nisi forte resipuerint, et ecclesiae Dei, quam laeserunt, per emendationem et condignam poenitentiam satisfecerint.<sup>47</sup>

This was repeated in the *Pontificale romano-germanicum*, represented in Monte Cassino ms. 451 and Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana ms. D 5 (both in Beneventan script)<sup>48</sup> and in the excommunication of Baldwin of Flanders.<sup>49</sup> Further, the *Pontificale romano-germanicum* has several excommunication formulae that repeat these statements in expanded forms. In the *Excommunicatio Leonis papae* (Leo VII?, 936-939) the excommunication is pronounced in the name of the Trinity, angels, and saints; Old Testament precedents are cited; and emendation of life is called for in a way not unlike the final section of our text:

Quapropter ex auctoritate Dei patris omnipotentis et filii eius domini nostri Iesu Christi et spiritus sancti paracliti, atque ex vice beati Petri apostoli; necnon et beatae Mariae matris domini; et per beatos angelos, apostolos, martires, confessores, ac virgines, excommunicamus eos atque maledicimus, qui .... Sit pars eorum cum Dathan et Abiron, quos terra pro sua subergia vivos absorbit, et cum Juda proditore .... Sintque maledictiones illae, quas dominus super filios Israhel per Moysen promulgavit .... Si autem ad penitentiam et emendationem venerint et secundum modum culpae fructus dignos penitentia fecerint ....<sup>50</sup>

From Urgel in Catalonia there is a formula for excommunication against those who would steal from the Church that also bears a striking resemblance to the excommunication form in our document:

... excommunicamus eos ad Patrem et Filium et Spiritum sanctum et per omnes ordines angelorum et archangelorum et omnes virtutes coelorum, sive per omnes

<sup>47</sup> Regino, *Libri duo* 2.416, ed. F. G. A. Wasserschleben (Leipzig, 1840), pp. 374 f.; Burchard, *Decretum* 11.6 (PL 140.860).

<sup>48</sup> See Michel Andrieu, *Les Ordines romani du haut moyen âge*, vol. 1: *Les manuscrits* (Louvain, 1931), p. 197 and *Le pontifical romano-germanique du dixième siècle*, ed. Cyrille Vogel and Reinhard Elze (*Studi e Testi* 226, 227, 269; Vatican City, 1963-72), 1.314.

<sup>49</sup> Étienne Baluze, *Capitularia regum francorum* 2 (Venice, 1773), col. 464.

<sup>50</sup> Monte Cassino, Archivio della Badia 451, pp. 165 f.; and Vogel-Elze, *Pontifical romano-germanique* 1.315-17.

Patriarchas et Prophetas, et per omnes Apostolos et Martyres vel Confessores, et per omnes sanctos Dei sic eos excommunicamus et anathematizamus atque abominamus et alienamus eos ....<sup>51</sup>

And in the *Tenor maledictionis ferendae* and *Modus exequendi huiusmodi maledictionem* published by Martène the Old and New Testament and secular precedents are rehearsed:

Auctoritate omnipotentis Dei .... Cum Chora, Dathan et Abiron qui descenderunt in infernum viventes. Cum Juda ... et Nerone ... Fiat, Fiat. ... Omnipotens Deus qui solus respicis ... ignis perpetui cruciatus cum Dathan et Abiron, Juda atque Pilato ... et Nerone, cum quibus cruciatu perpetuo ....<sup>52</sup>

Here there is the interesting reference (also made in our document, in the *Treuga Dei archidioecesis arelatensis*, and in the *Excommunicatio Leonis papae*) to Dathan and Abiron, a biblical reference widely found in the maledictions of charters and documents from the eighth to the eleventh century.<sup>53</sup>

A combination of both the excommunications and extension of maledictions to the physical state of the accursed found in our text also goes back to a variety of documents from the ninth century and beyond. In the ninth-century manuscript, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 5/II, for example, such an excommunication and malediction is threatened:

Sint maledicti et excommunicati et anathematizati a consorcio omnium fidelium christianorum dei. *Veniat super eos maledictio* omnium sanctorum dei. Maledicant illos angeli et archangeli dei. Maledicant illos patriarche et prophetae. Maledicant illos omnes apostoli et omnes martires et omnes confessores et omnes virgines .... Maledicti sint stantes et sedentes. Maledicti sint iacentes et ambulantes. Maledicti sint dormientes et vigilantes. Maledicti manducantes et bibentes ... *infernum et cum datan et abiran*.<sup>54</sup>

Norman manuscripts from the tenth century and beyond echo these threats:

Damnentur cum Juda traditore .... Pereant cum Datiano et Nerone. Judicet illos Dominus, sicut iudicavit Dathan et Abiron, quos terra vivos absorbit ... maledicti sint dormientes et vigilantes, maledicti jejunantes et manducantes et

<sup>51</sup> Baluze, *Capitularia*, col. 470.

<sup>52</sup> Edmond Martène, *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus libri 2* (Antwerp, 1736), cols. 900-902, lib. III, cap. 3, ordo iii. This text is found in a late manuscript, Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale 1228 (Y. 208), on which see Aimé-Georges Martimort, *La documentation liturgique de Dom Edmond Martène: étude codicologique* (Studi e Testi 279; Vatican City, 1978), p. 419.

<sup>53</sup> See Lester K. Little, 'Formules monastiques de malédiction aux ix<sup>e</sup> et x<sup>e</sup> siècles', *Revue Mabillon* 58 (1975) 384, and references therein.

<sup>54</sup> fol. 220r-v, ed. Little, *ibid.*, 386 f.

bibentes; maledicti sint loquentes et tacentes .... Maledicti stando, jacendo, sedendo ....<sup>55</sup>

... sit cruciatus cum Chore, Datan, et Abiron, Juda atque ... Nerone ... Herode .... Maledicti sint dormientes, et vigilantes. Maledicti sint stantes, et jacentes .... Maledicti edentes et bibentes. Maledicti loquentes et tacentes ....<sup>56</sup>

And finally a formula of excommunication that Baluze connected with the earlier formula from Urgel in Catalonia calls down a most violent malediction in an extensive litany of curses highly reminiscent of our document:

... ut aeternis suppliciis cruciandus mancipetur cum Dathan et Abiron .... Maledictus sit vivendo, moriendo, manducando, bibendo, esuriendo, sitiendo, jejunando, dormitando, dormiendo, vigilando, ambulando, stando, sedendo, jacendo, operando, quiescendo, mingendo, cacando, flebotomando.<sup>57</sup>

By at least the second half of the eleventh century the 'overkill' of anathemas was being called into question by such eminent churchmen as Peter Damian, and as a result maledictions like these and ours had largely fallen into disuse by the twelfth century.<sup>58</sup> When in the late eleventh century, then, the *Treuga Dei* was promulgated by such popes as Urban II in southern Italian councils like that in Troia (1093),<sup>59</sup> excommunication and malediction were threatened, but the violence of the threats found in our southern Italian document had largely disappeared.

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<sup>55</sup> Ed. Martène, *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus*, col. 911, lib. III, cap. 4, formula vi, from Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale 453 (A. 425), on which see Martimort, *La documentation*, p. 422.

<sup>56</sup> Martène, *ibid.*, cols. 911 f., formula vii, from a Fécamp manuscript, on which see Martimort, *ibid.*, pp. 422 f.

<sup>57</sup> Baluze, *Capitularia*, cols. 469 f.

<sup>58</sup> Little, 'Formules', 384 f. and cf. Lester K. Little, 'La morphologie des malédictions monastiques', *Annales: économies, sociétés, civilisations* 34.1 (1979) 48.

<sup>59</sup> 'c. 2. Si quis treviam Dei fregerit, usque tertio ad satisfactionem ab episcopo moneatur. Quod si nec tertio satisfacere consenserit episcopus, vel cum metropolitanis consilio, aut cum duobus, aut uno vicinorum episcoporum, in rebellem anathematis sententiam dicat, et per scripturam episcopis circumquaque denunciaret. Si excommunicatum episcoporum nullus in communionem suscipiat; immo, scriptura suscepta, sententiam quisque confirmet. Si quis aliter praesumpserit, ordinis sui periculo subiacebit', ed. G. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, 31 vols. (Florence, 1759-98), 20.790. Cf. the Council of Melfi (1089) (Mansi 20.724 f.) and the account of Lupus Protospatharius in the *Annales* ad an. 1089 (MGH SS 5; Hanover, 1844), p. 62. It is on the basis of these documents that G. A. Loud, 'The Church, Warfare and Military Obligation in Norman Italy' in *The Church and War*, ed. W. J. Sheils (Studies in Church History 20; Oxford, 1983), p. 35, has recently argued that 'The Peace and Truce of God came late to southern Italy under papal auspices....'

In presenting the text of our document here, paragraphs have been introduced to emphasize the different sections of our text. Pointed brackets have been used where the text is obscured either by the tightness of the binding or by the fading of the ink on the rough and water-marked single sheet of parchment. Where the partially obscured letter or letters can be read with some certainty, they have been inserted between the pointed brackets, but where this is not possible, conjectural readings have been added in the apparatus. Abbreviations have been expanded and the spelling of the manuscript maintained. Punctuation has been in part modernized but maintained insofar as possible.

<...> et < ><sup>a</sup> < ><sup>b</sup> nunc < ><sup>c</sup> pax firma pro treugua Dei < ><sup>d</sup> pre< ><sup>e</sup>nus Odil< ><sup>f</sup>s abbas cum ceteris episcopis et cum sanctis clericis mandat vobis, non ex part<e> regis terreni, non ex parte ma<r>chionis, non ducis, non comitis, non al< ><sup>g</sup>ius pa<r>tis (*sic*) persone, sed ex parte Dei et omnium sanctorum, angelorum, et archangelorum, et omnium celestium virtutum, et omnium sanctorum, patriarcharum, et prophetarum, apostolorum, et martyrum, confessorum, atque virginum et omnium electorum sanctorum Dei.

Nec < ><sup>h</sup>tet aliqui <s> <sup>i</sup>hoc eos vel esse sed illi prout possibile est in pace persistentibus hos<sup>i</sup> < ><sup>j</sup> dies predictos deifice pacis omnimodo datos per treugam Dei applicuerunt et omnibus Christianis custodiendam in perpetuum stabilierunt.

Quicumque istam treugam Dei cum pace et humilitate firmam tenuerint et bene observaverint, sint absoluti a culpis et a peccatis suis a Deo Patre omnipotente et a Filio eius Iesu Christo et a piritu (*sic*) sancto et a sancta Maria regina celi cum omni choro virginum, et a sancto Michael e cum omni exercitu angelorum, et a sancto Petro cum omni ordine apostolorum, martyrum, confessorum, virginum, et orthodoxis viris, nunc et semper et in secula seculorum. Amen.

Qui vero istam treugam Dei promissam habuerit et si in ea < ><sup>k</sup> inciderit nescienter aut per ignorantiam aut per ebrietatem aut forte per iracundiam, in

<sup>a</sup> illeg.: space for approximately 4 letters.

<sup>b</sup> illeg.: *pro*?

<sup>c</sup> illeg.: space for 2-3 letters.

<sup>d</sup> illeg.: *quam*?

<sup>e</sup> illeg.: *clarus domi*-?

<sup>f</sup> illeg.: space for 1 letter.

<sup>g</sup> illeg.: *-ter*-?

<sup>h</sup> illeg.: *pu*-?

<sup>i</sup> *hoc eos ... persistentibus hos*: syntax and meaning unclear.

<sup>j</sup> illeg.: space for 2-3 letters.

<sup>k</sup> illeg.: *m*?

ipso die subito traat ad penitentiam et veniam accipiat, ter virgis cesus et si in secunda die produxerit novem peniteat et novem virgis cesus et permaneat inlesus.

Et < ><sup>l</sup> < ><sup>m</sup>tem et sponte fregerit illam aut frangere consiliatus fuerit < ><sup>n</sup> excommunicatus a Deo Patre omnipotente et a Filio eius Iesu Christo et a Spiritu < ><sup>o</sup> a sancta Maria regina celorum digna cum omni choro virginum, et a sancto Michael e cum omni exercitus (*sic*) angelorum, et a sancto Petro cum omni ordine apostolorum, martyrum, confessorum, virginum et ab omnibus electis Dei, episcopis, presbyteris, abbatibus, fideles (*sic*) clericis, et orthodoxis viris. Sit maledictus et anathematizatus et excommunicatus, detestabilis et abominatus modo et in perpetuum; sit condampnatus et absorbeat eum mater terra sicut Dathan et Abiron, s<i>t demersus in profundum inferni cum Nerone et Herode et Iuda traditore. Et quandiu vixerit in isto seculo, sit maledictus et ana<th>ematizatus, ambulando, stando, sedendo, iacendo, dormi<en>do, vigilando, manducando, bibendo, loquendo, tacendo. Sit maledictus in omni opere suo. Nullus eum adiuvet nec etiam < ><sup>p</sup>c< ><sup>q</sup> mandatum fregit sit misertus ei. Iste et omnes maledictiones que (*sic*) sub Moysen et Aaron percussa est Egiptus veniat (*sic*) super eos qui hanc treugnam Dei fregerit. Et si in sanctam trinitatem et veram pacem recognosce < ><sup>r</sup> erit et si emendationem et condignam penitentiam contrito cor<de> et <h>umiliato spiritu venerit et accipiat penitentiam sicut illis <...>

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<sup>l</sup> illeg.: *q*?

<sup>m</sup> illeg.: *per volunta-*?

<sup>n</sup> illeg.: *sit*?

<sup>o</sup> illeg.: *sco et*

<sup>p</sup> illeg.: space for 3-4 letters.

<sup>q</sup> illeg.: space for 3 letters.

<sup>r</sup> illeg.: space for 4-8 letters.

## OCKHAM'S RAZOR AND CHATTON'S ANTI-RAZOR

*Armand Maurer, C.S.B.*

AFTER completing his work for the degree of Master of Theology at Oxford about 1320, Ockham likely left Oxford and spent several years teaching in Franciscan convents, until he went to Avignon early in 1324 to answer the charge of heresy.<sup>1</sup> During his Oxford period and later at Franciscan convents, perhaps at London, his path must have crossed that of his Franciscan confrère, Walter of Chatton, who was studying about this time at Oxford and teaching in convents of his Order.<sup>2</sup> Whatever their personal relationship might have been, it is certain that each knew the other's theological and philosophical views intimately and often disagreed with them. In their disputes Chatton frequently took the side of Duns Scotus, who was Ockham's *bête noire*. Ockham went his own way, initiating a revolution in theology and philosophy whose consequences are felt to the present day. An essential element in this revolution was Ockham's appeal to a favorite axiom 'A plurality is not to be posited without necessity' ('Pluralitas non est ponenda sine necessitate'). Sometimes he used an earlier formula: 'It is useless to do with more what can be done with fewer' ('Frustra fit per plura quod potest fieri per pauciora').<sup>3</sup> The principle was

<sup>1</sup> For Ockham's life, see L. Baudry, *Guillaume d'Occam. Sa vie, ses œuvres, ses idées sociales et politiques*, vol. 1: *L'homme et les œuvres* (Paris, 1950); A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500*, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1957-59), 2.1384-87; J. A. Weisheipl, 'Ockham and Some Mertonians', *Mediaeval Studies* 30 (1968) 163-74.

<sup>2</sup> For Chatton's life and relations with Ockham, see L. Baudry, 'Gauthier de Chatton et son commentaire des Sentences', *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge* 14 (1943-45) 337-69; Emden, *ibid.* 1.395-96; W. J. Courtenay, *Adam Wodeham. An Introduction to His Life and Writings* (Leiden, 1978), pp. 66-74; G. Gál in the introduction to William of Ockham, *Summa logicae* (St. Bonaventure, N.Y., 1974), pp. 54\*-55\*; J. C. Wey in the introduction to William of Ockham, *Quodlibeta septem* (St. Bonaventure, N.Y., 1980), pp. 36\*-41\*; G. Gál in the introduction to William of Ockham, *Ordinatio (Opera theologica 1)*; St. Bonaventure, N.Y., 1967), pp. 26\*-31\*.

<sup>3</sup> About the middle of the thirteenth century the razor was formulated by Odo Rigaldus in the form: 'Frustra fit per plura quod potest fieri per unum'. This is the oldest known version of the axiom: see C. K. Brampton, 'Nominalism and the Law of Parsimony', *The Modern Schoolman* 41 (1964) 275. Other articles on the razor are: W. M. Thornburn, 'The Myth of Ockham's Razor', *Mind* 27 (1918) 345-52; M. M. Rossi, 'Riflessioni sul rasoio di Occam', *Logos*

not original with him; it was in frequent use at the time and its foundation can be traced back to Aristotle.<sup>4</sup> Scotus, as well as Ockham, often had recourse to it,<sup>5</sup> but Ockham's use of the axiom was new. It was one of the means by which he eliminated entities dear to Duns Scotus and followers such as Chatton, especially what Ockham calls 'small entities' (*res parvae*) like relation, motion and action.<sup>6</sup>

In defense of the reality of these and other entities, Chatton devised his own counter-principle or anti-razor. 'My rule', he retorted, is that 'if three things are not enough to verify an affirmative proposition about things, a fourth must be added, and so on'.<sup>7</sup> Chatton's anti-razor was to have little success in the history of Western thought, while the razor became a keystone in modern science and philosophy. First formulated in the Middle Ages, the razor was accepted by scientists and philosophers such as Galileo, Newton, Leibniz and Bertrand Russell.<sup>8</sup> But the anti-razor did not lack its supporters, for it appears in a

20 (1937) 319-58; C. F. Rogers, 'Ockham's Razor', *Theology* 40 (1940) 340-49; D. P. Henry, 'Ockham's Razor and the Unification of Physical Science', *British Journal of Philosophical Science* 8 (1957-58) 265-80; G. O'Hara, 'Ockham's Razor Today', *Philosophical Studies* 12 (1963) 125-39; A. Maurer, 'Method in Ockham's Nominalism', *Mind* 61 (1978) 426-43.

The wording ('Entia non sunt multiplicanda praeter necessitatem') appears to be post-medieval. In 1639 it was cited, in slightly different words ('Non sunt multiplicanda entia sine necessitate'), by the Scotist commentator John Ponce of Cork as an *axioma vulgare* of the scholastics; see Duns Scotus, *In 3 Sent.*, d. 34, q. unica (*Opera omnia* 15; Paris, 1894), p. 483a. See also Honoré Fabri (1606-88), *Tractatus physicus de motu locali*, lib. 1, axioma iii (Lyons, 1646), col. 6; G. W. Leibniz, *De stilo philosophico Nizolii* 28 (*Opera philosophica*, ed. J. E. Erdmann, pars prior [Berlin, 1840], p. 69) and Leibniz, *Philosophical Papers and Letters*, trans. L. E. Loemker, 1 (Chicago, 1956), pp. 198-99.

<sup>4</sup> See Aristotle, *Posterior Analytics* 1.25 (86a33); *Physics* 1.4 (188a17), 8.6 (259a8); *De caelo* 1.4 (271a33).

<sup>5</sup> See, e.g., Scotus, *Ordinatio* 1, d. 3, pars 3, q. 1 (*Opera omnia* 3; Vatican City, 1954), p. 224 n. 369; *De primo principio*, c. 2, n. 10 (*Opera omnia* 4; Paris, 1891), p. 735.

<sup>6</sup> Ockham uses the expression *res parva* of the relations of equality, likeness and causality; see *Quodlibeta* vi, q. 12 (p. 631.51-52) and q. 26 (p. 683.20).

<sup>7</sup> 'Arguo sic: propositio affirmativa, quae quando verificatur, solum verificatur pro rebus: si tres res non sufficiunt ad verificandum eam, oportet ponere quartam, et sic deinceps' (Chatton, *Reportatio* 1, d. 30, q. 1, a. 4; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 15887, fol. 63rb).

Chatton's *Lectura* has a more extended and precise formula: 'Ubi cumque propositio affirmativa nata est verificari pro rebus actualiter existentibus, si duae res qualitercumque praesentes secundum situm et durationem sine alia re non poterunt sufficere, oportet aliam rem ponere; et si tres qualitercumque praesentes secundum situm et durationem sine alia re non poterunt sufficere, oportet quartam rem ponere, et sic ulterius procedendo' (*Lectura* 1, d. 3, q. 1, a. 1; Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Conv. soppr. C.5.357, fol. 82ra).

I am indebted to Joseph C. Wey for transcriptions of the passages from the works of Chatton: *ae* (for *e*), *tio* (for *cio*), etc. have been substituted.

<sup>8</sup> For Galileo see *Dialogue concerning the Two Chief World Systems, Ptolemaic & Copernican*, trans. S. Drake (Berkeley-Los Angeles, 1962), pp. 396-97; Newton, *Philosophiae naturalis principia mathematica*, 3rd edition by A. Koyre and I. B. Cohen, 2 (Cambridge, Mass., 1972), p. 550; Leibniz, above, n. 3; Russell, *Our Knowledge of the External World* (London, 1926), p. 112.



fourteenth-century anti-Ockhamist logic attributed erroneously to Richard of Campsall. The pseudo-Campsall clearly depends on Chatton when he lays down the rule: 'Whenever an affirmative proposition is verified of things, if one thing does not suffice to verify the proposition two things must be posited, and if two things are insufficient then three, and so on to infinity'.<sup>9</sup> An anonymous Franciscan treatise on logic entitled *Logica 'Ad rudium'*, dated about 1335, repeats the same axiom: 'When a proposition is precisely verified of existing things and its truth does not depend on the future, if two things do not suffice for its truth a third must be posited, and so on.'<sup>10</sup>

Modern philosophers have also found need of an anti-razor to balance the cutting edge of the razor. Leibniz thought that the nominalists' law of parsimony should be countered with a 'principle of plenitude' (to use the phrase of Arthur Lovejoy),<sup>11</sup> according to which God created the best of possible worlds with the greatest number of possible beings. Leibniz did not think that the razor, when correctly understood, conflicts with the opulence of nature. The law of economy means that God works in simple ways in nature, bringing about the greatest diversity by the easiest and simplest means. God has implanted in the world simple laws which result in the vast variety and diversity we observe in nature. There is simplicity and economy in nature's laws (which are God's means) and plenitude in their effects.<sup>12</sup>

Another form of the anti-razor is found in Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason*. Kant accepted the razor as formulated in his day: 'Beings should not be multiplied beyond what is necessary'. He regarded this not as a rule about nature itself, but as a regulative idea of pure reason, its function being 'to bring unity into the body of our detailed knowledge'. So compelling did he find the idea that he did not think it should be encouraged. Rather, it should be moderated by a counter-principle, which he stated as follows: 'The variety of beings should not rashly be diminished' (*entium varietates non temere esse minuendas*).<sup>13</sup>

<sup>9</sup> '...quandocunque aliqua propositio affirmativa verificatur pro rebus, si vna res non sufficiat ad verificandum talem proposicionem, oportet ponere duas, et si due non sufficiant, tres, et sic in infinitum' (pseudo-Richard of Campsall, *Logica Campsall Anglicij, ualde utilis et realis contra Ockham* 41.19, ed. E. A. Synan, *The Works of Richard of Campsall* 2 [Toronto, 1982], p. 237).

<sup>10</sup> 'Quando propositio precise verificatur pro rebus existentibus et eius veritas non dependet de futuro: si ad veritatem eius non sufficiunt due res, oportet tertiam ponere, et sic deinceps' (*Anonymi auctoris franciscani Logica 'Ad rudium'* 59, ed. L. M. de Rijk [Nijmegen, 1981], p. 38). I am indebted to Paul Vincent Spade for this citation.

<sup>11</sup> A. Lovejoy, *The Great Chain of Being* (Cambridge, Mass., 1936).

<sup>12</sup> See R. McRae, *Leibniz: Perception, Apperception, and Thought* (Toronto, 1976), p. 112.

<sup>13</sup> I. Kant, *Critique of Pure Reason*, trans. N. K. Smith (London, 1950), pp. 538 (A 652, B 680), 541 (A 656, B 684).

In our own day the mathematician-philosopher Karl Menger has proposed his own anti-razor. He finds mathematicians too parsimonious in their account of variables, failing to recognize their variety; and so he lays down what he calls 'a *Law against Miserliness* – stipulating that *entities must not be reduced to the point of inadequacy*, and, more generally, that *it is vain to try to do with fewer what requires more*'.<sup>14</sup>

The history of the razor and anti-razor, captivating as it is, is not the subject of the present paper. We are here concerned only with the quarrel between Ockham and Chatton over the values of the axioms, with the hope that an examination of this dispute will throw light on their meaning. Gedeon Gál, one of the editors of the excellent critical edition of Ockham's *Sentences*, suggests that they are but two sides of the same coin, the razor expressing negatively what the anti-razor expresses positively. Both Ockham and Chatton, he says, require a sufficient number of entities to verify a proposition, Ockham stating the sufficiency in a negative form 'no more than is necessary', Chatton stating it in a positive form 'no less than is necessary'.<sup>15</sup> No doubt there is some truth in this attempt to reconcile the two axioms. Both Ockham and Chatton were reasonable enough to agree that a sufficient number of items should be posited in order to verify a proposition – no more and no less. However, there appears to be more to the razor and anti-razor than this, at least as Ockham and Chatton defended them. Gál's interpretation of the axioms does not explain why Chatton, while occasionally using the razor, preferred the anti-razor, calling it the 'clearer' principle.<sup>16</sup> Neither does it account for the fact that Ockham never made personal use of the anti-razor nor why he objected to the way Chatton used it. In his disputes with Chatton he calls the anti-razor 'false unless it is better understood',<sup>17</sup> and again, 'false as it is generally understood'.<sup>18</sup> What did Ockham find wrong with Chatton's use of the anti-razor? Why was he content with the razor, as though the anti-razor were, if not wrong in itself, at least superfluous? Light will be thrown on these questions if we examine some of the disputes between the two Franciscans involving the use of the anti-razor.

One of the debates is recorded in Ockham's *Quodlibet* VI, q. 12, which asks whether the relation of efficient causality is a reality distinct from the absolute

<sup>14</sup> Karl Menger, 'A Counterpart of Ockham's Razor in Pure and Applied Mathematics: Ontological Uses', *Synthese* 12 (1960) 415 (Menger's emphasis).

<sup>15</sup> Gál in the introduction to Ockham, *Summa logicae*, p. 61\*.

<sup>16</sup> Comparing his own anti-razor to the razor Chatton writes: 'Ista propositio clarior est quam alia ad oppositum. Et hoc mihi sufficit' (*Reportatio* I, d. 30, q. 1, a. 4: Paris lat. 15887, fol. 63rb).

<sup>17</sup> Ockham, *Quodlibet* I, q. 5 (p. 32.72).

<sup>18</sup> *ibid.* VI, q. 12 (p. 632.100-101).

terms of the relation.<sup>19</sup> Suppose there is an efficient cause A and its effect B: is there a third reality, a real relation of causality set up between A and B? Ockham was convinced that there is not. In his view, the absolute realities of cause and effect are sufficient to account for the fact that they are really related in this way. No additional relational reality is needed. Indeed, in the created world there are no *res relativae*; all realities are absolutes.<sup>20</sup> Before presenting his own position on the topic he gives several arguments to the contrary, the second of which is taken from Chatton's *Sentences*.<sup>21</sup> Chatton, like the majority of his contemporaries, was of the opinion that when things are really related, like an efficient cause and its effect, over and above them there must be a real relation binding them together. Chatton claimed to have many arguments in support of this, but only one he thought really weighty.<sup>22</sup> It is based on the principle that he calls 'my rule' (*regula mea*): 'When a proposition is verified of things, if two do not suffice, a third must be posited.'<sup>23</sup> Now consider the proposition 'A produces B'. Are A and B sufficient to verify the proposition? Clearly not, for God can produce A and B by himself, and then the same two absolute realities exist, but they cannot verify the proposition 'A produces B', for in this case it is God who produces B. In order for the proposition to be true, a third reality must be added, namely, a real relation of causality between A and B.<sup>24</sup>

Chatton gives examples to illustrate his point. Consider the proposition 'Heat produces heat'. What is needed to verify this proposition? Not the two absolute qualities of heat, for God can produce heat by himself – heat in any number – and then it is not true to say that heat produces heat. A thousand absolute entities might be added but they will not be enough to verify the proposition. For this a real relation of causality is needed.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>19</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 629-33.

<sup>20</sup> 'Nec potest per rationem ostendi quin omnis res realiter distincta ab alia ita sit res absoluta sicut alia, quamvis non omnis res sit ita perfecta res absoluta sicut alia' (*Ordinatio* I, d. 30, q. 1 and IV [p. 307.12-15]). Ockham restricts himself to natural reason in order to leave room for the possibility of faith's teaching that the Persons of the Trinity are *res relativae*. Strictly speaking it is not proper to speak of a thing as absolute, since the distinction between relative and absolute is one between terms, not things: 'Similiter distinctio entis per absolutum et respectivum non est entis in quantum ens sed terminorum...' (Ockham, *Summa logicae* I, c. 51 [p. 167.148-149]). For Ockham's doctrine of relation, see *ibid.*, cc. 49-54 (pp. 153-79); *Quodlibeta* VI, qq. 22-25 (pp. 666-82).

<sup>21</sup> Ockham, *Quodlibeta* VI, q. 12 (p. 629.8-13). See Chatton, *Reportatio* I, d. 30, q. 1, a. 4 (Paris lat. 15887, fol. 63rb).

<sup>22</sup> *ibid.* (Paris lat. 15887, fol. 63ra).

<sup>23</sup> See above, n. 7. Chatton calls this 'my rule' (*ibid.*, fol. 64ra).

<sup>24</sup> This is a generalization of Chatton's arguments (*ibid.*, fol. 63ra-b). Ockham reports one of them in *Quodlibeta* VI, q. 12 (p. 629.8-13).

<sup>25</sup> 'Secundum exemplum est: haec est vera "calor producit calorem". Quae sunt res, quibus positae haec est vera? Non duo isti calores tantum; nec duo calores et Deus. Argue ut prius, si mille addantur absoluta' (*ibid.*, fol. 63ra).

Another of Chatton's examples is the proposition 'Visual perception depends on the presence of its object'. The perception and the object, being absolutes, cannot verify the proposition, for God, being omnipotent, can conserve in existence the perception and its object. Then the proposition is not true, for the perception depends on God and not on its object. In order for the proposition to be true, a relative reality, or real relation of dependence of perception on its object, is needed.<sup>26</sup>

Another difference of opinion between Ockham and Chatton concerns the status of motion. This is recorded in Ockham's *Quodlibet* 1, q. 5. Ockham saw no reason to posit a distinct reality called motion in order to account for the fact that things move in space, any more than that there must be a distinct reality called relation to explain the fact that things are really related to each other. In his view, motion and relation are only terms that we use to describe certain factual situations of things. Relation is a term that we use to designate the fact that things are related to each other, though they are related to each other by themselves and not by an added reality of relation. The word 'motion' is just a shorthand way of describing the fact that something is successively in different places without resting in any of the intermediate places.<sup>27</sup>

Though Chatton did not dismiss this view of motion outright, he preferred the traditional explanation of motion as a distinct entity, really different from the permanent things that are set in motion. Motion is not just a term; it is a reality that things acquire when they move. Chatton's difficulty in accepting Ockham's account of motion is easy to see. Ockham asks us to believe that things at rest (*res permanentes*) can by themselves explain their motion, just as he would have us think that absolute things (*res absolutae*) can by themselves explain their relatedness to each other.

To Chatton this is too parsimonious an explanation of either relation or motion. Consider the proposition 'A mobile thing (A) is moved by a mover (B)'. Are things at rest (*res permanentes*) enough to verify this proposition? Clearly not, for God by himself can set the thing in motion. Then the same moving thing exists, and the negative condition of its movement is satisfied, i.e., it passes from one place to another without resting in the intermediate places. But the proposition is not true: 'A mobile thing (A) is moved by a mover (B)', for

<sup>26</sup> 'Quintum exemplum est: visio oculi dependet ex praesentia albedinis, ita quod ad hoc quod visio existat, requirit praesentiam obiecti. Absoluta quaecumque possunt simul poni, et tamen si Deus immediate conservet visionem, haec erit falsa "visio dependet ab albedine"' (ibid., fol. 63rb).

<sup>27</sup> '... dico quod motus localis est coexistentia successiva, sine quiete media, alicuius continue existentis in loco diversis locis' (Ockham, *Quodlibet* 1, q. 5 [p. 29.10-12]). For Ockham's doctrine of motion, see *De successivis*, ed. P. Boehner (St. Bonaventure, N.Y., 1944), pp. 43-44; *Reportatio* II, q. 7 and v (St. Bonaventure, N.Y., 1981), pp. 99-151.

now it is God and not B who does the moving. In order for the proposition to be true, a third reality called motion must be added to the mobile thing. Chatton describes this reality as the relation of the passive movement of the mobile thing (A) to the mover (B).<sup>28</sup>

The weapon Chatton uses against Ockham in these and similar disputes is his anti-razor: 'If two things do not suffice to verify a proposition regarding existing things, a third must be posited'. Chatton offers several proofs of his law, the first of which is based on the principle of contradiction. (Incidentally Ockham does not appear to have attempted a proof of the razor; perhaps this difference accounts for Chatton's calling his own rule clearer than Ockham's). Chatton's proof goes as follows. It would be contradictory for the same proposition to be both verifiable and not verifiable of the same things existing in the same way in place and time, without the addition of another thing. For instance, the proposition 'Fire does not burn wood' is verifiable of fire and wood without the action of burning. It would be contradictory for the same proposition not to be verifiable of them existing in the same way at the same time. In order to verify the proposition 'Fire burns wood', something more must be added than what is needed to verify the proposition 'Fire does not burn wood'. This something more is a reality – the relative reality of the action of burning – over and above the realities of fire and wood.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>28</sup> 'Respondeo ergo aliter pro modo quod motus est aliqua res positiva praeter res absolutas permanentes, respectus scilicet motionis passivae mobilis ad motorem, quia ubi propositio verificatur pro rebus simul existentibus, si rebus existentibus simul positus potest esse falsa, oportet ponere aliam. Sed haec est huiusmodi: Hoc movetur ad hoc ab agente. Et ad veritatem huius non sufficiunt omnes res absolutae possibiles nec negationes quomodocumque combinatae absolutorum, quia omnibus aequae praesentibus posset moveri a deo, et tunc esset haec falsa. Ergo alia res requiritur, scilicet motio passiva' (Chatton, *Reportatio* II, d. 2, q. 1, a. 1; Paris lat. 15887, fol. 90va).

<sup>29</sup> 'Istam propositionem probo primo sic: de quolibet, affirmatio vel negatio; de nullo, eorum ambo. Igitur impossibile est quod pro eisdem rebus quocumque uno et eodem modo praesentibus secundum situm et durationem sine alia re, eadem propositio nata sit verificari et non sit nata verificari. Sed si non oportet aliam rem ponere ad hoc quod sit vera, tunc pro istis rebus sic praesentibus secundum situm et durationem sine alia re, nata est haec propositio verificari, sicut patet ex opposito. Quia si non sit nata verificari pro eis sic se habentibus, igitur oportet aliquid aliud ponere in re ad hoc quod ipsa sit vera, quia in eo quod res est vel non est, est oratio vera vel falsa. Aut enim requiritur aliquid plus in re ad hoc quod ipsa sit vera, vel nihil plus. Si nihil plus, habetur propositum, quia istae sic se habentes sufficiunt sine plure. Si aliquid plus in re praeter praesentiam situs et durationis, illud plus, ex quo est in re, est res aliqua, et per consequens habetur propositum: quod praeter istas sic se habentes requiritur aliqua alia res. Et per consequens ex opposito, si praeter istas sic se habentes non requiritur alia res, tunc haec propositio nata est pro istis sic se habentibus verificari; sed pro istis sic se habentibus sine alia re non est nata verificari, quia per positum istae res sic se habentes sine alia re non possunt sufficere ad hoc quod sit vera; ergo contradictoria simul vera' (Chatton, *Lectura* I, d. 3, q. 1, a. 1; Florence Conv. soppr. C.5.357, fol. 82ra). The point at issue in this article is: 'quod cognitio qua anima vel angelus cognoscit distinguatur ab angelo realiter'.

Ockham's analysis of the notion of action led him to a different conclusion. He saw no need for a distinct reality of action any more than for one of motion. Just as motion is identical with that which moves, so action is really the same as that which acts, or the agent. More precisely, the term 'action' signifies the agent while connoting the effect it produces.<sup>30</sup>

Chatton, on the contrary, contended that this is too parsimonious an analysis of action. One may insist on paucity of explanation ('semper est paucitas ponenda'),<sup>31</sup> he says, but this is going too far in the direction of economy. Over and above all absolute realities we must concede action or production as a relative entity. This he shows as follows. When an affirmative proposition is verified of things, if by the power of God it remains that these things exist and nevertheless that the proposition is false, something more is needed for the truth of the proposition. Now consider the proposition 'The soul causes love of God'. The proposition, if true, is verified of the soul and its actions. But no number of absolute entities suffice to verify it, for all of them (i.e., the soul and love) can exist by the divine power alone, without the soul *causing* love of God. The conclusion follows: in order that the proposition be true we must posit productive action as a relative reality added to the absolute entities of the soul and love.<sup>32</sup>

This is a good example, I believe, of the misuse and misunderstanding of the anti-razor that Ockham deplored. As we have seen, he did not object to the anti-razor itself, but rather to Chatton's simplistic and uncritical use of it. Chatton assumes that an unverifiable proposition can be made verifiable simply by postulating more and more entities. As a consequence the anti-razor in Chatton's hands becomes a kind of magical formula telling us what entities are truly real, and the thrust of his principle is to multiply these entities needlessly.

In reply to Chatton, Ockham argues that one cannot always verify a proposition by adding entities.<sup>33</sup> The verification of propositions is not so simple

<sup>30</sup> For Ockham's doctrine of action, see *Summa logicae* 1, c. 57 (pp. 183-86) and *Quodlibeta* vii, qq. 3, 4 (pp. 709-14).

<sup>31</sup> Chatton, prol., q. 6, a. 3 (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 15886, fol. 49rb).

<sup>32</sup> 'Sed in proposito quae potest esse ars ad ostendendum quod anima est activa respectu dilectionis? Dico, primo praemittendo quod sicut superius probatum est, necesse est ponere praeter omnia absoluta rem relativam, puta actionem, quia ubi propositio affirmativa verificatur pro rebus, si per potentiam Dei stet quod illae res sint et tamen <quod> propositio <sit> falsa, plus requiritur ad veritatem illius propositionis quam illae res. Sed ista propositio verificatur pro anima et suis actibus "anima causat dilectionem Dei", et verificatur pro rebus si sit vera; et non sufficiunt ad eius veritatem res absolutae quaecumque, quia omnes possunt poni de potentia Dei et poni praesentes absque hoc quod anima causet dilectionem. Ergo necesse est ponere rem relativam ultra absoluta, scilicet actionem productivam' (Chatton, *Reportatio* 1, d. 1, q. 2, a. 1; Paris lat. 15887, fol. 3ra).

<sup>33</sup> See, for example, Ockham's argument that creation or conservation is not an action or 'passion' really distinct from the absolute entities involved (*Quodlibeta* vii, q. 1 [pp. 703-706]).

a matter as this. One must inquire whether the assumption of entities is reasonable, in line with experience, or justified by competent authority. These are the three criteria Ockham himself uses for judging the necessity of positing items. The razor states that a plurality is not to be assumed without necessity, but in order to know what is necessary Ockham appeals to experience and reason in philosophical and scientific matters and to the authority of Scripture and the Fathers of the Church in theological questions.<sup>34</sup>

Ockham sees Chatton further abusing the anti-razor by bringing the divine omnipotence into the argument. Chatton asks us to imagine God miraculously intervening in the course of nature and causing effects that he normally produces by secondary causes. In other words his argument has recourse to the absolute power of God (his *potentia absoluta*) and not to his ordained power (*potentia ordinata*). The appeal, however, to the divine omnipotence is out of place here, for rules such as the razor or anti-razor do not apply to the absolute power of God. Given his omnipotence we cannot estimate the number or kinds of things he might create or the means by which he might produce them. Ockham makes this clear when treating of the razor. God, he says, has revealed that we are destined to enjoy eternal life, and for this we are given not only the gift of the Holy Spirit but the Holy Spirit himself. An objector asks why the gift without the Holy Spirit does not suffice. Ockham's reply absolves God from any restriction by the razor: 'I say that God does many things by more means which he could do by fewer, nor should we look for any other reason [than the will of God]. And from the fact that he so wills, it is done fittingly and not in vain'.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>34</sup> See Ockham, *Reportatio* II, q. 14 and v (p. 319.21-22); *Ordinatio* I, d. 26, q. 1 and iv (p. 157.20-25); *De sacramento altaris* 28, ed. T. B. Birch (Burlington, Iowa, 1930), p. 318.

<sup>35</sup> 'Ad secundum dico quod Deus multa agit per plura quae posset facere per pauciora, nec est alia causa quaerenda. Et ex hoc ipso quod vult, convenienter fit et non frustra. Secus est in causis naturalibus et in causis voluntariis creatis, quae voluntariae causae debent conformare rectae rationi primae, nec aliter faciunt aliquid iuste et recte' (*Ordinatio* I, d. 14, q. 2 and III [p. 432.16-21]).

Roger Ariew uses this text to prove that the razor, as used by Ockham, does not have an ontological but only a methodological sense. He writes: 'It isn't that we are more likely right if we keep our entities to the minimum for there may exist useless entities by the will of God. God decides how many entities are to be; man decides how many concepts are to be.' Thus 'Ockham's razor is not Ockham's' ('Did Ockham Use His Razor?', *Franciscan Studies* 37 [1977] 15, 17; see also his *Ockham's Razor: A Historical and Philosophical Analysis of Ockham's Principle of Parsimony* [Diss. Illinois, 1976; University Microfilms International, 1977]).

Two remarks are in order. First, if God willed an entity it would not be useless. Second, all laws for Ockham, except the principle of non-contradiction, hold only considering the ordained power of God, not his absolute power. This is the case with the razor. It is a principle valid for the universe as God has willed it and normally governs it. As such, it has an ontological as well as an epistemological bearing.

For the distinction between the absolute and ordained power of God, see Ockham, *Quodlibeta* VI, q. 1 (pp. 585-86).

Neither does the anti-razor function in conjunction with the divine omnipotence. Chatton uses his principle, along with the notion of the divine omnipotence, to prove the reality of such supposed entities as relation and motion. As we have seen, he argues that in order to verify the proposition 'A is moved by B' A and B are not enough: a third reality called motion must be added. For God can miraculously move A by himself, and then the same two things exist as before, but they fail to verify the proposition. For the proposition to be true, the relative reality of movement must be added. Ockham replies that when God miraculously moves A, neither A and B, nor the addition of anything else, suffices to verify the proposition 'A is moved by B'. Why not? Because the proposition is now false: not B but God moves A.<sup>36</sup>

Ockham argues in the same vein against Chatton's use of the anti-razor and divine omnipotence to prove the reality of the causal relation. Consider the proposition 'A is the efficient cause of B'. Two things are enough, in Ockham's view, to verify the proposition in the natural way that one thing causes another. No additional relative entity is needed. If, however, God works a miracle and causes the effect by himself, Ockham claims that a hundred realities are not enough for the truth of the proposition. Why not? Because the proposition 'A is the efficient cause of B' is now clearly false. Not A, but God, is the cause of B.<sup>37</sup>

The debate between Ockham and Chatton over the use of the anti-razor continues in this highly dialectical fashion page after page. It is of small importance in the history of philosophy, but it assumes some significance in the context of fourteenth-century thought, illustrating well certain characteristics of the mental climate of the time. Fourteenth-century disputations often had recourse to the omnipotence of God. A disputant never allowed his opponent to forget the first article of the Creed: I believe in God the Father almighty. The debate often concerned what is possible, given the divine omnipotence. Many

<sup>36</sup> 'Ad propositum, dico quod ad veritatem istius "hoc mobile movetur ab isto movente", sufficiunt mobile et movens et quod ad praesentiam moventis mobile continue sit in alio et alio loco sine miraculo Dei; et quando non fit miraculum, ista sufficiunt; quando autem fit miraculum, nec ista nec quaecumque alia sufficiunt ad verificandum istam propositionem' (Ockham, *Quodlibet* 1, q. 5 [pp. 33.107-34.113]). The whole *Quodlibet* should be read.

<sup>37</sup> 'Ad aliud dico quod illa propositio (scil. "quando propositio verificatur pro rebus, si duae non sufficiunt, oportet ponere tertiam") generaliter accepta falsa est, quia aliquando ad veritatem propositionis sufficiunt duae res, aliquando nec duae nec tres sufficiunt. In proposito sufficiunt duae res, quando fiunt sine miraculo et naturaliter. Quando autem intellectus et intellectio non fiunt naturaliter sed miraculose, tunc non sufficiunt centum res ad eius veritatem' (ibid. vi, q. 12 [pp. 632.100-33.105]). Ockham sends the reader back to *Quodlibet* 1, q. 5 for a fuller explanation of his argument.



instances could be cited from the works of Ockham and his contemporaries.<sup>38</sup> The present dispute is one of them.

Another tendency of fourteenth-century thought illustrated by the dispute has been described by David Knowles as 'the passion for pursuing an idea to its logical term and indeed beyond it.'<sup>39</sup> Knowles gives examples of this inclination to extremism and extravagant theory in the political and ecclesiastical quarrels of the time. He points to Ockham's use of the razor as another instance of this fourteenth-century mentality. Chatton's defense of the anti-razor perhaps qualifies as another instance of the same tendency.

The chief importance, however, of the dispute between the two Franciscans is the light it throws on the meaning of Ockham's razor. It gives us, first of all, a new and better formulation of the razor, probably under the influence of Chatton. Ockham ordinarily used the traditional wordings 'A plurality is never to be posited without necessity', and 'It is useless to do with more what can be done with fewer'. But occasionally in his *Quodlibeta* (a relatively late work), he puts the razor in terms of the verification of a proposition: 'When a proposition is verified of things, if three or two things suffice for its truth it is not necessary to posit a fourth'.<sup>40</sup> Chatton put both the razor and anti-razor in terms of the verification of a proposition and it is probable that Ockham took this wording from him.<sup>41</sup>

Though Ockham uses the new formula of the razor, he does not give it a new meaning. Quite the contrary. He uses the various forms of the axiom

<sup>38</sup> See A. Maurer, 'Some Aspects of Fourteenth-Century Philosophy', *Medievalia et humanistica*, N.S., 7 (1976) 178-79; W. J. Courtenay, 'John of Mirecourt and Gregory of Rimini on Whether God Can Undo the Past', *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 39 (1972) 224-56 and 40 (1973) 147-74.

<sup>39</sup> D. Knowles, 'A Characteristic of the Mental Climate of the Fourteenth Century' in *Mélanges offerts à Étienne Gilson* (Toronto-Paris, 1959), p. 322.

<sup>40</sup> '... quando propositio verificatur pro rebus, si tres res vel duae sufficiunt ad veritatem illius propositionis, quarta res superfluit' (*Quodlibeta* vii, q. 1 [p. 704.17-19]); '... quando propositio verificatur pro rebus, si tres [res] sufficiunt ad eius veritatem, non oportet ponere quartam' (ibid. vii, q. 3 [p. 710.43-44]); '... quando propositio verificatur pro rebus, si pauciores sufficiunt, plures superfluit' (ibid. vii, q. 8 [p. 727.23-25]); '... quando propositio verificatur pro rebus, si duae res sufficiunt ad eius veritatem, superfluum est ponere tertiam' (ibid. iv, q. 24 [p. 413.15-17]); 'Quando propositio verificatur pro rebus, si duae res sufficiunt ad eius veritatem, non est ponenda tertia' (ibid. vi, q. 9 [p. 618.7-8]).

<sup>41</sup> Chatton sometimes uses the traditional formula of the razor: 'Pluralitas non est ponenda sine necessitate', as in *Lectura*, prol., q. 2, a. 1, ed. J. O'Callaghan in *Nine Mediaeval Thinkers*, ed. J. R. O'Donnell (Toronto, 1955), p. 236. At other times he expresses the razor in terms of the verification of a proposition: e.g., '... quando propositio affirmativa verificabilis est tantum pro rebus quae sunt simul, si duo sufficiant, ita quod contradictio sit illas esse et propositionem non esse veram, non debet poni tertia' (*Reportatio* i, d. 30, q. 1, a. 4; Paris lat. 15887, fol. 63vb).

For his statement of the anti-razor, see above, n. 7. See also *Lectura*, prol., q. 1, a. 1, ed. M. Reina in *Rivista critica di storia della filosofia* 25 (1970) 64.448-450; prol., q. 2, a. 1, ed. O'Callaghan, ibid., p. 240; prol., q. 6, a. 3 (Paris lat. 15886, fol. 49ra).

indifferently as though their meaning is the same. Indeed he sometimes employs the new formula in the *Quodlibeta* in contexts where, in the earlier commentary on the *Sentences*, he used the more familiar forms of the razor. To him these were but different ways of saying the same thing.<sup>42</sup>

What is the meaning of the razor as Ockham himself understood it? The new formula makes it explicit that it is a rule regarding human knowledge, more precisely regarding the truth of propositions. The older formulae also contain a reference to knowledge, though not so explicitly. They tell us not to 'do' with more what can be 'done' with fewer, or not 'to posit' more entities than are necessary. The 'doing' or 'positing' in these rules are cognitive acts of asserting, postulating or assuming, but it is not made clear that they are directed to the verification of a proposition.

Is the razor only concerned with human knowledge? Is it simply a methodological rule for verifying propositions? As Ockham understood the axiom it clearly has an ontological basis. For him the propositions in question are verified of things ('verificantur pro rebus'), and the maxim warns us not to posit more of them than are needed. Thus the razor has an ontological as well as a methodological bearing. Ockham's frequent use of the razor in eliminating supposed entities supports this interpretation. In Ockham's view the razor tells us something about the reality of the world and not just about how we know it or talk about it. It was left to Kant and modern linguistic philosophers to reduce the razor to a mere rule of thought or language.<sup>43</sup>

How can the razor be a rule about the world when the world is the creation of an omnipotent God who is not bound by the razor? If, as Ockham holds, God can 'do' with more entities what he could 'do' with fewer, how can the razor apply to the world he created? Is not the world as free of the limitations of the razor as God himself is?

Though Ockham believed in the absolute freedom and omnipotence of God, he did not conceive of him as a capricious monarch. He is free to create any possible world or worlds, but in fact he has created the present one and he has

<sup>42</sup> Compare Ockham, *Ordinatio* I, d. 31, q. unica and IV (pp. 396-97.23-24) with *Quodlibeta* VII, q. 1 (p. 704.17-18); also *Ordinatio* I, d. 30, q. 2 and IV (p. 322.9-10) with *Quodlibeta* VII, q. 8 (p. 727.23-25).

<sup>43</sup> Bertrand Russell correctly describes Ockham's razor as originally concerned with things and not just with signs or propositions: 'Ockham's razor, in its original form, was metaphysical; it was a principle of parsimony as regards "entities"' (B. Russell, 'My Mental Development' in P. A. Schilpp, ed., *The Philosophy of Bertrand Russell* [Evanston, 1946], p. 14). Russell himself gives a logical interpretation to the razor: 'Wherever possible, logical constructions are to be substituted for inferred entities' (*Mysticism and Logic* [London, 1917], p. 155). See G. O'Hara, 'Ockham's Razor Today', *Philosophical Studies* 12 (1963) 125-39. Wittgenstein understood the razor semantically: 'If a sign is *not necessary* then it is meaningless. That is the meaning of Occam's Razor' (*Tractatus logico-philosophicus* 3.328 [London, 1922]; see 5.47321).

willed it to be orderly and governed by laws he has freely chosen.<sup>44</sup> The razor is a principle that applies to the world as God has created it and as he ordinarily governs it. In other words, it is limited to the display of God's *potentia ordinata*; it does not extend to the full range of his *potentia absoluta*. Even miracles come under the razor: Ockham warns us not to multiply them beyond necessity.<sup>45</sup> But once the omnipotence of God enters the picture the razor does not work. There is no telling then how many things are necessary to verify a proposition.

Does this leave any room for the anti-razor? Ockham's attitude towards the anti-razor is difficult to define. He does not reject it outright but only as it was understood and used by contemporaries like Chatton. He does not welcome it, however, as a complement to his own principle of the razor, nor does he make personal use of it. Perhaps this can be explained by the anti-razor's tendency to turn the mind in a direction opposed to the razor. The traditional, Aristotelian axiom enjoins one to look for simple solutions to problems and to avoid assuming more entities than are needed to verify a proposition. This spirit of parsimony is lacking in the anti-razor. Everything happens as though for Ockham one principle (the razor) is enough, and there is no necessity to add a second. The anti-razor is but one of the many items that fall victim to the razor.

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<sup>44</sup> See A. Maurer, 'Ockham on the Possibility of a Better World', *Mediaeval Studies* 38 (1976) 291-312.

<sup>45</sup> '... frustra fit per plura quod potest fieri per pauciora, nec ponenda sunt plura miracula quae videntur rationi naturali repugnare, sine auctoritate Scripturae vel Sanctorum' (Ockham, *Ordinatio* I, d. 26, q. 1 and IV [p. 157.20-23]). The same point was made by Peter Auriol: '... ponenda non sunt plura miracula ad aliquem effectum, qui potest salvari per pauciora' (*In 4 Sent.*, d. 12, a. 3 [Rome, 1605], p. 120a).

## THE EASTER TABLE ANNALS OF MISSENDEN ABBEY: AN ANNOTATED TEXT

James M. Murray

A manuscript of the *Speculum humanae salvationis* belonging to the Art Institute of Chicago, Department of Prints and Drawings, accession number 23.240 was described thus by Seymour De Ricci and W. J. Wilson:

*Speculum humanae salvationis*. At the end, chronological tables. Vel. (early xvth c.), 111ff. (26 × 18 cm.). Written in England. Many drawings in the text, partly colored. Orig. wooden boards and sheepskin. Seems to have belonged to the Abbey of Great-Missenden; owned in 1628 by Walter Skory.<sup>1</sup>

This description is incomplete in one important respect, for the 'chronological tables' contain annalistic entries whose contents demonstrate that they pertain to Missenden Abbey itself, a twelfth-century foundation in Buckinghamshire of the Arrouaisian congregation of Augustinian canons and one of the larger Arrouaisian houses in England.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada*, 3 vols. (New York, 1935-40; rpt. 1961), 1.517. I wish to thank Professor Robert E. Lerner of Northwestern University for calling my attention to the presence of the annals in the manuscript and for his help in their interpretation. I owe a debt as well to Mr. Anselmo Carini, Assistant Curator of Drawings and Prints at the Art Institute of Chicago, for providing easy access to the codex.

<sup>2</sup> Missenden Abbey supported twenty-six to thirty canons from the twelfth through the fourteenth centuries; see David Knowles and R. N. Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses, England and Wales*, 2nd edition (London, 1971), p. 146. There are two modern histories of the abbey: Sister Elspeth in *V.C.H. Buckinghamshire*, 4 vols. and index (London, 1905), 1.369-77; J. G. Jenkins, ed., *The Cartulary of Missenden Abbey*, 3 vols. (London-Aylesbury, 1939-62), introduction to vol. 3. N. R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, 2nd edition (London, 1964), p. 131 lists three manuscripts from the abbey: our Chicago manuscript and Oxford, Bodleian Library Auct. D.1.10 (Augustine, s. xii/xiii) and Bodley 729 (Bede, etc., s. xiii). He accepts without comment De Ricci's uncertain association of the Chicago ms. with Missenden, doubtless because he was unaware that the 'chronological tables' were annals with information on the abbey's history likely to come only from a member of the community (for example, the entries for 1323, 1340, 1355). Two cartularies from the abbey also survive: London, British Library Harley 3688 (s. xiv) and Sloane 747 (s. xv/xvi).

The annals, which constitute a new, albeit brief, source of English history, are entered on an Easter table on fols. 105v-111v.<sup>3</sup> Between fols. 106 and 107 two folios containing entries for the entire twelfth century have been torn out of the codex; fols. 109 and 111 are mutilated, but the text of the annals is extant for the most part. On fols. 102v-111v there are numerous later additions, written upside down, of various passages from the Book of Proverbs evidently intended for the private edification of a canon. Walter Skory, the seventeenth-century owner of the manuscript, added jottings of his own; among these are a record of his purchases (fol. 110r-v) and a record of the apprenticeship of a certain John Thomas. The codex retains its original binding displaying a pattern widely used from 1350 to 1459.<sup>4</sup> Two clasps are missing, and there is an indication that the book was at one time chained through two holes in the upper left edge of the oak cover.

The Easter table, historical entries, and the text of the *Speculum humanae salvationis* were written by the same scribe in an *Anglicana formata* bookhand. The table and the entries, with few exceptions, were copied simultaneously, for there is no evidence of interruption or resumption of the work of copying by the same or another scribe at a later date, often a feature characterizing sets of annals.<sup>5</sup> There are two clues for the date of the manuscript:

(1) on fol. 2v an abbreviated Easter table beginning in 1406 and continuing to 1424 may have prompted De Ricci to assign the codex to the early fifteenth century. It should be noted, however, that the scribe of the fly-leaves (fols. 1-2) did not copy the main text or the annals, and, indeed, palaeographical evidence points to a later date for the fly-leaves.<sup>6</sup>

(2) moreover, the Easter table on fol. 2v differs greatly from the Easter table serving as the framework for the annals and hence it is unlikely that the former

<sup>3</sup> The gatherings of the codex are as follows: 2 (fly-leaves numbered '1' and '2') + 1<sup>8</sup>-13<sup>8</sup>, 14<sup>8</sup> (wants 2 folios between fols. 106 and 107 and 1 folio after fol. 111). The *Speculum humanae salvationis* occupies fols. 3r-104v, with many drawings in the text (some partially colored and others seemingly sketched by a later owner of the codex). The fly-leaves contain a calendar (fol. 1r-v), lunar table (fol. 2r), and Easter table (fol. 2v).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Graham Pollard, 'Describing Medieval Bookbindings' in J. J. G. Alexander and M. T. Gibson, eds., *Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays Presented to Richard William Hunt* (Oxford, 1976), fig. 6 on p. 57. The most significant characteristic is the pegging of two leather thongs in one hole in the wood cover.

<sup>5</sup> For an example of a set of annals compiled by various scribes, see Antonia Gransden, 'A Fourteenth-Century Chronicle from the Grey Friars at Lynn', *English Historical Review* 72 (1957) 270-78.

<sup>6</sup> The hand of fols. 1-2 exhibits many characteristics of the later form of *Anglicana formata*, among which are short, almost vertical ascenders, prominent broken strokes particularly in the *d* and 'horns' noticeable in the lower case *c*. Such features are typical of early fifteenth-century writing; see M. B. Parkes, *English Cursive Book Hands, 1250-1500* (Oxford, 1969), p. xix.

was copied from the latter.<sup>7</sup> Given that the binding is original and fols. 1-2 are not pasted in, it appears that a later writer may have simply copied what he chose on two blank folios which were then bound with the rest of the manuscript.

Thus, 1406 is a strong possibility as a *terminus ante quem*, and the annals suggest 1382 as a *terminus post quem*, for the body of the manuscript.<sup>8</sup> Since the annals end in 1382, it is probable that the source(s) used by the annalist ended in this year as well; we may speculate that if there were no intermediate form of the annalistic material, then it would have been odd for the annals to ignore events between 1382 and the year when the annals themselves were copied. Hence 1382-1406 will serve as the period in which the entire codex was written.

How the annals were compiled remains uncertain, but a few leads may be gleaned from the nature of our annals. To judge from the character and sparseness of the historical material before 1286, it would seem that the Missenden annals are not the descendant of a vigorous local tradition of historical writing dating back to the abbey's foundation in the twelfth century. Such information as they contain about events before 1286 could easily have come from various elementary reference works available in even a small library. This contention is strengthened by the sometimes startling omissions in the annals of events that would never have escaped the notice of a contemporary but very well might have been overlooked by later historians whose vision was obscured by time and the nature of their sources.<sup>9</sup> A tradition of historical recordkeeping in the abbey is more likely to have begun after 1286, the year the first purely local event is noted in the annals. The compilers continued to record historical events in the fourteenth century, and their work served as the source for the annals as they were copied into the last folios of the codex. This would be evidence for at least a feeble tradition of historical writing at Missenden in the Middle Ages.<sup>10</sup>

The presence on fols. 105v-111v of a relatively full Easter table (consisting of the golden number, dominical letter, and the date of Easter for each year) is

<sup>7</sup> The most striking differences are the use of Roman, rather than Arabic, numerals on the fly-leaf and the addition of a column of *littere prime* to the table on the fly-leaf.

<sup>8</sup> Various features of the script of fols. 3r-111v tend to suggest a date earlier than 1406. For example, there are no signs of 'horns', the *d* has looped diagonal ascenders and the overall appearance of the script is rather square and upright; these are all characteristics of the later fourteenth-century *Anglicana formata* (see Parkes, *English Cursive Book Hands*, pp. xvi-xix).

<sup>9</sup> Some notable omissions in the Missenden annals are the absences of any mention of *Magna Carta*, thirteenth-century crusading expeditions and events in the Holy Land.

<sup>10</sup> It was not unusual for a small religious house to keep its own chronicle; see Gransden, 'A Fourteenth-Century Chronicle', 272.

puzzling since the widespread use of an Easter table as a framework for annals had begun to decline around the eleventh century, when chroniclers often omitted the appurtenances of the full Easter table in favor of a simple mention of the date and dominical letter.<sup>11</sup> If we assume that the use of the Easter table framework for a set of annals in the fourteenth century was not merely an anachronistic exercise, it is possible that the exemplar from which our scribe copied was also embedded within an Easter table.<sup>12</sup> Clearly, the peculiar advantage of the Easter table to the annalist was its flexibility; since the *annus magnus* of 532 years is a recurring phenomenon, one can record within the compass of the table events which happened in 1 A.D., 533, or 1065 all in consecutive years on the same table. The different cycles are indicated in the Missenden annals by dots placed above the entry: one dot indicates the first cycle (1-532 A.D.), two the second (533-1064 A.D.), three the third (1065 A.D. on).

To what purpose was a set of annals included at the end of the *Speculum humanae salvationis*? One answer may be that it was the intention of the annalist to instruct his community. The *Speculum humanae salvationis* relates various acts of Christ in the New Testament to their prefigurations in the Old Testament, and thus constitutes a biblical history. The annals may have been viewed as a logical adjunct, being, as it were, a guide to post-biblical history. That the annals were indeed read by succeeding generations of canons is evident from the various later additions,<sup>13</sup> and so, if the annalist's purpose were didactic, he may be considered successful.

<sup>11</sup> For this development see R. L. Poole, *Chronicles and Annals. A Brief Outline of Their Origin and Growth* (Oxford, 1926), pp. 41-76.

<sup>12</sup> There are at least a few examples of Easter table annals dating from the thirteenth century; see G. H. Pertz, ed., *Annalium Angliae excerpta* (MGH Scriptores 16; Hanover, 1859), pp. 482-83. According to Antonia Gransden, *Historical Writing in England c. 550 to c. 1307* (London, 1974), p. 30. Easter tables were used as the framework for chronicles throughout the Middle Ages. However, in the examples she cites from the later Middle Ages, the Easter table was composed centuries before its use as a framework for annals. Thus the Missenden annals are somewhat unusual in that both the table and annals appear to be chronologically contemporary.

<sup>13</sup> The nature of the additions is instructive. For instance, the entry for the year 1264 reads 'Bellum apud Lewys'. After 'Lewys' a late fifteenth-century hand has added 'Baronum', and this indicates that the writer recognized the protagonists of the conflict. Two other additions further identify the subject of an entry: 'Edwardus nobilissimus rex obiit' becomes 'Edwardus primus nobilissimus ...' in the entry for 1306, and arabic numerals '2' and '3' have been added after the respective occurrences of *Edwardi* in the entry for 1327. The most interesting addition occurs in the 1330 entry, after the mention of the birth of 'Edwardus filius regis Edwardi tercii', when a later reader adds 'qui vocabatur princeps niger' in a hand of the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century. This is an early reference to Edward of Woodstock as the Black Prince, for the appellation became current only in the mid-sixteenth century (Richard Barber, *Edward, Prince of Wales and Aquitaine. A Biography of the Black Prince* [London, 1978], p. 242).

The mélange of entries found in the annals makes it hard to discern any clear principle of selection. English politics bulk large, particularly in the fourteenth-century entries. Some information is given about the internal history of the abbey, though less than one might expect. There are references to earthquakes, a comet, famine and plague. Important saints and English churchmen find a place (St. Anselm, St. Francis and St. Edmund of Abingdon among others), although only one pope, Nicholas IV, appears. An unusual entry occurs under the year 1321: 'Omnes leprosi combusti sunt Parisius et in Francia'. Few English chronicles report this burning of lepers, and only Adam of Murimuth gives anything resembling an accurate account.<sup>14</sup> All in all, the Missenden annals are a reflection of what interested the Missenden annalists; politics, Church affairs, plagues and portents are the summary of their world.

One area in which the annals offer new knowledge or supply additional evidence is that concerning acts of God. In particular, instances of earthquakes are noted throughout. Most of the earthquakes are described in considerably more detail by other chroniclers,<sup>15</sup> but the earthquakes noted for the years 1318 and 1362 seem to appear only in the Missenden annals and may have been tremors felt only in the vicinity of the abbey. Such small earthquakes were not unknown, for a tremor that brought down chimneys at Lindsey in the northern portion of Lincolnshire on 28 March 1343 does not seem to have been recorded at Oxford, a relatively short distance away.<sup>16</sup>

By far the most numerous bits of new knowledge relate to the history of the abbey itself, and especially to its abbots. Robert Kynebelle is the first abbot named in the annals; he was elected in 1323. The next is William de la Mare, brother of Thomas de la Mare, the famous abbot of St. Albans. Here the annals give the precise duration of William's abbacy, reporting that he was elected on 22 February 1340 (o.s.) and that he died on 29 August of that year. In the same entry the election of William's successor, Henry of Buckingham, is recorded as occurring on 9 September 1341 (n.s.).<sup>17</sup> The last abbot noted is a certain Ralf

<sup>14</sup> Adam Murimuth, *Continuatio chronicorum*, ed. E. M. Thompson (RS 93; London, 1889), p. 32.

<sup>15</sup> For the earthquake of 1247, see the *Annales theokesberie* in *Annales monastici*, ed. H. R. Luard, 5 vols. (RS 36; London, 1864, rpt. 1970), 1.136. The earthquake of 1382 is described in the *Chronicon Angliae 1328-1388*, ed. E. M. Thompson (RS 64; London, 1874), p. 351.

<sup>16</sup> Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, 8 vols. (New York, 1929-58), 3.142. The earthquake of 1382 is actually entered for the year 1384 in the Missenden annals. This error can be explained by the fact that the entry follows the long description of the uprising of 1381 which occupies the space allotted for 1382 and also 1383.

<sup>17</sup> These dates differ from those found in William Dugdale's *Monasticon anglicanum* ..., ed. J. Calley et al., 6 vols. in 8 (London, 1817-30), 6/1.547, where William de la Mare is said to have been elected on 2 March 1340, with Buckingham succeeding him on 8 October 1340.



Marshall, whose election is recorded for 1355.<sup>18</sup> Abbot Ralf was the source of considerable scandal, for in 1357 and 1358 he was clipping the king's coins. For this offense Ralf was sentenced to be drawn and quartered; but the sentence was commuted to a term of imprisonment, after which Ralf was pardoned.<sup>19</sup> The actual place of his confinement from 1358 to 1361 has been a source of some disagreement between the two modern historians of the abbey. Sister Elspeth, relying on the evidence of the Lincoln episcopal register, states that Ralf was first imprisoned at Nottingham and then kept at Bourne Abbey, another Augustinian house of the diocese of Lincoln.<sup>20</sup> Jenkins, however, cites a *Close Roll* entry which indicates that Ralf was held at Notley Abbey, an Augustinian house much closer to Missenden.<sup>21</sup>

The annals throw additional light on the case of Abbot Ralf. In the entry for the year 1358 Ralf is said to have been 'arrested and imprisoned at Nottingham through the conspiracy of Walter Bodlan, one of his canons'. While it may seem strange that Ralf was conveyed almost 160 kilometers from Missenden to Nottingham, two of the three sources now available give Nottingham as the place of Ralf's incarceration. The problem of contradiction in the sources may perhaps be resolved through geographical considerations, for Bourne Abbey was located considerably north of Notley Abbey and not far, in fact, from Nottingham. Ralf, then, may have been imprisoned at Bourne for a time, spending his last days of confinement at Notley Abbey, a place much nearer to Missenden. If this inference is correct, Ralf's imprisonment would have been divided between Bourne Abbey and Notley Abbey, though in what measure we cannot tell. He was eventually allowed to return as abbot of Missenden in June 1361 and received a pardon 'of special grace' from the king the following September.<sup>22</sup>

The remaining local entries illustrate the abbey's relationship with Peter de Brewes, a local landowner and patron. For the year 1371 (o.s.) the annals record the death of Johanna, wife of Peter de Brewes, on 3 January. She was

<sup>18</sup> Ralf Marshall is almost certainly the Anthonius Marshall described in a passage contained in Dugdale's *Monasticon anglicanum* 6/1.548-49 and taken from a manuscript copied by John Tofts, a fifteenth-century prior of the abbey. According to this record, Ralf was the son of John Marshall, an honored knight of Edward III. His brother Thomas married the heiress of William of Missenden, patron of Missenden Abbey, whom Tofts mistakenly called its original founder. Thomas eventually inherited the Missenden name and patronage of the abbey and was doubtless instrumental in securing the abbacy for his brother.

<sup>19</sup> *CPR* 12.59 (25 Edward III).

<sup>20</sup> *V.C.H. Buckinghamshire* 1.371.

<sup>21</sup> *Cartulary of Missenden Abbey* 3.xvi. Jenkins cites a letter unknown to Sister Elspeth which directs the bishop of Lincoln to allow Marshall to return to Missenden from Notley Abbey in 1361.

<sup>22</sup> The pardon is recorded in *CPR* 12.59 (35 Edward III).

subsequently interred in the conventual church of the abbey on 18 February in what would be 1372 (n.s.). This Peter de Brewes was listed as the holder of the half hide of Little Missenden in 1371.<sup>23</sup> He must have been on friendly terms with the abbey since he received a commission from the king in 1374 to protect the abbey.<sup>24</sup> Testimony to the relationship between Missenden Abbey and this patron is found in the abbey cartulary: 'Grant by Abbot Ralf to Lord Peter de Brewes of the fraternity of their house and their prayers for his health during life and for his soul after death and that of Johanna his wife. 26 April 1378.'<sup>25</sup> This 1378 date given for the document in the printed edition of the cartulary is erroneous, for Ralf Marshall died in 1374 and Peter de Brewes' death is recorded in the annals in 1378.<sup>26</sup> A more likely dating is the period between 1372 and 1374, that is, after the death of Johanna and before the death of Abbot Ralf.

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In order to construct the text of the Missenden annals given below, I have extracted the annalistic entries from the Easter table and arranged them in chronological order with the dates calculated on the basis of information contained in the Easter table itself. I have placed all editorial additions in square brackets and silently expanded all abbreviations; while I have preserved the orthography of the manuscript, except for the use of *v* in place of consonantal *u*, I have modernized and supplied punctuation and capitalization. Rubricated letters are not identified individually, and it will suffice here to note that, apart from a few exceptions, the first letter of each annalistic entry is rubricated. The Easter table has not been reproduced; the principles of its organization are explained at the beginning of the annals. Finally, the notes to the text contain corrections of the frequent errors in dating, together with some identifications.

<sup>23</sup> *V.C.H. Buckinghamshire* 1.371. Peter de Brewes was apparently an influential man in the kingdom. He was knighted by the king after the battle of Crecy (*CPR* 12.474 [20 Edward III]), received an annual pension from Edward of £100 (*CPR* 12.651 [31 Edward III]), and often served the king as a commissioner.

<sup>24</sup> *CPR* 12.52-53 (48 Edward III). This commission called upon Peter de Brewes, John Cheynee and the sheriff of Buckinghamshire to protect the property and monks of the abbey, to secure any property lost and to proclaim throughout the county that no one could go armed into the abbey on penalty of imprisonment. The document escaped the notice of both Sister Elspeth and Jenkins and marks the end of a long period of warfare between Abbot Ralf and his canons. The strife caused the bishop of Lincoln to send commissions of inquiry in 1370 and 1372 (*V.C.H. Buckinghamshire* 1.372). The year 1374 brought an armed uprising against Ralf that forced him to flee to London, there to die in September 1374. Ralf had already fled the abbey in August 1374, for the commission to Peter de Brewes states that the administration of the abbey had been entrusted to William Thenford, prior, who became the next abbot after Ralf's death.

<sup>25</sup> Jenkins, *Cartulary of Missenden Abbey* 3.228.

<sup>26</sup> The date of Peter's death is confirmed by an order, dated 4 October 1378, directing the escheators of Sussex and Buckinghamshire to take into the king's hand the lands of Peter de Brewes (*CFR* 9.153 [2 Richard II]).

- f. 105v [T]abula<sup>1</sup> secundum Dionisium subscripta continet 532 annos. Incipiens autem<sup>2</sup> linea a sinistris, descendendo, ponitur ciclus lunaris incipiens anno illius cicli quarto decimo. In secunda linea ponuntur littere bisextiles. In tertia linea littere dominicales. In ultima linea dies paschalis. Et propter croniculum faciendum residuum,<sup>3</sup> videlicet quando aliquid in prima circulacione in primis 532 annis annotatur, ponitur unus punctus; quando in secunda circulacione, ponuntur duo puncta;<sup>4</sup> et quando in tertia circulacione, ponuntur tria puncta et sic deinceps.
- |         |  |   |   |
|---------|--|---|---|
| f. 106v | 13 B.C. – Beata virgo nata est.<br>1 A.D. – Nativitas domini secundum Dionysium.<br>4 – Johannes Evangelista nascitur. | 735 – Sanctus Beda convolavit.<br>841 – Alfredus qui primus regnum Anglie possedit et regnavit <sup>6</sup> 31 annos.<br>856 – Sanctus Edmundus martirizatur. <sup>7</sup><br>1046 – Edwardus confessor qui regnavit 34 annos. <sup>8</sup><br>1047 – Berengarius.<br>1049 – Boicius. Brigida. <sup>9</sup><br>1065 – Adventus Normanniorum.<br>1070 – Translacio sancte Syresbun' usque Sarum. <sup>10</sup><br>1076 – Terremotus magnus.<br>1085 – Sanctus Wulfstanus. <sup>11</sup><br>1088 – Ordo Cisterciensis et Cantuariensis. <sup>12</sup> | f. 108r<br>f. 109v<br>f. 110r<br>f. 106r<br>f. 106v |
| f. 107v | 185 – Conversio Britannorum.   |   |   |
| f. 108r | 224 – Origines. Sancta Cecilia.  |   |   |
| f. 109r | 264 – Sanctus Laurencius.  |   |   |
| f. 109v | 311 – Invenio Sancte Crucis.<br>312 – Sancta Katerina.<br>313 – Sanctus Nicholas.                                      |   |   |
| f. 110r | 440 – Hengistus venit. <sup>5</sup>  |   |   |
| f. 111r | 467 (or 478?) – Hengistus occiditur. <sup>5</sup>  |   |   |
| f. 106r | 525 – Sanctus Benedictus.  |   |   |

<sup>1</sup> The copyist indicated with a small *t* what the large initial should have been, but it was not inserted by the rubricator.

<sup>2</sup> *auten* ms.

<sup>3</sup> *residuum* for *reciduum* ('recurring').

<sup>4</sup> For *punctus* (masculine) and *punctum* (neuter) see R. E. Latham, ed., *Revised Medieval Latin Word List from British and Irish Sources* (London, 1965), p. 383.

<sup>5</sup> Hengist is reported to have come to England between 449 and 456; he died in 488. The first entry places Hengist in the first cycle of the *annus magnus* but the second entry, curiously, puts him in the second cycle. It should be noted, too, that the date given in the second cycle is the impossible '15 id. Aprilis'; this seems to be a mistake for '5 id. Aprilis' and the error may have been caused by the appearance of '15 kal. Maii' in the preceding entry.

<sup>6</sup> *regni* ms. Alfred (849-899) reigned from 871 to 899.

<sup>7</sup> St. Edmund was martyred in 870.

<sup>8</sup> After *Edwardus* there are two letters which seem to be read as 'co' and have been expanded here as 'confessor'. Edward the Confessor reigned from 1043 to 1066.

<sup>9</sup> The scribe probably meant the sixth-century philosopher Boethius and the sixth-century Irish saint, Brigid, but he placed them in the third cycle of the *annus magnus*.

<sup>10</sup> The episcopal see of Sherbourne was translated to Salisbury in 1075.

<sup>11</sup> St. Wulfstan died in 1095.

<sup>12</sup> This entry probably refers to the founding of the Cistercian order in 1098 and to the conversion of Canterbury into a monastic chapter, which occurred shortly after Lanfranc's death in 1089.

- 1089 – Sanctus Osmundus constituit canonicos Sarum.  
 1093 – Sanctus Anselmus consecratur.<sup>13</sup>  
 f. 107r 1214 – Relaxacio interdicti.<sup>14</sup>  
 1216 – Rex Johannes obiit et filius eius Henricus comes est Gloucestrie.  
 1220 – Henricus rex coronatur. Translacio Thome. Ecclesia Sarum fundatur.<sup>15</sup>  
 1222 – Sanctus Dominicus convolavit.<sup>16</sup>  
 1224 – Henricus rex cepit castrum Bedefford.  
 1226 – Sanctus Franciscus convolavit.  
 1228 – Nove decretales comprobatur.<sup>17</sup>  
 1231 – Sanctus Antonius convolavit.  
 1234 – Sanctus Edmundus consecratur.  
 f. 107v 1239 – Edwardus filius regis Henrici natus est.  
 1241 – Sanctus Edmundus consecratur.<sup>18</sup>  
 1247 – Terre motus.  
 1249 – Escambium monete.<sup>19</sup>  
 1253 – Sanctus Ricardus convolavit.<sup>20</sup> Et Robertus Grosteste.  
 1258 – Providentia Oxonie.<sup>21</sup>  
 1264 – Bellum apud Lewys.<sup>22</sup>  
 1265 – Bellum apud Evesham.  
 1274 – Concilium generale. Edwardus coronatur.<sup>23</sup>  
 1275 – Terre motus.  
 1279 – Pecham fit archiepiscopus. Escambium monete.  
 1282 – Leulinus interfectus.<sup>24</sup>  
 1283 – David interfectus.  
 1284 – Edwardus filius regis Edwardi natus est die Sancti Marci.  
 1285 – Exilium Iudeorum.<sup>25</sup>  
 1286 – Iusticiarii itinerantes apud Wycombe.<sup>26</sup>  
 1288 – Nicholaus quartus consecratur.  
 1291 – Bellum de Dunbar et adquisicio Berewycke.<sup>27</sup>  
 1296 – Robertus de Wynchelese fit archiepiscopus.<sup>28</sup>  
 1301 – Thomas Brotherton, filius regis Edwardi natus.<sup>29</sup>  
 1302 – Natus est Edmundus, frater predicti Thome.<sup>30</sup>

f. 108r

f. 108v

<sup>13</sup> This entry occurs on the last line of fol. 106v; two folios seem then to be missing from the ms.

<sup>14</sup> Correct date: 1213.

<sup>15</sup> The remains of St. Thomas Becket were translated in this year, and work on the new cathedral at Salisbury was begun.

<sup>16</sup> Correct date: 1221.

<sup>17</sup> This entry probably refers to the decretals of Gregory ix which were not promulgated until 1234.

<sup>18</sup> Edmund of Abingdon was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury in 1234; he died in 1240 and was canonized in 1246.

<sup>19</sup> In this year Henry iii ordered the minting of a new coin, the groat.

<sup>20</sup> St. Richard de Wyche, bishop of Chichester, d. 1253.

<sup>21</sup> Provisions of Oxford.

<sup>22</sup> A late fifteenth-century hand has added *Baronum* after *Lewys*.

<sup>23</sup> The Second Council of Lyons (1271-76). Edward i was crowned in November 1272.

<sup>24</sup> Llywelyn of Wales, d. 1282.

<sup>25</sup> The Jews were expelled in 1290.

<sup>26</sup> The presence of itinerant justices marks a case of *Quo warranto* with the abbey as defendant. The record of the proceedings is contained in *Placita de quo warranto temporibus Edw. I. II. & III* (London, 1818), p. 85. See also Donald W. Sutherland, *Quo Warranto Proceedings in the Reign of Edward I* (Oxford, 1963), p. 217.

<sup>27</sup> Correct date: 1296.

<sup>28</sup> Correct date: 1294.

<sup>29</sup> Thomas Brotherton, b. 1 June 1300.

<sup>30</sup> Edmund of Woodstock, b. 5 August 1301.

1306 – Edwardus<sup>31</sup> nobilissimus rex obiit, qui regnavit 34 annos et 8 [menses]. Coronacio Edwardi filii.

1310 – Ordo templorum combusti sunt Parisius.

1312 – Adnichillatus est ordo templorum in concilio generali.

1313 – Natus est Edwardus filius regis Edwardi tertio decimo die Decembris.<sup>32</sup>

1314 – Comes Gloucestrie occiditur in bello Scocie.<sup>33</sup>

1315 – Magna caristia et magna inundacio pluviarum.

1316 – Maior caristia et multi mortui sunt de fame.

1318 – Terre motus.

1319 – Magna pestilencia bovum et vaccarum. Submersio populi apud Everwyk.<sup>34</sup>

1321 – Omnes leprosi combusti sunt Parisius et in Francia.

109r 1322 – Hunfridus comes Herfordie occisus<sup>35</sup> et Thomas comes Lancastrie decapitatus.<sup>36</sup>

1323 – Robertus Kynebelle electus est in Abbatem de Messenden.

1325 – Transfretacio domine Isabelle regina pro pace reformanda inter reges.<sup>37</sup>

1326 – Capcio Hugonis Despencer et decollacio eorundem.<sup>38</sup>

1327 – Deposicio regis Edwardi<sup>39</sup> et kal. Februarii coronacio Edwardi filii sui.

1330 – Quarto die mensis Iunii natus est Edwardus filius regis Edwardi tercii.<sup>40</sup> Decollacio Edmundi comitis Cantie apud Wyncestria.

1332 – Nata est Isabella filia regis Edwardi tercii.

1334 – Capcio de Berwyck et bellum de Hallidon Hill.<sup>41</sup>

1338 – Septimo decimo kal. Augusti Edwardus rex tertius transfretavit versus Brabantiam super Francigenos.

1340 – Concessum est domino regi [in] ix garbam, vellus et agnum.<sup>42</sup> Eodem anno vii kal. Marcii Willelmus de la Mare electus est in abbatem. Quarto kal. Septembris obiit dictus Willelmus abbas et quinto id. eiusdem electus est Henricus de Bokyngham.

1346 – Quarto id. Iulii E[dwardus] R[ex] ———<sup>43</sup> Vicesimo uno die Augustus ———

1347 – Maius altare ———

1348 – Pestilencia ———

1352 – Siccitas magna et caliditas per totum tempus estivale. f. 109v

1354 – Orta est magna discordia inter clericos Oxonienses et laicos, et multi ex utraque parte sunt occisi.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>31</sup> A later hand has added *primus* after *Edwardus*. Edward I died in 1307.

<sup>32</sup> Edward III was born 13 November 1312.

<sup>33</sup> The battle of Bannockburn, in which Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester, was killed.

<sup>34</sup> The battle of Myton, fought at York, which resulted in defeat for the contingent of Yorkshiremen at the hands of the Scots. In the disastrous retreat many were drowned in the Swale River.

<sup>35</sup> Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford, killed at Boroughbridge 12 March 1322 (n.s.).

<sup>36</sup> *decapitatus* ms.

<sup>37</sup> Correct date: 9 March 1325 (n.s.).

<sup>38</sup> Hugh Despenser senior and junior were both executed in this year.

<sup>39</sup> Arabic numerals '2' and '3' have been added after the respective occurrences of *Edwardi* in this entry.

<sup>40</sup> The Black Prince was actually born on 15 June; 'qui vocabatur princeps niger' has been added in a late fifteenth/early sixteenth-century hand (see above, p. 479 n. 13).

<sup>41</sup> Both events occurred in 1333.

<sup>42</sup> This entry refers to the ninth sheaf, pelt and lamb in England granted to Edward III in late March 1340.

<sup>43</sup> The words here and in the following two entries are lost owing to the mutilation of the ms.

<sup>44</sup> St. Scholastica's Day riot, 10 February 1355 (n.s.); see May McKisack, *The Fourteenth Century* (Oxford, 1959), pp. 504-505.

1355 – Eleccio Radulfi Marchal in Abbatem.<sup>45</sup>

1356 – Capcio Johannis regis Francie in bello iuxta villam de Peyters.

1358 – Radulfus Marschall abbas de Messenden atachatus et incarceratus apud Notingham per conspiracionem Walteri Bodlan canonici sui.

1359 – 8 die mensis Octobris rex Edwardus cepit iter versus Franciam cum magno exercitu.

1361 – Magna pestilencia virorum, mulierum et parvulorum.

1362 – 18 kal. Februarii erat ventus vehemens, et terremotus prostravit domos et campanilia.

1363 – Hic est annus mcccclxiii.<sup>46</sup>

1366 – Primo die Septembris fulgura, tonitrus et grandines horribiles. Eodem anno magna pestilencia.

1368 – Pridie kal. Aprilis cometa apparuit per

xv dies.<sup>47</sup> Eodem anno qui fuerat archiepiscopus factus est cardinalis.<sup>48</sup> Eodem anno 18 kal. septembris obiit Philippa regina Anglie.<sup>49</sup>

1371 – 3 non. Januarii obiit Johanna uxor domini Petri de Brewes, et 12 kal. Marcii sepulta est in ecclesia conventuali de Mussenden.

1378 – Edwardus tercius obiit, et secundo die Iunii coronacio regis Ricardi secundi filii Edwardi principis Wallie, et ———<sup>50</sup> antipapa surrexit et Petrus de Brewis obiit.

1381 – Multi de vulgari populo surrexerunt, et occiderunt archiepiscopum Cantuariensem tunc cancellarium Anglie et priorem hospitii Sancti Johannis Baptisti, tunc thesaurarium Anglie, et multos alios destruxerunt, et Saveye, manerium ducis Lancastrie, combusserunt.<sup>51</sup>

1384 – 12 kal. Iunii terremotus.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> Dugdale (*Monasticon anglicanum* 6/1.549) gives 10 June 1356 as the date of Ralf's election.

<sup>46</sup> This entry is written in larger rubricated letters.

<sup>47</sup> Only the *Chronicon Angliae* and the chronicle of Thomas Walsingham mention this comet, saying merely that it appeared in March (*Chronicon Angliae*, p. 61; Thomas Walsingham, *Historia anglicana*, 2 vols. [RS 28; London, 1864], 1.306).

<sup>48</sup> Simon Langham, archbishop of Canterbury (1366-68); made Cardinal-Priest by Urban v on 27 September 1368.

<sup>49</sup> Philippa died in 1369.

<sup>50</sup> At least one word after *et* is lost because of the mutilation of the folio.

<sup>51</sup> The Savoy palace was destroyed by a London mob on 13 June 1381.

<sup>52</sup> This earthquake occurred in 1382.

# A NEW FRAGMENT OF EUSTASIUS OF MATERA'S *PLANCTVS ITALIE*\*

*Jean M. D'Amato*

TO the rather scanty remains of late thirteenth-century Latin poetry produced in southern Italy can now be added twenty-four verses from Eustasius of Matera's lost *Planctus Italie*, an extensive lament in elegiac verse for cities or regions in Italy which suffered as a result of the battle of Tagliacozzo (1268).<sup>1</sup> This conflict, in which Conradin, the last Hohenstaufen heir, fell to Angevin forces under Charles I, signalled the end of Hohenstaufen rule in Italy and ensured definitive control over southern Italy and Sicily for the house of Anjou. Exiled, it seems, by the Angevins for Ghibelline sympathies, Eustasius reportedly completed his bitter lament two years later (1270). The *Planctus* appears to have had limited circulation and, together with Eustasius himself, soon became only a vague memory.<sup>2</sup>

\* I should like to thank the Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples for its kind assistance when I consulted the manuscript *in situ*.

<sup>1</sup> The first person to discuss Eustasius in any detail and to identify and collect fragments was a Russian scholar, A. N. Veselovski, *Eustachio di Matera (o di Venosa) e il suo Planctus Italiae*, trans. F. Verdinois and documented by R. Briscese (Melfi, 1907). Subsequently, Antonio Altamura republished these fragments, deleting erroneous attributions and offering some biographical and critical observations largely based on Veselovski; see his 'I frammenti di Eustazio da Matera', *Archivio storico per la Calabria e la Lucania* 15 (1948) 133-40, reprinted in his *Studi di filologia medievale e umanistica* (Naples, 1954), pp. 81-91. Throughout this article I cite the 1948 publication. For an examination of Altamura's dependency on Veselovski and a thorough study of Veselovski's work on Eustasius, see L. Petrucci, 'L'Eustachio di Matera di A. N. Veselovskij', *Studi mediolatini e volgari* 28 (1981) 153-72.

<sup>2</sup> What little information we have concerning Eustasius derives mostly from verses in a manuscript from Potenza which preserves a fragment of the poem (see below, n. 4 and the texts printed on pp. 498-501). The date of the poem (*Annis millenis biscentum septuaginta*) and notice of the poet's exile are recorded; it is further reported that he was born in Matera and was a *iudex* at Venosa (Venusia) (see G. Fortunato, *Riccardo da Venosa e il suo tempo* [Trani, 1918], pp. 79-80). He was known to early fourteenth-century scholars, for he and the *Planctus* are mentioned among sources used by Dionigi da Borgo San Sepolcro and the *Planctus* is cited by Dionigi. The poem was apparently read also by Paolo da Perugia who furnished Boccaccio with information concerning legends about Genoa and Turin (see below, n. 32). But for Boccaccio and perhaps even Paolo, Eustasius was a shadowy figure (see Veselovski, *ibid.*, Altamura, *ibid.*, Petrucci, *ibid.* [especially 161-72], and n. 32 below).

The state of preservation of the poem reflects this neglect. Only fifty-seven verses have been identified to date from an original which, according to later references, may have comprised as many as fourteen books, and perhaps even more.<sup>3</sup> With one exception, these verses are all excerpts from the *Planctus* incorporated into later texts to elaborate on some point of information; the texts themselves are products of Angevin scholarship.<sup>4</sup> The newly discovered fragment, printed on pp. 498-99 below, is preserved in a similar context as it was entered in the lower margin of Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale IV E 9, fol. 31v. A late fourteenth- or early fifteenth-century copy of the *Georgics* and *Bucolics* of Virgil, this manuscript contains extensive glosses and was probably produced in southern Italy;<sup>5</sup> like the other codices preserving Eustasius'

<sup>3</sup> See below, p. 492 and n. 19.

<sup>4</sup> The verses for Taranto are recorded in the commentary on the *Facta et dicta memorabilia* of Valerius Maximus (Ex. 2.2.5) compiled by Dionigi da Borgo San Sepolcro. This account of Taranto, as well as the verses on Naples and Messina, are also included in an anonymous fourteenth-century text focusing on the history and traditions of south central Italy and extant in a single fifteenth-century copy (Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale IX C 24, fols. 119v-120r [Taranto], fols. 89r, 89v-90r [Naples], fol. 116v [Messina]). Apparently the earliest comprehensive work of this nature, the text is still to be analyzed thoroughly. For recent discussions, see C. Perrone, 'Una probabile fonte della *Cronaca di Partenope*', *Annali della Facoltà di Magistratura dell'Università di Lecce* 1 (1970-71) 151-62 and L. Petrucci, 'Lasciti della prima circolazione della "Genealogia deorum gentilium" in un manoscritto campano del Quattrocento', *Studi mediolatini e volgari* 27 (1980-81) 163-81. Only the fragment describing the rout at Potenza was preserved somewhat differently. This appears as a later (fourteenth- or early fifteenth-century) insert in a blank folio of a thirteenth-century manuscript in Potenza, Biblioteca del Pontificio Seminario Regionale S. N., fol. 48r-v, probably excerpted by a native of Potenza (Veselovski, *Eustachio di Matera*, p. 12). Here, moreover, the verses giving biographical information about the author and date of the poem are added. These are discussed by Veselovski, *ibid.*, pp. 14-15, Altamura, 'I frammenti', 135-36, and Petrucci, 'L'Eustachio', 163-64.

<sup>5</sup> The manuscript is not dated, but the scribe proudly identifies himself as 'Franciscellus Mancinus' (fols. 1r, 58r) and it is likely that he is the same Franciscellus Mancinus who copied Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale mss. V C 16 and Vindob. lat. 53. Of these, ms. Vindob. lat. 53 is particularly important, for Franciscellus signs the codex and dates it to 1423. Another *terminus* is supplied by our ms. IV E 9, in which the inclusion of Petrarch's *Bucolicum carmen* (fol. 1r), seemingly copied also by Franciscellus, indicates a date sometime after 1357 when Petrarch completed his *carmina*. Thus ms. IV E 9 was probably copied in the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century. In ms. V C 16, Franciscellus signs himself as 'Franciscellus de Neapoli' (fols. 1r, 72v), which suggests a Neapolitan origin for this codex and possibly also for ms. IV E 9. The extent to which he was responsible for the commentary and glosses in ms. IV E 9, including the Eustasius fragment, is difficult to determine since other scribes seem to have been involved: witness, e.g., the mention of Leonardo Bruni (1370-1444) in a different Gothic hand on fol. 17r. Our manuscript is described by C. Jannelli, *Catalogus Bibliothecae latinae veteris et classicae manuscriptae* ... (Naples, 1827), pp. 151-53, P. O. Kristeller, *Iter italicum*, 3 vols. (Leiden, 1963-83), 1.411, and recently in *Virgilio. Mostra di manoscritti e libri a stampa. Catalogo* (I quaderni della Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli, 5th Ser., 5; Naples, 1981), p. 22. The glosses will be treated by Mary Louise Lord in the article on Virgil for the *Catalogus translationum et commentariorum*. For mss. V C 16 and Vindob. lat. 53, see Kristeller, *ibid.* 1.413-14, 437. I would like to thank Professors Marjorie C. Woods who furnished me with additional information concerning ms. Vindob. lat. 53, and John Conley who kindly lent me a micro-film of fols. 1-38.



*Planctus*, it may also have been a product of Angevin scholarly activity, albeit late.<sup>6</sup> The new fragment consists of twenty verses which praise Apulia and thus gloss the *laudes Italie* of *Georgics* 2.136-176, together with four verses excerpted from a lament for an unnamed region. Various notes mentioning praises of Italy accompany the *laus Apulie*; undoubtedly the fourteenth-century glossator excerpted the Eustasius passage as an additional parallel to Virgil's renowned tribute.<sup>7</sup>

Although the fragment has various textual problems arising from the state of preservation and cramped script, its meaning is generally intelligible. The new verses are prefaced by the observation that Eustasius wrote about the praises of Italy in the third book of his *Planctus Italie* and that 'inter alia laudat Apuleam'. This comment is picked up in two marginal notes, seemingly by the same scribe and placed next to the text, which identify *Eustachius Materanus* as author of the verses and point out the *laus Apulie* at the beginning of the actual account of Apulia. The opening distich of the text ('Panditur hinc binis regionibus Italia tellus/Extendit metas amplificata suas') seems to be a reference to the lower part and boot of Italy with the toe and heel intended by the phrase *binis regionibus*. The two regions are then considered in turn. Starting with Lucania to the left (west), the poet points out the area's natural bounties with the observation that its shores touch the Mediterranean Sea. Moving to the right (east) side, he treats Apulia at greater length and much more effusively. After placing this region toward the Adriatic, the poet extolls the major center of Hohenstaufen rule on the mainland as 'dux et caput ... Italie decus ... regionis apes (*sic*)'. Reverting, once more, to geographic indications, he notes that a mountain boundary and the 'Petra Roseti' divide the area from Calabria. The passage concludes with an elaborate, highly rhetorical *laus* of Apulia, not all of which can be interpreted because of problematic readings. Nonetheless, it clearly presents a description of physical bounties ending with the elaborate boast that the area is the 'Patria patrum, regia regum, Cesaris aula/In mensis mensis deliciosa cibus'.<sup>8</sup> The lavish praise is followed by a *planctus* which would seem to present a bereaved Apulia mourning her fate. This section of the fragment is separated from the preceding verses, however, and introduced by 'Item inter cetera de deplorando'; therefore, it is not entirely certain that the

<sup>6</sup> Although the political unrest of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries seems to have curtailed cultural activity, such activity was not entirely abandoned; see F. Sabatini, *Napoli angioina: cultura e società* (Naples, 1975), pp. 149-218, 323-27.

<sup>7</sup> He may have been from Apulia and excerpted the fragment for patriotic reasons (cf. the lines on Potenza [n. 4 above]). Since only book 3 is mentioned, I suspect that the scribe did not know the rest of the poem.

<sup>8</sup> The *laus* also included an etymological explanation for the name Apulia, but some readings are unclear (see below, notes to ll. 15-16).

lament belongs together with the preceding verses or, if so, what its exact position relative to them is.

Immediately after the text, additional notes present information regarding Eustasius. These remarks seem to have been the work of the original excerptor writing in a more relaxed manner, but they may have been added by a different scribe.<sup>9</sup>

As just indicated, the fragment is expressly attributed to Eustasius and there is no reason to doubt the attribution. The subject of the verses fits perfectly with the other known fragments as does its elegiac metre. Further, the statement that the *laudes Italie* appear in book 3 of the *Planctus* is consonant with our information concerning the arrangement of the poem which was apparently divided into separate books: indeed, it is reported that the verses for nearby Messina also came from book 3.<sup>10</sup> The elaborate praise for Apulia, particularly its description as 'Patria patrum, regia regum, Cesaris aula' (l. 19) would also be a fitting eulogy for an exiled Ghibelline sympathizer lamenting the plight of regions affected by the Hohenstaufen defeat.

This evidence for Eustasius' authorship is supplemented by specific similarities in word usage between the new fragment and the other extant verses of the poem (reproduced in the Appendix on pp. 499-501 below). One may compare, for instance, the placement of the rather uncommon *diviciosa* between noun and surrounding epithets, the following word being a third person reflexive, to describe Lucania (l. 6 'Ostentans fructus diuitiosa suos') with the same usage in both the praise of Taranto (App. 1.6 'Fertilis urbsque mari diviciosa suo') and Potenza (App. 4.8 'Prestat vicinis diviciosa suis'); the phrase *deliciosa cibus* lauds Apulia (l. 20 'In mensis mensis deliciosa cibus') as well as Taranto (App. 1.12 'Terra parit, cunctis deliciosa cibus'); 'regia regum' extolling Apulia (l. 19) parallels 'regia regis' for Parthenope, the modern Naples (App. 2.4 'Parthenope dicta, regia regis eras').

I would submit, therefore, that the evidence as a whole provides reasonable assurance that the fragment entered in the margin of Naples IV E 9 is part of

<sup>9</sup> This information is significant, for the poet is alleged to have written the 'librum de uirtutibus balneorum que sunt Cumis et Bays', that is, the *De balneis Terre Laboris* composed by Peter of Eboli for either Henry VI or Frederick II. This is a very early association of Eustasius with the *De balneis*, and it may have been prompted by Peter's praise of the baths as compared with the vaunts in the *Planctus*. The scribe also notes that 'Eustachius et Alanus fuerunt de Apulia de ciuitate Matere'. While Eustasius' city of birth is correct, it is mistakenly located in Apulia, not Lucania, perhaps because Apulia was highlighted in the fragment. The name 'Alanus' is unknown but may have some connection with 'Alcadinus' who was also long considered to be the author of *De balneis*. I hope to explore the connections between this comment and the tradition linking *De balneis* to Eustasius in a forthcoming monograph, *The 'Libellus de mirabilibus' and Antiquarian Traditions in the Phlegraean Fields*.

<sup>10</sup> See above, n. 4 and the text printed below, p. 501.

Eustasius' *Planctus Italie* and should be numbered among the known verses of the poem. Unfortunately, even with this new addition, little still remains of the original, but enough has now come to light that a reconstruction of the basic elements of the *Planctus* together with its place in a general literary context may be briefly attempted. Accordingly, we may suggest the likely structure and salient features of the poem and to connect these, where possible, with tradition and contemporary practice.

First, let us consider the framework within which Eustasius composed his work. Lamentations for cities go back to the very beginnings of Mediterranean literature and are a perennial theme in both East and West. Leaving aside the rich Eastern tradition, we may observe that as such laments developed in the West, conventions seem to have been established early which were then followed throughout antiquity and the Middle Ages.<sup>11</sup> Most notably, the lament often begins with the praise of former grandeur which is followed by the dramatic contrast of a lament for misfortunes suffered. The lament for cities (*planctus urbium*) was thus linked to the praise of cities (*laus urbium*), an equally venerable and even more popular theme in ancient and medieval literature.<sup>12</sup> As might be expected, claims of former glory and present misfortune are stylized and frequently exaggerated. Secondly, the fallen or destroyed city is addressed directly,<sup>13</sup> or the lament is expressed in the first person as the city bewails its own fate.<sup>14</sup> Both forms, together with the

<sup>11</sup> As far as I am aware, there is no comprehensive treatment of the lamentation for cities in Western literature. Examination of specific aspects of this tradition appear in scattered sources: see especially M. Alexiou, *The Ritual Lament in Greek Tradition* (Cambridge, 1974), pp. 86-101; K. Hartigan, *The Poets and the Cities. Selections from the Anthology about Greek Cities* (Meisenheim am Glan, 1979); G. Cheri, *La poesia epico-storico latina dell'Italia medievale* (Modena, 1938), pp. 11-12, 21.

<sup>12</sup> For the praise of cities, which has received more attention than the lament, see T. Burgess, 'Epideictic Literature', *Studies in Classical Philology* 3 (1902) 89-254, especially 171; an ancient 'handbook' of praise for cities is readily available in *Menander Rhetor*, ed. and trans. D. A. Russell and N. G. Wilson (Oxford, 1981), pp. 33-75. The continuity of this tradition from antiquity into the Middle Ages is noted by E. R. Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, trans. W. R. Trask (New York, 1953), pp. 157-58, but, as in the case of the lamentation, a thorough study of the tradition is still lacking.

<sup>13</sup> Aeschylus, *Persians* 249 ff.; Euripides, *Trojan Women* 173 ff.; *Anthologia graeca*, book 9, nos. 101, 104, 151, 153, 154, 284; Virgil, *Aeneid* 2.476 ff.; Propertius, *Elegies* 4.10.27 ff.; *Anthologia latina* (*Poetae latini minores* 4, ed. E. Baehrens [Leipzig, 1882]), nos. 21, 57; Paulinus of Aquileia, *Versus de destructione Aquilegiae numquam restaurandae*, ed. E. Dümmler (MGH *Poet. lat. aevi carolini* 1; Berlin, 1881), pp. 142-44; Hildebert of Lavardin, *Par tibi, Roma ...*, ed. A. B. Scott (Leipzig, 1969), pp. 22-24.

<sup>14</sup> e.g., *Anthologia graeca*, book 9, nos. 28, 102, 103, 152, 165, 178, 250; Sidonius Apollinaris, *Panegyric on Avitus* 45 ff.; *De destructione civitatis mediolanensis*, ed. E. Dümmler in section 3 ('Gedicht auf die Zerstörung Mailands') of his 'Mittheilungen aus Handschriften', *Neues Archiv* 11 (1886) 467-74.

incorporation of praise, are suggestive of personal funerary literature to which the lament for cities may well have been related.<sup>15</sup>

Apart from such conventions, it should be pointed out that the majority of surviving classical and medieval laments are self-contained poems and are rather brief. Yet, from classical Greece onward, the lament also appeared as part of longer works.<sup>16</sup> With the rise of medieval epic the two forms, epic and *planctus*, came to be increasingly intertwined and the distinction between them often blurred.<sup>17</sup> Reflecting this tendency on a grand scale, Eustasius apparently produced what might be called an 'epic *planctus*'.

The general structure of his work seems to have consisted of an independent treatment of each city or region, as in a standard *planctus*, and then the joining of individual laments in a sort of catalogue. The catalogue was a common feature of epic, and Eustasius may have also chosen such a format in emulation of famed catalogues of cities from the past (e.g., Ausonius' *Ordo nobilium urbium*<sup>18</sup>). Unfortunately, the arrangement and extent of Eustasius' 'catalogue' cannot be determined with surety since all of the fragments have survived as isolated excerpts. Nonetheless, if the observations accompanying the excerpts in the manuscripts and designating specific books from which the verses were drawn are even generally accurate, it would seem that the catalogue began in the south, probably in Sicily, and continued northward through the peninsula, perhaps reaching as far north as Genoa or even Turin.<sup>19</sup> Moreover, indications that Naples was treated in books 9 and 14 may give some idea of the dimension of the poem, though these reports are rather problematic, while what constituted a book is unclear. Still, at least to judge from the longest fragment

<sup>15</sup> Alexiou, who analyzes historical laments for cities and begins with the fifth century, observes similarities in form which lead her to postulate a common source (*Ritual Lament*, pp. 83-85); but she finds no connection with the various types of funerary literature for individuals. I suspect that such a connection existed, however, at least from the fifth century onward as, indeed, the name given to Euripides' lost lament for Athens, *epikedion*, would suggest. See also Hartigan, *The Poets and the Cities*.

<sup>16</sup> e.g., the examples adduced in nn. 13 and 14 above from Aeschylus, Euripides, Virgil, Propertius, and Sidonius.

<sup>17</sup> Because of the intimate connection between epic and *planctus* in medieval epic, specific texts are too numerous to mention in detail; for a discussion of this relationship, see Cheri, *La poesia epico-storico latina*, who even proposes that the *planctus* was one of the 'forme iniziali' of Italian epic, based as it was on contemporary rather than legendary events.

<sup>18</sup> Ed. S. Prete (Leiden, 1978), pp. 193-201.

<sup>19</sup> According to the texts preserving the poem, the verses for Messina, Apulia, and Lucania, i.e., regions in Sicily and the deep south, come from book 3, while those dealing with Naples (further north) are said to come from books 9 and 14. Of course it is entirely possible that the references are inaccurate, particularly those concerning Naples which indicate that accounts come from widely different books; and it must be recognized that the manuscripts are relatively late and the material likely to have been taken at second or third hand. No indication of specific books was given for Genoa or Turin, which are reported indirectly (see below, n. 32).

(the lament for Potenza),<sup>20</sup> individual laments were fairly extensive, and the poem itself was probably of epic proportions.

In the composition of individual accounts, Eustasius seemingly conformed to convention by including praise with lamentation;<sup>21</sup> whether he adopted the common praise/lament sequence is difficult to ascertain from surviving evidence. The material presented for each site appears to have combined stock motifs and language, fashioned according to the *ars versificatoria*, with more immediate description.<sup>22</sup> Thus, while the poet reproduces such a standard feature of the praise of cities as the eulogy of ample physical bounties, he does not, in the surviving verses, extoll man-made splendors, as was conventional. He vaunts of Taranto that 'Emulus hic Rome situs' (l. 5), thereby repeating a literary commonplace used from late antiquity onward of portraying cities with glories that rivalled those of the *urbs aeterna*.<sup>23</sup> Similarly, in the *planctus* proper, Eustasius echoes standard laments for violent destruction, derived from classical or medieval epic, such as udders that are dry, people 'crucified' with hunger, etc.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>20</sup> The subscription accompanying the verses for Potenza (App. 5) indicate that 'Explicuit mesta vates per singula gesta', suggesting considerable detail. This would seem to be supported by the surviving fragments: Potenza is thirty-four verses long and the new fragment, where the *planctus* proper seems to be incomplete, twenty-four (though see above, pp. 489-90).

<sup>21</sup> Only in the new fragment are praise and lamentation actually preserved together and even here, as we have seen, it is not entirely clear that the lamentation belongs together with the praise.

<sup>22</sup> For the medieval *laus*, see in particular Curtius, *European Literature*. Also, one might compare the description *loci amoeni* which was formalized and included in the *ars versificatoria*, e.g., of Matthew of Vendôme printed in E. Faral, *Les arts poétiques du XII<sup>e</sup> et du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Recherches et documents sur la technique littéraire du moyen âge* (Paris, 1924), pp. 148-49. For specific examples, cf. the use of *decus* (ll. 9-10 'Apula ... Italie decus es') and Aachen as 'regni decus imperiale' on a presumed inscription from the city gate (A. Graf, *Roma nella memoria e nelle immaginazioni del medio evo*, 2 vols. [Turin, 1882], 1.14); Troy which was 'et decus et species et caput orbis' in the lament for this city falsely attributed to Hildebert of Lavardin (ed. F. J. E. Raby, *The Oxford Book of Medieval Latin Verse* [Oxford, 1959], p. 240); Joseph of Exeter's 'O decus, o Libyae regnum. Carthaginis urbem' (*De excidio Troiae*, *ibid.*, p. 355), etc.; the phrase 'Apula rura' (l. 8) with Lucan's 'tradidit Hesperiam profugusque per Apula rura' (*Bellum ciuile* 2.608) found also in Alphanus of Salerno, '... distinguens Apula rura' (*Carm.* 13.732, ed. A. Lentini and F. Avagliano, *I carmi di Alfano I arcivescovo di Salerno* [Montecassino, 1974]); likewise from Alphanus, the comparison with the elements to describe Apulia as 'Aer, terra, mare - cumulus tot deliciarum' in l. 17 ('O si nunc tellus, aer, mare, tunc quod Olympus': Alphanus, *Carm.* 14.188), and so on.

<sup>23</sup> The best discussion of this tradition, with a rich sampling of texts, still remains Graf's *Roma nella memoria*, cited above, n. 22, though now see also R. Krautheimer, *Rome. Profile of a City, 312-1308* (Princeton, 1980).

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Lucan, *Bellum ciuile* 3.351-352 ('Pectoribus rapti matrum frustraue trahentes/Ubera sicca fame medios mittentur in ignes') and Gilon of Paris, *Historia ...*, book 3, who indicates that 'civitas fame cruciatur' in speaking of the siege of Antioch (PL 155.974). The idiom 'fame cruciari' appears as early as Cicero (*Fin.* 2.20.65).

In addition, the poet occasionally chose the traditional format of direct address, here probably influenced by medieval Italian epic which had a predilection for this form.<sup>25</sup> In the verses of lamentation found in our new fragment, the city or region (probably Apulia) is represented as weeping at her fate (ll. 3-4 'Tot destructa bonis, tot nunc euersa ruinis/Ac orbata uiris undique mesta gemis'). This is possibly also an echo of the older *planctus urbium*; we are reminded of Sidonius' lugubrious description of a bedraggled Roma bemoaning her fate to Jupiter<sup>26</sup> (perhaps an extension of the first person laments noted above) and, closer to Eustasius, of a similar depiction of Milan written in the third quarter of the twelfth century.<sup>27</sup>

At times Eustasius also invokes the city's patron saint.<sup>28</sup> He thereby continues the ancient custom of invoking local heroes and ancestors, made Christian by the substitution of local martyrs, bishops, etc.<sup>29</sup> Our poet, however, did not restrict himself to the Christian world: he also included figures from the pagan past, as would be expected from an author writing in the thirteenth century and associated with the Hohenstaufens. Hence the praise for Naples proudly presents Aeneas as restorer and eponymous hero of the city;<sup>30</sup> and it reports the famous legend concerning a totemic bronze horse which Virgil was credited with fabricating so as to protect horses from disease.<sup>31</sup> That Eustasius included other material of this kind seems likely from foundation legends for Genoa and Turin reported by Boccaccio, who names Eustasius as his ultimate source.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Observations regarding medieval Italian epic derive mostly from Cheri, *La poesia epico-storico latina*.

<sup>26</sup> Sidonius Apollinaris, *Panegyric on Avitus* 45-122.

<sup>27</sup> *De destructione civitatis mediolanensis*; see above, n. 14. For discussions of the poem, see especially Cheri, *La poesia epico-storico latina*, p. 21 and F. J. E. Raby, *A History of Secular Latin Poetry in the Middle Ages*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1957), 2.160-61.

<sup>28</sup> S. Cataldo was called upon for Taranto and S. Gerardo for Potenza; see texts printed below.

<sup>29</sup> Curtius, *European Literature*, p. 157.

<sup>30</sup> See text below, p. 500. The earliest hint of this etymology is found, I believe, in John of Salisbury regarding the fly, 'quae ab Eneapoli muscas abigeret, et civitatem a peste insanabili liberaret' (*Policraticus* 1.4), but is explicit for the first time in the *Planctus*. For the Virgil legends, the fundamental works remain D. Comparetti, *Virgilio nel medio evo*, 2 vols., 2nd edition (Florence, 1937), with its famed introduction by G. Pasquale (trans. E. F. M. Benecke, *Virgil in the Middle Ages* [London, 1895]) and J. W. Spargo, *Virgil the Necromancer. Studies in Virgilian Legends* (Cambridge, Mass., 1934).

<sup>31</sup> Comparetti, *Virgil*, p. 268 and passim; Spargo, *ibid.*, pp. 84-86 and passim.

<sup>32</sup> Boccaccio, *Genealogie deorum gentilium libri*, ed. V. Romano, 2 vols. (Scrittori d'Italia 200-201; Bari, 1951), 1.371-72. Since this passage apparently records information from the *Planctus*, it deserves to be cited in full: 'Asserit tamen Paulus Perusinus secundum nescio quem Eustachium, quod, regnante Spareto apud Assirios, Eridanus qui et Pheton Solis Egyptii filius, cum copia suorum, duce Nylo navigiis devenit in mare, et ventis adiutus in sinum, quem Lygustinum dicimus, venit; ibi, cum suis longa fatigatus navigatione, descendit in litus, et cum suasionibus suorum in Mediterranea pergeret, Genuinum ex sociis suis unum, nausea maris

Given the state of preservation of the poem and the need for more detailed investigation of the few surviving fragments, the specific sources used by Eustasius are still largely unknown. It would seem, however, that etymologies, legends, and other such material found in the *Planctus* are derived from standard *fontes* or earlier established traditions. The etymological explanations of 'Lucania', for instance, which are found in the lament for Potenza (App. 4.3 'Urbs est Lucanis girata Potentia lucis') and those for Lucania itself in the new fragment (l. 3 'Namque sinistrorsum fertur Lucania lucis') can be linked to an entry in Festus;<sup>33</sup> the etymological explanation of Apulia in the new fragment may be connected to a derivation found in Paulus Diaconus;<sup>34</sup> the Virgil legends almost certainly come from traditions established in northern Europe and elsewhere.<sup>35</sup>

On the other hand, it would appear that contemporary historical material, such as the rebellion against the French *giustiziere* noted in the verses for Potenza, reflects the immediate experience of the poet himself, although composed in the highly rhetorical style found in contemporary Italian epic.<sup>36</sup> Similarly, topographical and geographical information shows some direct observation on the part of the poet. In particular, the report that Taranto 'bino cincta mari' (App. 1.4 in the praise of Taranto) clearly describes this port which is girded by the Mare Grande and Mare Piccolo. Much more involved and difficult to evaluate are Eustasius' observations on the Lucania/Apulia area in the new fragment, since the nomenclature and boundaries of these regions varied in ancient and medieval times.<sup>37</sup> During classical antiquity, the lower

debilitatum, cum parte suorum navium custodem liquit in litore; qui iunctus accolis loci, silvestribus hominibus oppidum condit, et Genuam de suo nomine nuncupavit; Eridanus autem, superatis montibus, | cum in amplissimam atque fertilem devenisset planiciem, hominesque rudes et agrestes feroces tamen comperisset, ratus se ingenio superaturum ferociam, secus Padum consedit, et, ut idem refert Paulus, videtur Eustachium velle Taurinum oppidum suum fuisse opus, sed Eridanum nuncupatum. Ibidem autem cum aliquandiu regnasset, relicto Lygure filio, in Pado periit, a quo Padus Eridanus appellatus est. Quem veteres Egyptii in memoriam compatriote sui inter celi ymagines locavere. Et sic aliquid videntur arbitrari hoc fabule dedisse causam, et potissime, quod fulminatus sit Pheton et in Padum deiectus. Addebat huic Leontius fratres duos, Yphyclum scilicet et Phylacem, eosque natu maiores Phetonte, de quibus quoniam nil aliud, illos apponere non curavi.'

<sup>33</sup> *De significatu verborum*, ed. W. M. Lindsay (Leipzig, 1913), p. 106: 'Lucani appellati dicuntur, quod eorum regio sita est ad partem stellae luciferae, vel quod loca cretosa sint, id est multae lucis, vel a Lucilio duce, vel quod primitus in luco consederint.'

<sup>34</sup> See below, n. to ll. 15-16.

<sup>35</sup> See Pasquale's introduction to Comparetti, *Virgilio nel medio evo*.

<sup>36</sup> Historical aspects of this fragment are discussed by Veselovski, *Eustachio di Matera*, pp. 20-21.

<sup>37</sup> For detailed discussion of the historical geography of these regions, see the appropriate articles in the *Enciclopedia italiana* (1969): 'Apulia' (3.787), 'Calabria' (8.291-92), 'Lucania' (21.552-53).

part of Italy was divided into four separate regions: in the west Lucania covered the area from (approximately) Paestum in the north to the beginning of the toe and Brutium which comprised the entire toe; in the east, Apulia occupied the area from (approximately) Monte Gargano in the north to the beginning of the heel at Taranto, abutting Lucania just before the easterly slopes of the Apennines and Calabria in the heel. The Apennines formed a rough boundary between east and west. During and after the Lombard domination of Calabria in the seventh century, the name 'Calabria' was transferred to ancient Brutium in the toe while Apulia was used to designate the entire easterly area. In the eleventh century, most of ancient Lucania came to be referred to officially as 'Basilicata', although the name Lucania was still retained in scholarly circles.

How well in the new fragment Eustasius understood and represented the geographical setting is obscure. As noted on p. 489 above, the poet begins with a description of the boot of Italy, dividing the boot into two regions which he then isolates as Lucania to the left and Apulia to the right; next he mentions Calabria as adjacent to Apulia, the 'Petra Roseti' marking the division. None of this seems especially accurate for his own day. Possibly he may have used the ancient boundaries, understanding Lucania to encompass all the region to the east of Apulia/Calabria (the obsolete 'Brutium' may have been unfamiliar to him). In this case, the otherwise obscure 'Petra Roseti' may have some connection with the Petra de Rosito (modern Rosito) just north of Taranto and indicated by Paolino da Venezia in the map of Italy accompanying his monumental encyclopedia.<sup>38</sup> If our supposition is correct, Eustasius' preference for classical in place of contemporary boundaries would be in keeping with his apparent concern for ancient traditions. Whatever the exact explanation, the interest in geography and topography shown by the poet is surely consonant with general developments in the thirteenth century as well as with the cultural heritage of southern Italy where both scientific investigation and technical verse were long-standing traditions.

It remains now to emphasize the importance or potential importance of the *Planctus Italiae* in the formation of traditions in southern Italy. The Virgil legend and related Aeneas/Naples etymology have already been noted. As far as I am aware, Eustasius is the first Italian writer to record any of the Virgilian *mirabilia* which seem to have been the creation of northern European ecclesiastics.<sup>39</sup> Given the virtual absence of a local civic tradition for Naples

<sup>38</sup> This map is found at the end of the Vatican copy (Vatican Library Vat. lat. 1620, fol. 266v); it is reproduced in B. Degenhart and A. Schmitt, 'Marino Sanudo und Paolino Veneto: zwei Literaten des 14. Jahrhunderts in ihrer Wirkung auf Buchillustrierung und Kartographie in Venedig, Avignon und Neapel', *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 14 (1973) 130.

<sup>39</sup> See Pasquale's introduction to Comparetti, *Virgilio nel medio evo*.



during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the poet's inclusion of the legends is especially significant and anticipates the subsequent burst of interest in such material under Angevin rule. Moreover, because of his sympathy and likely association with the Hohenstaufens, it is tempting to suggest that Eustasius came upon this information at the Hohenstaufen Court where the legends were likely to have been in circulation.<sup>40</sup> In this case and, by extension, in other instances, Eustasius may have provided an important bridge between Hohenstaufen and Angevin cultural endeavors. That the *Planctus* was known to Angevin scholars, albeit hazily, is clear. We have already seen that the work was quoted in Angevin texts, including the monumental commentary on Valerius Maximus composed by Dionigi da Borgo San Sepolcro. Further, it has been noted that information was taken from the *Planctus* by no lesser figures than Paolo da Perugia, the librarian of Robert the Wise who along with Dionigi was one of the founders of Neapolitan humanism and, seemingly through Paolo, by Boccaccio himself. That Eustasius may have influenced others involved in humanistic activity at the Angevin Court is, of course, not to be excluded. Indeed, the presence of the new fragment in this late fourteenth- or early fifteenth-century manuscript of Virgil suggests that the poem continued to be known in scholarly circles, later perhaps than is presently recognized.

In summary, then, even from this sketchy examination of the *Planctus Italie* and its possible sources and influence, the poem emerges as an important, but little acknowledged, document of medieval literature, and its pitiful state of preservation is all the more regrettable. One may hope, however, that continued study of the glosses and scholia in other codices originating in southern Italy will bring to light additional portions of Eustasius' work.

\*  
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In transcribing the new verses I examined and studied the relevant folio *in situ* and from a photograph. For the transcription given below I have introduced modern punctuation and capitalization but have preserved the orthography of the manuscript, reporting in the accompanying notes minor spelling changes seemingly made by the scribe himself. The notes also contain information on difficult readings and philological points. For the sake of completeness, I have reproduced in a smaller font the observations that surround the new verses in the Naples manuscript.

<sup>40</sup> One of the first people to report the legends was Conrad of Querfort, the chancellor of Henry VI; see Comparetti, *Virgil*, pp. 257-63 and Spargo, *Virgil*, pp. 13-15.

(Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale IV E 9, fol. 31v)

De laudibus Italie scribendo canit Eustashius de Matera in libro tercio sui *Plantus Italie* et inter alia laudat Apuleam.

Eustachius	Panditur hinc binis regionibus Itala tellus,	
Mate/ranus	Extendit metas amplificata suas:	
	Namque sinistrorsum fertur Lucania lucis	
	Montibus unde suis fluminibusque uiget,	
	Ad Mediterraneum uersus mare litora ponit	5
	Ostentans fructus diuitiosa suos;	
	Inque latus dextrum pendentia litora uersus	
	Adriacosque sinus Apula rura iacent.	
laus	Apula planicies, dux et caput ante uocata,	
Apulie	Italie decus es, o regionis apes!	10
	Te limes montana tenens et Petra Roseti	
	Diuidit a Calabris, certaue meta tua est.	
	Alta tegunt silue, sed planum sole patescit	
	Et celo campus. Nomen et inde tibi:	
	Nam <i>sine</i> denotat a <i>uiridisque pul</i> ( <i>ras.</i> )	15
	Quo primum coluit gr ( <i>ras.</i> )	

1 *ytala* has been corrected to *Itala* in the manuscript.

5 *Mediterraneum*: contrary to classical quantity, the medial *a* is apparently short here.

7 *uersus*: a horizontal stroke above the second *u* has been cancelled in the manuscript.

9 *ante*: the abbreviation is difficult to decipher. If *ante* is correct, I would suggest that this and the following line read 'Apulian plain, formerly called *dux et caput*, you are the glory of Italy ...', with the phrase *ante uocata* referring to the preeminence of Apulia before the Hohenstaufen defeat.

10 *apes* for *apex*.

11 *limes montana*: although masculine in classical Latin, the word *limes* was sometimes feminine in the Middle Ages; see F. Blatt, ed., *Novum glossarium mediae latinitatis ab anno DCCC usque ad annum MCC* (Copenhagen, 1957), col. 142. *Petra Roseti*: this seems to be a proper name; for a possible explanation see above, p. 496 and n. 38.

13 *sole*: although one might expect *solis*, the reading appears to be *sole* (ablative), chosen perhaps for metrical purposes and used loosely to read 'the plain lies open in the sun'.

15-16 *pul*:- these three letters seem to be what is now left in the manuscript after an erasure that removed the remainder of the line, and possibly they represent the beginning of a transliteration of *φύλλα* ('leaves': a likely equivalent of 'uiridis'). The sense of this line is continued in l. 16, where there is an erasure after *gr*- ('gramen'? 'grecus'?). There may be some connection between these verses and an etymological explanation for the name Apulia given by Paulus Diaconus: 'Apulia autem a perditione nominatur: citius enim ibi solis fervoribus terrae virentia perduntur' (*Historia Langobardorum* 2.21, ed. L. Bethmann and G. Waitz [MGH *Script. rerum lang. et ital. saec. vi-ix*; Hanover, 1878], p. 85). This explanation was then reported by Paulino da Venezia who, significantly, wrote in Naples and was a key figure in Angevin

Aer, terra, mare – cumulus tot deliciarum –  
 Hic statuit cumeram qua cumulantur opes.  
 Patria patrum, regia regum, Cesaris aula,  
 In mensis mensis deliciosa cibis. 20

Item inter cetera de deplorando

Nunc cruciata fame non prebes pabula natis  
 Pectoraque ostendis; ubera sicca iacent.  
 Tot destructa bonis, tot nunc euersa ruinis  
 Ac orbata uiris undique mesta gemis.

Nota quod iste Eustachius scripsit librum de uirtutibus balneorum que sunt Cumis et Bays. Item nota quod Eustachius et Alanus fuerunt de Apulia de ciuitate Matere.

scholarly activity ('Apulia sociata sibi Calabria. Apulia autem dicta est a perdendo quod cito ibi solis calore virentia perduntur; prius dicta est Messalia': *Mappa mundi* [ms. Vat. lat. 1620, fol. 19v]).

17 *mare*: apparently the final *e* is long here; in l. 1 of the following lament, the *e* of *fame* also seems to be long.

20 *In mensis mensis*: this seems to be the correct reading. I interpret the phrase to mean 'month to month' and understand it as a reference to the extended growing season. The grammatical construction is unusual, however, as is the use of the final long *i*. Another possible reading, less satisfactory I believe, is *Inmensis mensis*.

## APPENDIX

For the sake of convenient comparison, the text of the five other surviving fragments, as edited by Altamura, 'I frammenti' (above, p. 487 n. 1), 136-40, is given here. The prefatory and marginal observations are reproduced in smaller type.

### 1. *Taranto*

Notandum est *Tarentum*: fuit enim ciuitas valde nobilis et opulentissima, et est hodie, in qua fuit studium philosophiae ytalicum et grecum, ut dicit beatus Augustinus libro de 'Civitate Dei'. – *ad res petundas*: quas non ex debito, sed ex consuetudine conferri permittebant. – *ut romana ciuitas esset fertilior*, eo quod Tarentina ciuitas opulentissima erat, ut hodie est, de qua poeta dicit:

Urbs regionis opes prestat miranda Tarentum,  
 Mira magnis meritis, sancte Catalde, tuis;  
 Deliciis vulgata suis fit nota per orbem  
 Bino cincta mari, fertilitatis humus.

Emulus hic Rome situs in bellisque notatus, 5  
 Fertilis urbsque mari diviciosa suo.  
 Vitibus hec variis multis frondescit olivis,  
 Diversis pomis, ficubus atque piris;  
 Pratis et silvis uberrima fert numerosa  
 Hec armenta, greges et genus omne fere. 10  
 Inde Ceres, bombix, sal, quicquid fertile cultu  
 Terra parit, cunctis deliciosa cibus.  
 Quis numerare queat pisces maris, ostrea, tunnos,  
 Auratas, cephalos, pisces et omne genus?

## 2. Naples

Eustatius vero in suo 'Planctu Italie' li. 9<sup>o</sup> dicit, quod dicta est [*Neapolis*] ab *Enea et polis*, quasi *Eneapolis*, hoc est civitas Enee. Subdit etiam quod antea habitata a Grecis, de nomine < regis > eorum Pathenopaei *Parthenope* dicta est. Unde sit lib. 9<sup>o</sup>:

Inclita Parthenope, generosa Neapolis, alto  
 Nomen ab Enea que renovata tenes,  
 Culta prius grecis, de nomine Parthenopei  
 Parthenope dicta, regia regis eras;  
 Post pius Eneas urbem renovavit et auxit. 5

## 3. Naples

Fertur etiam, quod fieri fecit [*Virgilius*] equum ereum, ut alii equi, aliquo morbo vexati, eum respicientes, ipsius visu sanitatis remedia reportarent. Hic equus fuit juxta ecclesiam S. Johannis Majoris, postmodum surreptus ad archiepiscopatum extitit deportatus. Quem equum, cum rex Carolus victam urbem intraret, admirans, ei disticon fecit in hunc modum, ut refert Eustatius in suo 'Planctu Italie' lib. 14<sup>o</sup>:

Hactenus effrenis, nunc freni paret habenis,  
 Rex domat hunc < aequus > parthenopenis equum.

## 4. Potenza

Inde potentini populi furor obruit omnes,  
 Qui tulerunt aquile signa verenda sibi.  
 Urbs est Lucanis girata Potentia lucis,  
 Fulta patrociniis, sancte Girarde, tuis,  
 Montibus et pratis. Gregis armentique feraces, 5  
 Et lini late predita cultat agros,  
 Lombardis populis austera potensque colonis  
 Prestat vicinis diviciosa suis.  
 Auditis cedum furis, victore minante,  
 Insanit populus, turbine turba ruit. 10

Iram victoris placet hoc placare furore,  
 Vindictam facere, cedere cede viros.  
 Nec minus inde suis jacuit post diruta muris,  
 Sed punita magis impietate sua.  
 Gulliellmus cadit hic et Grassinella propago, 15  
 Cunque sua sequitur multa ruina domo:  
 Quem terrata vocat cum multis Bartholomaeus  
 Hic capitur, stringunt vincula stripta viros,  
 Captivosque omnes ducunt Acherontis in arcem.  
 Sed dedit alternas sors variata vices: 20  
 Nam comitiva manus Riccardus Sancta Sofia,  
 Castanee Enricus ac Venusina cohors  
 Eventu miro venerant Acherontis in hostes,  
 Captivosque vident inde venire viros.  
 Protinus aggressi ductores marte, subire 25  
 Discrimen faciunt: hic fugit, ille perit.  
 Cum sociis miles fit liber Bartholomaeus  
 Instantique neci fata dedere moram:  
 Tunc perit ille Petrus Sapiencia Basilicate,  
 Campi maioris gentis iniqua ferens. 30  
 Proditur, et pretio pretiosi fedus amici  
 Auro fedatur. Fit scelerata fides:  
 Heu quantum scelus est funesta pecunia! Celum  
 Supponunt precio fulva metalla suo.

*Annis millenis biscentum septuaginta,  
 Franco regnante, Romana sede vacante,  
 Exilii dampnum relevans dictata per annum  
 Explicuit mesta vates per singula gesta.*

*Nomen Matera genetrix Eustacius, omen  
 Judicis et scribe Venusiam dedit,  
 Excidium patrie velut alter flet Jeremias,  
 Mundi conflictus Italieque malum.*

(vel sic: *Itala fata queror, urbis et orbis honos*)

### 5. *Messina*

*Messana.* – Dicta Messana quia in ejus portu quasi messes pro romanis portabantur, quod confirmat Eustasius in suo 'Planctu Italie' lib. 3<sup>o</sup> dicens:

Inque tuo portu messes sibi Roma parabat,  
 Indequ Messana nomina messis habet.

*Brandeis University.*



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